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PART I.—JANUARY

Some Poems in the Sabzawari Dialect

BY W. IVANOW

IT is one of the most popular devices of wits and humorists of all nations to make use of various slang expressions, dialectical or rustic sentences, or local words in order to add to the "fun" in their narrative. Persians are no exception to this. Moreover, educated people regard all the numerous local dialects of Iran as unwritten languages and in their writings occasionally make use of them, but only for such facetious purposes. Peasants and the less educated people strive to use high-flown diction in their correspondence, and even in their songs an imitation of this appears instead of their native dialects.

In his interesting paper the late Professor E. G. Browne summarized the information, which he gathered from different sources, concerning Persian poets who occasionally used some local dialect, or the ordinary colloquial of the lower classes, in their compositions.[1] Since the appearance of that paper (in 1895), more information on the subject has become accessible, and it would be useful for students to draw up a brief summary of it here. In addition, some specimens of poetry are offered in the local form of the Khorasani dialect

[1] E. G. Browne, "Some notes on the poetry of the Persian dialects": *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, pp. 773–825.

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as it is spoken in the district of Sabzawar. They have for their authors two hitherto entirely unknown poets, viz. Nayyir and Fayyāḍ, and were found by me at Sabzawar in 1919.

Professor E. Browne's list contains sixteen names. There were, however, many others, who have been mentioned by the authors of different biographical works or anthologies. Quite incidentally, without undertaking special research, I came across several names in the *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh* of Badaoni,[1] the *Haft iqlīm* of Amīn Rāzī,[2] and the *Riyāḍu'sh-shu'arā'* of 'Alī-Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī.[3] There are reasons to expect that more information may be gathered from other biographical works, especially those of Taqī Kāshī, Sām Mīrzā, Naṣrābādī, and Mufīd Bāfqī.

Starting with Khorasan, it is necessary to mention in the first place a poet of Nishapur, who lived in the middle and towards the end of the sixteenth century, viz. Dānahī Nīshāpūrī.[4] Dānah, his native place (now pronounced Duneh), still exists as a small village near Qadamgāh, some 20 miles eastwards from Nishapur. The exact date of his death is not known. Originally a peasant, he was not content with his lot, and tried the career of a poet. It brought him to India, as mentioned in the *Haft iqlīm*, and also by Badaoni, who refers to Dānahī amongst the other poets of Akbar's reign. Most

[1] Completed about 1596. The biographical appendix had probably been written earlier.

[2] Completed in 1594.

[3] The main portion written about 1748 and 1749.

[4] His name دانهی can easily be misread as والهی, as may be seen in different copies of the same work, where the name appears in these two forms. The misreading as Wālihī leads to the confusion of this poet with a dozen or more others, who used the same *takhalluṣ*, but never wrote in dialects. For biographical information about Dānahī see the *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, *Bibl. Indica*, 1899–1922, part iii, p. 229, or p. 319 in W. Haig's translation. In the *Haft iqlīm* the name of the poet is given in its correct form in the MS. in the India Office Library, see H. Ethé's catalogue, column 434, No. 767; in the MS. of the As. Soc. of Bengal (D 327, f. 198 v.) it appears as Wālihī. Cf. also the *Nafā'isu'l-ma'āthir*, in A. Sprenger's Oude Catalogue, p. 49, where the correct form of his name is also given. In the Society's copy of the *Riyāḍu'sh-shu'arā'* (D 102), he is referred to on f. 193.

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probably his training in high-flown poetry was insufficient, and Dānahī preferred to compose his songs in his native rustic dialect which only few could understand, not to say appreciate, in India. Two of his poems are quoted by Amīn Rāzī; Wālih Dāghistānī gives a version of the second of them. It apparently is an extract from a *qaṣīda* in praise of Akbar. The language appears to be not pure dialect, but rather what probably was the bazari colloquial of the sixteenth century in the towns of Khorasan; there are dialectical forms, but the language seems to be "polished". To some extent this may be due to the "corrections" of the copyists, who took these irregularities for mistakes:—

قتلم آنشوخ خردکك[1] مکنه[2]،

جان فدایش که خوش مکك[3] مکنه،

چشمکم مزنه[4] دلم میبره[5]،

چشمك دیکرش کمك مکنه،

شه جلال دین محمد غازی،

که دعایش بر فلك ملك مکنه[6]،

صله شعر شاعران کذر[7]،

یك لك ودو لك وسه لك مکنه،

[1] Double diminutive form, *khurdakak*.

[2] *Mukna* = میکند.

[3] *Sic*, in all copies, perhaps *khushmakak*?

[4] *Muzna* = میزند.

[5] I.e. میبرد "steals my heart", or میبرد "my heart stops".

[6] This verse is omitted in the *Haft iqlīm*.

[7] Apparently *gidar*, a common slang for دیگر.

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مکه [1] مدحش بصد زبان بکویم،

صله شعر من نهنك [3] مکنه،

مچه [4] نالم ز احمد و محمود،

هرچه مکنه بمن فلك مکنه [5]،

"That very little playful one kills me, (but) let my life be sacrificed for him, because he does it in a pleasant way (?).

He makes a sign with the eye, and my heart stops; another wink from him relieves me.

Shāh Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad, the ghāzī (Akbar), for whom angels pray in heaven,

Rewards the poems of other poets with one, two, or three laks (of rupees).

But (although) I glorify him in a hundred languages, he makes the reward of my songs as much as a finger-nail-full (?).

Why should I groan at the hands of Aḥmad or Maḥmūd, all that is done to me, is done by fate."

There was another poet, Ḥusaynā, apparently a pure rustic. His quatrains are sung even nowadays in the districts of Sabzawar, Turshiz, and Nishapur, but in all these places I was unable to gather any information as to his biography, or even the place in which he lived.

[1] *Mu ki* = من كه. [2] In the *Haft iqlīm* وصفش.

[3] Not clearly legible, in all copies: بجنك، بهنك، جنك، هنك Perhaps *bā channak* (dim. from *channa*), "with some bargaining" (in rustic Persian diminutives are often used for expression of contempt). *Nahinak*, or *nakhinak* (dim. from ناخون), may mean also "as much as can be picked up by the finger tip". [4] *Mu chi* = من برای چه.

[5] Instead of this verse the *Haft iqlīm* gives:

برقیبان که لطفها مکنی، دل زارم ترك ترك مکنه،

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Amongst the poets of Khorasan there were many who were natives of Jam, Gunabad, Turshiz, Tun, Qain, etc., but apparently none of them excelled as a writer of dialectical poems.[1] Only in Birjand, further south, was there a local poet, Mullā Ṣabūḥī of Ziruch, some 5 miles westwards from the town, who chiefly wrote ordinary poems, but occasionally composed facetious verses in the Qaini. Nowadays they are all forgotten and only rarely is it possible to get a copy of his versified vocabulary of peculiarly Birjandi words, compiled apparently as a parody of the well-known *Niṣāb* of Abū Naṣr Farāhānī (beginning of the thirteenth century). It has the form of a long *qaṣīda*, rhyming in *-ar*.[2] Mullā Ṣabūḥī died, as I was told, about a century ago.

In other provinces of Persia there were many poets who similarly composed facetious poems in dialectized colloquial. Wālih Dāghistānī mentions several poets of this class: Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Iṣfahānī,[3] and another native of the same place, Laṭīf;[4] the latter composed high-flown poetry, but being an uneducated man, he used to fill his verses with slang and mistakes against prosody and rules of versification, and was seriously annoyed when his faults were pointed out to him. Of a similar class was a Tehrani poet, Mullā Siḥrī,[5] who used for his poems "the language of Ṭihrān", i.e. a probably dialectized "bazari". All three flourished apparently about the end of the seventeenth or in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Probably the real dialectical poet of the province of Isfahan

[1] Some twenty years ago an inhabitant of Birjand, Ḍiyā'u'd-dīn Qāinī, compiled a *tadhkira* of some thirty local poets of Birjand, Qain, Gunabad, and Tun. Only a few of them are really local rustic poets. A copy of this work was brought by me to the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

[2] There are several versions of it in circulation, but none of them appears to be complete.

[3] A.S.B. copy, f. 315 v.

[4] Ibid., f. 394 v.

[5] Ibid., f. 234.

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was Darwīsh 'Abbās of Gaz, with the *takhallus* Jazī. This village, situated some 15 miles north of Isfahan, on the Naṭanz road, possesses a peculiar dialect, which has been studied by the late Professor Zhukovski (see his *Materials*, part ii, pp. 33 sq.), who collected and published several poems of Jazī.

In the south-western corner of Persia there were many local poets, and apparently the custom of using the rustic or colloquial language in poetry was practised more frequently. Several names may be mentioned: Fāyiz,[1] Najmā,[2] Daftarī,[3] Muḥammad Taqī Khān,[4] Ḥaydar Khān,[5] etc. Not long ago some others lived, and their memory is quite fresh: Īzadī of Fars,[6] 'Alī Aṣghar Khān of Nihāwand,[7] etc.

For Central Persia, besides the famous Yaghmā Jandaqī,[8] there may be mentioned the rival and contemporary of the latter, Na'īmā of Samnan.[9]

The poets whose compositions are here published, Nayyir and Fayyāḍ, are different in character. Nayyir appears to be the more rustic, simple, and talented of the two. The language which these poets use is the Sabzawari dialect in a particularly pure form. It may perhaps be admitted that for facetious

[1] He lived in Shushtar and Basra; in 1902 he was still alive, and composed poetry in Mamasani and Bakhtyari, see O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Abt. ii, Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme (1910), p. xxxiii. It is difficult to decide whether he is or is not identical with Fāyiz, whose quatrains are popular amongst the peasants of Fars near Kazerun and Shiraz. Several of them were collected and published by me in the Zapiski of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, St. Petersburg, 1915, pp. 43 and 44.

[2] See Mann, op. cit., ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Mann, op. cit., p. xxxi.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Mann, op. cit., p. xxxiii. He died in 1905.

[7] Ibid. He flourished about 1850.

[8] See about him E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, vol. iv, pp. 337–44. His diwan has been lithographed in Tehran, 1866.

[9] A. Christensen, *Le Dialecte de Samnan, Mémoires de l'Academie Royale de Danemark*, 7-me s., S. de lettres, t. ii, Copenhague, 1915, pp. 287–91.

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purposes the authors tried intentionally to expel all non-dialectical forms, of which there is always a great number even in the most rustic idiom. It is probable, however, that more than a century ago there were remote villages in which the language spoken by the peasants was exactly like this.

Biographical details about Fayyāḍ are not abundant.[1] He was a small landowner in Muqisa (*Mughītha* ?), a village some 25–30 miles from Sabzawar. A descendant of the poet still lives there. He is an old man, weakened by opium-smoking. Fayyāḍ used to compose poetry in praise of the local nobility and high officials, in literary Persian. His dialectical facetious poems were not numerous.

About Nayyir it was impossible to get even as much as this limited information. His surname may stand in some connexion with the title Nayyiru'd-dawla, which belonged to several local governors during the last century. But it was hopeless to find out even in which village he resided.

The poems of these two authors, published here, are in every respect, except in language, ordinary literary poetry, and have nothing to do with the real rustic songs either in spirit or in their technique. The contents of the majority of these specimens are the usual tiresome Sufic-like erotic verbiage. If they may be regarded as valuable documents from the philological point of view, as poetry they certainly are of the lowest possible quality. Besides, the poems of Fayyāḍ usually are unbearably long, full of repetitions. I believe it will not be improper if for the sake of economy of space, I omit here and there verses which do not contain anything new, and are not essential for the general flow of ideas in the poem.

The specimens published here are given in the original, in the form in which they were found in the possession of some inhabitants of Sabzawar. In this form, however, they are

[1] There are indeed many poets with the surname Fayyāḍ that are mentioned in the different *tadhkiras*, but those of whom biographical details are given seem to have nothing to do with the Sabzawari Fayyāḍ.

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not only unintelligible to a foreigner, but as I found only few Sabzawaris were able to read and make sense out of them. Therefore I had all these poems read to me, corrected and explained. These dictations I wrote down in phonetical transcription, which will be explained presently. This phonetically transcribed form must be regarded as more reliable and authentic than the original. In order to facilitate comparison between the dialectical and literary forms, a literary paraphrase is added in the case of every poem. This paraphrase usually is *not poetry*, because the original metre and rhyme were lost with the change of language.

A complete review of the peculiarities of the Khorásani dialect is published by me separately (see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxi, 1925, pp. 233–313), and here I will explain only the system of transcription which was used in these specimens.

Vowels: *a* (guttural, like English *a* in *father*); *ä* (a sound varying in timbre from *a* in English *man*, to an indefinite *e* in *set*, *bird*): *e* (indifferent *a* or *i*); *i* (as in English *fit* and *feet*, sometimes dulled to *e*); *â* (like *a* in English *all*); *o* (indifferent, as in English *more*); *u* (as in English *full*, *moon*).

Consonants: These are the same as in colloquial Persian, but none of them is pronounced with effort: *q*, *gh* (rare, sounds like *q*, *k*, or *g*), *h*, *kh*, *k*, *g* (the latter two palatalize into *ḱ* and *ǵ*, i.e. become like groups *ky* and *gy*, in which *y* is rather indistinct), *l*, *r*, *y*, *sh*, *zh* (like *j* in French *jour*), *ch*, *j*, *z*, *t*, *d*, *n*, *p*, *b*, *f*, *w*, *m*.

As in all Persian dialects, there is no clear distinction between the so-called long and short vowels. They can become alternately short or long as affected by quickness of utterance, intonation, position of the syllable, etc. Therefore, this division is not introduced into the present system of transcription.

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SPECIMEN POEMS

TRANSLATION
PARAPHRASE
PHONETICAL TRANSCRIPTION
ORIGINAL TEXT

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Nayyir

1.—*Translation*

1. One night I went to Kūhpāya[1] to call on one of my neighbours.
   I said to her: tell me all about the girls of Kūhpāya.
2. She wept and, with eyes bloodshot, replied:
   O mulla, what have I to say about the girls of Kūhpāya.
3. How beautiful they are . . .
4. But better than these I saw, a flower-faced beauty at Dilwar.[2]
   I, the unfortunate, can be only a shadow if compared with that sun.

نیر

1.—*Paraphrase*

1 شبی رفتم بکوهپایه برشخصی ز همسایه،
به او گفتم که تقلم کن زدخترهای کوهپایه،
2 بگریه آمد وبدو چشم خون آلود جوابم داد،
که ای ملا چه بگویم ز دخترهای کوهپایه،
3 چه دخترهای مهپاره که از یك عشوه میدهند،
زپشت پای خود به قربان حسن دست میدهند،
4 از این بهتر بدلور دلبر گلچهره دیدم،
من بیچاره در دنبال آن خورشید چو سایه،

[1] A village near Khusrawjird, 5 miles west from Sabzawār.
[2] Another village, close to Kūhpāya.

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NAYYIR

1.—*Phonetical Transcription*

1. Shäwi raftum bä Kuhwäyä bare shakhsi zi hamsäyä
   waresh guftum ki naqlum ku zi dukhtärhåye Kuhwäyä
2. wä geryä uma wu di chashi khineli jäwåbum då
   ki äy mälå chi war guyum zi dukhtärhåye Kuhwäyä
3. chi dukhtärhåye mähpare ki äz yak eshwa medåyan
   zi pushte påye khud wä kurwune husn däst mayä
4. ez i behtar be Dilwar dilware gulchähreye diyum
   mui bichärä da dembåle u khurshide chi säyä

NAYYIR

1.—*Original Text*

1 شوی رفتوم بکوهویه بر شخصی زهمسیه،
ورش گفتوم که نقلوم کو زدخترهای کوهویه،

2 وگریه امه و دی چش خین الی جوابوم دا،
که ای ملا چه ور گیوم زدخترهای کوهویه،

3 چه دخترهای مه پره که از یك عشوه مداین،
ز پشت پای خود وکروان حسن دست میه،

4 از ای بهتر بدلور دلور گلچهرهٔ دیوم،
مو بیچره در دنبال او خورشید چه سیه،

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5. Said I: wait, let me have liberty to bring to thy notice: wilt thou grant what the heart of this thy old slave would rightly desire?
6. She looked aside for a while, and said: I will not accept thee.
   Said I: then pray that my life may come to an end.
7. O dear, I, the unhappy, will tell thee straight and clearly: amongst the girls of Kūhpāya my heart wants only thee.
8. Said she: do not talk nonsense, or thou wilt eat dirt for it.[1]
   Being such an idiot and so stupid, he wants . . .

5 بگفتمش به است عرضی کنم در خاك پای تو،
دل این پیر غلامت‌را داد میدهی اگر آید،
6 بپیٔ سر یك نگاهی کرد گفت دل بتو نمیدهم،
بگفتم پس دعائی کن که تا عمرم بسر آید،
7 ای دلبر جان من بیدل بگویم راست و پا کش‌را،
ز دخترهای کوهپایه همین‌دلم ترا میخواهد،
8 بگفتا حرف بی معنی مزن گه خواهی خورد،
به این بیمعنی و خر کسی میخواهد مرا گاید،

[1] A common expression: to be punished for an intrigue, dishonest trick. In Persia this is treated as mild abuse, but in Bukhara it is used only in some especially vile cases.

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5. buguftumäsh bä is arzi kunum da khåke påye tu deli i pire qulumäträ dåd mäti ägär äya
6. wä päyi sar yak nägåyi kär guf delrä wä tu nemitum buguftum pas du'åyi ku ki tä umrum wä sar äya
7. ä delbär ju mui bedel bogoyum råst-u påkäshrä zi dukhtärhåye Kuhwäyä hami delum turä moya
8. Buguftå harfe bimäni mäzu gi khurdänishrä bi bä i bimäni-wu i khar-kusi moya murä gäya

5 بگفتومش به اس‌عرضی کنوم د خاك پای‌تو،
دل ای پیر قلومت‌رداد میتی ا گرایه،

6 و پیء سر یك نگائی کر گف دل‌روتو نمتوم،
بگفتوم پس دعائی کو که ته عمروم و سر ایه،

7 ا دلبر جو موی بیدل با گایوم راست‌وپا کش‌ر،
ز دخترهای کوهویه همی دلوم تور میه،

8 بگفتا حرف بی معنی مزو گی خردنش‌ر بی،
به ای بی معنی و خر کسی میه مور گیه،

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9. Her ruby-like cheeks darkened, so that
compared with this spring of the water of life the huries
of Paradise are like mud.

10. Said I : how long must I sit at thy door ?
Said she : sit, father, till thy soul leaves the body . . .[1]

9 به پهلوی رخ یا قوت رنگش ریخت سودائی،
به نزدیك آب حیوتش حور چو لای است،

10 بگفتم بردرت ای ماه نو تا چند بنشینم،
بگفت بنشین پدر جان که تا جانت بدر آید،

11 بشوخشوخی نظر کردم میان جفتهٔ مستش،
بدیدم بلبلش از خشتك تنبان اش مینماید،

12 که ناگه ماملم بر جست رفت درغار سیمینش،
چو قوشی که ز بندش سردهی بر غار بالوایه،

13 که ناگه موشکافم در درش رفت تا نافش،
زجا برجست برسر زد که که زاید و که گاید،

[1] The translation is omitted here and in the 3rd verse on account of what may be styled as the " excessive realism," from the Western point of view, of these verses.

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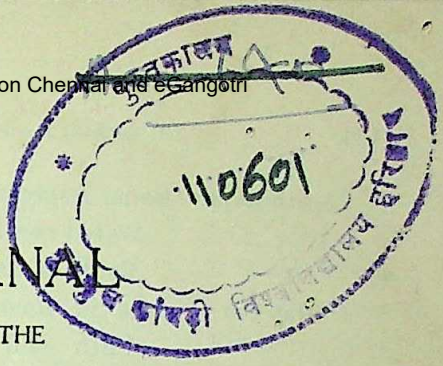

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1930.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1930.

Meetings and Papers.

Eight General Meetings were held during the year including the Annual General Meeting on the 10th May, when the Annual Report was read. The papers read at the meetings were :—

17th Jan.	Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames, by Mr. Edmund Reimers.
21st Feb.	The Art of India and Indo-China, with special references to Ceylon, illustrated with lantern slides, by Dr. V. Goloubew.
31st May.	The Alakeswara Period, reviewed by Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
23rd June.	The Excavations in the Citadel at Anuradhapura, illustrated with lantern slides, by Mr. S. Paranavitana.
21st July.	The Central School Commission between 1841-1848, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
29th Aug.	Some Place Names of Ceylon, by Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle.

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5th Sept. Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, illustrated with lantern slides, by Mr. G. Venkatachalan.

31st Oct. Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D., with special references to Ceylon, by Mr. J. C. De, M.A.

Publications.

Journal XXXI, No. 82, 1929, now in press, contains in addition to the proceedings of the meetings, the following papers and notes :—

Papers :

1. A Thousand Years before Abraham, by Dr. W. F. Bade.
2. Pre-Vijayan Legends and Traditions relating to Ceylon, by Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
3. Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon, by Mr. S. Paranavitana.
4. Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon, by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.

Notes and Queries :

1. The Throne of the Kandyan Kings, by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.
2. Viyat Pat Ata Ganaya, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.
3. Notes on an ancient habitation near Kudramalai. by Mr. R. L. Brohier.
4. Two Chola Invasions of Ceylon not recorded in the Mahāvaṁsa, by Mr. S. Paranavitana.

Members.

The Society has now on its roll 7 Honorary Members, 55 Life Members and 305 Ordinary Members.

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During the year the following members were elected, viz. :—The Hon. Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, C.M.G., Messrs. C. Don Amaradasa, J. F. P. Deraniyagala, W. H. G. de Zoysa, Andias Edirisingha, G. C. Edirisingha, B. W. Fernando, W. Martin Fernando, Don Cornelius Gammanpila, David Hussey, R. Kulatu Iyer, Rev. Pitadeniya Ratnapala, Messrs. Karalapillai Shanmukam, M. S. Seevaratnam, and W. von Pochhammer.

Honorary Members.

At a General Meeting held on the 31st October as provided by Rule 11 of the Rules and Regulations of this Society the following were elected as Honorary Members, viz. :—

Professor Wilhelm Geiger
Mrs. T. W. Rhys Davids.

Life Members.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., Mr. M. H. Kantawala, C.C.S., Mr. K. W. Y. Atukorala, Muhandiram, and Mr. A. E. Jayasingha became life members.

Resignations.

Messrs. A. B. Madanayaka, V. Varaha Narasingham and A. W. Winter have resigned.

Deaths.

The Council records with regret the deaths of the following Members :—

Mr. Richard Gerald Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O., Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S., The Hon. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Kt., C.M.G., The Hon. Sir James Peiris, Kt., M.A., LL.M., Mr. Vivian Percival Redlich, C.C.S., the Rev. R. Sri Dhiralankara Thero, and Mr. Amadoris Mendis.

In Mr. Anthonisz the Society has lost one of its earliest, most valued and zealous members. The following papers were contributed by him :—

Resolutions and sentences of the Council of the Town of Galle, 1640-44, being translations of Vols. 1 and 2 of the Galle Dutch Records.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK
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Memorandum regarding a Stone slab at Elie House, Mutwal.

A Dutch Educational Report.

His remarks and memoranda on papers read before the Society, which threw light on the intricacies that have puzzled the student of the history of the period in which he specialized, have been always valuable. He was Vice-President from 1920-23 and 1925-28.

Mr. Anthonisz served in various capacities in the Public Service till in view of his profound knowledge of Dutch he was placed in charge of the Archives which were found to be in a chaotic condition and which after years of labour he brought into their present state.

A report on the Records in his custody was published in 1907. His other official publications includes translations of numerous Memoirs of Dutch Governors, Commandeurs, &c.

After his retirement from the Public Service, he published in 1929 the first Volume of his History of the Dutch in Ceylon.

It is hoped that his death will not prevent the rest of his history being placed at the service of the public.

Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan joined the Society in 1880 and became a life member in 1894. He served on our Council from 1886-1898 and among his contributions to the Journal are the following papers :—

Remarks on Mr. Boake's paper on Tiruketisvaram.

Ethnology of the Moors of Ceylon.

He was also the author of several treatises on philosophy, religion and ethnology.

Mr. Frederick Lewis was elected a member in 1882 and was on the Council from 1919 to 1924. He contributed the following papers to the Journal, viz. :—

1. A descriptive catalogue of the more useful trees and flowering plants of the Western and Sabaragamuwa Provinces of Ceylon.

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2. Notes on an Exploration in Eastern Uva and Southern Panama Pattu.
3. Notes on an Image obtained at Silavat-parvata Temple.
4. Notes on eggs and nests of Brachypternus Ceylonus and Tockus Gingalensis.
5. Notes on the nidification of Chrysophlegma Xanthoderus.
6. Notes on the microscopic characteristics of Feathers and their present analogy with a probable aboriginal form.
7. Notes on the nidification of Sturnornis Senex and Cissa Ornata.
8. Notes on the Ornithology of the Balangoda District.
9. Nuwaragala, Eastern Province.
10. Ornithological Notes taken in the Bogawantalawa District during September, 1882.
11. The lesser known hills of the Batticaloa District and Lower Uva.
12. Johnston's Expedition to Kandy in 1804.
13. Note on the Ruins at Arankale, N.W.P.

In 1926 he published his memoirs in "Sixty-four years in Ceylon, Reminiscences of life and adventure."

Library.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 135.

The Society is indebted to the following for valuable exchanges :—

The Smithsonian Institute, Washington ; The American Oriental Society, Connecticut ; The American Philological Society, Baltimore ; The Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon ; The China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai ; The Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland ; The

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Geological Society, London; The Musee Guimet, Paris; Die Deutschen Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Leipzig; The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; The Bihar and Orissa Oriental Research Society, Bankipore; The Director, l'Escole Francaise de Extreme-Orient, Hanoi; The Asiatic Society, Japan; The Siam Society, Bangkok; The Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch, Singapore.

Donations were received from the following:—

The Director-General of Archaeology, India; The Government of Ceylon; The University of Calcutta; Prof. W. Geiger; The Editor, Indian Antiquary; The Director, Colombo Museum; The Editor, Tamil Lexicon; The Government Epigraphist, Madras; Mr. Cyril Pieris; The Editor, Buddhist Annual; Mr. L. J. Gratiaen; The Government Record Keeper, Colombo; Mr. W. von Pochhammer; The Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon; Dr. O. Pertold; Dr. F. D. Adams, Montreal; Mr. L. C. Weerasooriya.

The following institutions have been added to the list of Exchanges during the year:—

Archiv Orientanli, Journal of the Czechoslavak Oriental Institute, Prague, Bohemia; The Editor, Journal of the Burma Research Society, Burma; Royal Geographical Society of London; The Editor, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research Institute, London University, London; The School of Oriental Studies, London, Finsbury Circus, E.C.; The Asia Major, Leipzig, Germany; The Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland.

Exchanges which were interrupted during the Great War have been resumed with the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; The United States Department of Agriculture, Washington; The Field Columbian Museum, Chicago; The Royal Society of Victoria; The Royal Society of New South Wales; The Anthropological Society of London; The Koninklijk Instituut Voor de Taal Land en Volken-

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kundi Van Nederlandsch Indie, Holland; The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; The Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia; and the Chief Librarian, Vajiranana National Library, Bangkok.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary informed your Council by letter dated 14th April, 1930, that the Government had under consideration the appointment of an Historical Manuscripts Commission and requested that the views of this Council be forwarded. The question was discussed at a meeting held on the 14th April and a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. Perera (Chairman), Dr. Pieris, Mr. Turner, Dr. Nell, and Dr. Malalasekera (Secretary) was appointed to report on the subject. Its report stated that such a Commission was long overdue and should be appointed at the earliest opportunity and also outlined its functions.

Your Council transmitted this report to Government and hopes to place before you in the near future the decision which is arrived at.

Council.

Dr. Andreas Nell was elected a Vice-President in place of Mr. H. W. Codrington who retired under Rule 18.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Dr. G. P. Malalasekera and Mr. Edmund Reimers were elected Honorary Secretaries for the year.

Mr. Weinman was re-elected Honorary Treasurer.

The vacancies on the Council were filled by Prof. R. Marrs, The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Messrs. S. Paranavitana, P. E. P. Deraniyagala and H. W. Codrington.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN 1930.

The Acting Archaeological Commissioner has kindly supplied the following summary of the work done by his department in 1930 :—

Archaeological Summary.

Publications.—Vol. II, part 2, of the Ceylon Journal of Science was published during this year. In addition to the usual Archaeological and Epigraphical Summaries, this number contains three articles by Mr. Codrington and one by Mr. S. Paranavitana. The Monograph on the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy by Mr. A. M. Hocart, the late Archaeological Commissioner is going through the press.

Exploration.—No special exploration circuits were undertaken during this year : but in the course of the epigraphical and other circuits undertaken by the officers of the Department over 30 ancient sites in the North-Western, Sabaragamuwa, Central and Southern Provinces have been visited and inspected. Among the ancient monuments brought to notice during this year, special mention may be made of pre-historic dolmen at Padiyagampola near Rambukkana in the Kēgalla District. This is the first time that a monument of this class has ever been discovered in the Island. The ruins at Tantrimalai in the North-Central Province, Nātanār Kōvil and Tiriyāi in the Eastern Province, and Kaludiyapokuna in the Central Province have been surveyed with a view to proclaim these sites as Archaeological Reserves.

Epigraphical.—Seventy inscriptions, of which forty-two are new discoveries, have been copied during this year. These, however, add very little to our knowledge of the ancient history of the Island though they are not without interest linguistically and palaeographically. A slab inscription of Vijayabāhu I, unfortunately very much weatherworn, found at Gilimalē in the Ratnapura District, is of some interest as it confirms the statement of the

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Mahāvaṁsa that this village was granted by that monarch to supply alms to the pilgrims to the Sacred Foot-print on the top of the Samantakūṭa Mountain (Adam's Peak).

Two numbers of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, *i.e.*, Vol. III, parts 3 and 4 are in the press. The final proofs of part 3 have been passed, and it is expected that this number will be out very soon. Manuscript materials for another part of this publication, *i.e.*, Vol. III, part 5, containing three articles by Mr. Codrington and five by the Epigraphical Assistant have also been sent to the printers.

Conservation.—At Anuradhapura, the work on the brick built image house near the Eastern Dāgäba has been brought to a close by the erection of the fallen door jambs of the side entrance. The buildings excavated last year in the Citadel have also been conserved by pointing the brickwork and setting up the fallen doorposts and windows. The stone platform in the inner room of Building *A* was also repaired.

The Buddha image on the road from Abhayagiri Dāgäba to the Kūṭṭam Pokuna—one of the most remarkable sculptures in the old City of Anuradhapura—was hitherto lying in an insecure position. The site was excavated and the pedestal on which the image stood, of which the foundations were exposed—was restored and the image placed on it.

At Polonnaruwa, the work of conserving the Lotus Pond and the pointing of brickwork in the ruins near Niśśaṁka Malla's Audience Hall has been completed. The work at the Eastern porch of the quadrangle is nearing completion while the conservation of the interesting ruin, possibly to be identified as the Audience Hall of Parākramabāhu I, by the side of the palace, has been taken in hand. The foundations of the shrine which enclosed the colossal statues at Galvihāra have been exposed and the brickwork pointed.

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THE SINHALESE ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY.

The Editor-in-chief has forwarded the following report of the work done in his department during the year :—

The Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary.

1. During this year 8 books were indexed, which, added to the figures given in my previous Report, brings up the total to 591. The work of collecting material for the Dictionary from literary sources may now be considered as practically complete.

2. During this year the work of transferring words collected from books and common speech to cards for the purpose of editorial treatment was continued. The number of entries so transfered for the year was 239,183, which, added to the previous total, brings up the number to 526,390. The total number of cards arranged in alphabetical order up to December 31, 1930, is 363,806. During the last quarter of the year it was found necessary to pick up all the cards dealing with words under *A* from the materials yet unsorted in order to expedite the editorial treatment of those words. The cards so collected and arranged in order amount to 9,885.

3. The Editors have so far dealt with 6,022 entries.

4. The second part of the Saddharma-Ratnāvaliya was issued early this year, and the second part of the Dhampiyā-Aṭuva-Gāṭapadaya now going through the press will, it is hoped, be ready for publication early in 1931.

FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 3,172·04 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 30,131·36 and expenditure was Rs. 30,335·03.

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The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund, showing balances of Rs. 2,172·84 and Rs. 2,059·15 to the credit of the Society, are also annexed.

Your Council have pleasure in placing on record their appreciation of Mr. Herbert Tarrant's goodwill to the Society in having once again consented to act as its Honorary Auditor, and of the assistance which it has continued to receive from its late clerk Mr. Donald Jayaratna.

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RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) for the Year 1930.

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1929 ..			3,375	71
Govt. Grant (Sinhalese Dictionary) ..	26,250	00		
Do R.A.S., C.B.	500	00		
Entrance Fee	147	00		
Sale of Publications	76	59		
Life membership contributions ..	207	50		
			27,181	09
Sundries :—				
Miscellaneous	16	00		
Bank Int. and Commission ..	25	29		
Do Fixed Deposit	36	23		
			77	52
Annual Subscription, 1932	9	25		
1931	107	25		
1930	1,863	75		
1929	493	50		
1928	262	50		
1927-25 ..	136	50		
			2,872	75
		Rs.	33,507	07

PARTICULARS		Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Charges		2,123	60		
Salaries		1,062	00		
Honorarium to Secretary		600	00		
Chairman, S.D.N.C.		26,250	00		
				30,035	60
Sundries :—					
Postage		139	07		
Petty Cash		159	51		
Bank Charges			85		
				299	43
Balance :—					
R.A.S.,C.B. Current a/c in I.B.I.	1,841·84				
Do Library Fund	136·42				
		1,978	26		
R.A.S., C.B. Fixed Deposit		1,071	23		
Postage (since deposited)	Rs. 84·34				
Petty Cash (since deposited)	,, 38·21	122	55		
				3,172	04
			Rs.	33,507	07

Audited and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,
10th February, 1931.

(Sgd.) A. N. WEINMAN,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

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RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
of the Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1930.

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance :—				
Fixed Deposit in the I.B.I. ..	1,248	00		
Current a/c do	767	47		
Interest on the Fixed Deposit ..	43	68	2,059	15
		Rs.	2,059	15

Examined and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
10th February, 1931.

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance :—				
Fixed Deposit in the I.B.I... ..	1,291	68		
Current A/c do	767	47	2,059	15
		Rs.	2,059	15

(Sgd.) A. N. WEINMAN,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund for the Year 1930.

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance			806	55
By Sales	2,022	00		
Bank Interest	7	11	2,029	11
		Rs.	2,835	66

Examined and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,
10th February, 1931.

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
N. J. Cooray & Sons			654	00
Sundries			8	00
Balance in Bank	2,170	66		
Cash in hand	2	18	2,172	84
		Rs.	2,835	66

(Sgd.) A. N. WEINMAN,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 17, 1930.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., President, in the chair.

Dr. P. E. Peiris, Litt. D., C.C.S., and Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Vice-Presidents.

Mr. J. W. de Alwis
,, W. E. Bastian
The Hon. Mr. C. E. V. S. Corea
Rev. H. V. I. S. Corea
Mr. J. C. De
,, J. S. A. Fernando
,, L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
Dr. F. A. Hayley, D.C.L.
Mr. L. A. Hayter
,, E. W. Kannangara, C.C.S.
,, H. L. de Mel
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. H. Sri Nissanka
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S., Mudaliyar
,, R. Sabanayagam
Rev. R. Siddhartha Thero
Mr. B. L. S. Silva
,, C. Wickramaratne

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors :—10 ladies and 14 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on Saturday, the 2nd November, 1929, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. Paul Peiris proposed a vote of condolence on the death of Mr. R. G. Anthonisz. He said : " We have lost one of our earliest and most valued members. For forty-one years the interest which Mr. R. G. Anthonisz took in this Society never diminished. His advice in your Council was always helpful and for a term of years he was your Vice-President. His wide knowledge of the Dutch language resulted in important contributions, and not only to the Society's journal. The translations issued under his supervision from the Archives, of which he was in charge, are in the front rank of our sources of historical information. A scholar's scrupulousness perhaps tended to reduce the output. No man knew more about the community to which he belonged. In that community he took a pride which was inspiriting and intense. As intense perhaps was his personal modesty it was only those to whom his shy spirit revealed itself, who could fully appreciate its sweetness. I move that we do place on record an expression of our deep regret at the loss this Society has sustained by the death of Richard Gerald Anthonisz. "

His Excellency : You have heard the motion and I am sure you all desire to associate yourselves with it and with the appropriate terms in which it has been proposed. I take it by rising from your seats, you signify your acceptance of the motion and desire it to be recorded in the Minutes.

The vote was carried in silence all present standing.

3. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Mr. Edmund Reimers, who read the following paper entitled " Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames."

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SOME SINHALESE NAMES AND SURNAMES

BY

E. REIMERS

Before coming to my paper, I should like to state at the beginning that it touches only the fringe of a large and complicated subject, large, through the wealth of material available for its study in the Archives, and complicated, through the tangled mass of evidence of conflicting tastes and interests. Added to this there are the early results of the feudal settlement of the country, of new groupings after each succeeding wave of conquest from the home of feudalism, India, and later Portuguese, Dutch, and English influences. My chief sources are the Dutch Land and Hoofd Thombos of the villages in the maritime districts of the Island, companion volumes which describe each village holding under the service tenures system and give the names of the principal tenant and his family, and the so-called "School Thombos," or Parish Registers, of the villages under Dutch control, a record of marriages, school attendance, and, chiefly, baptisms into the Dutch Reformed Church which the Dutch were so anxious to promote, as being in their opinion the leavening influence for all good government. The Land and Hoofd Thombos which were generally compiled from particulars gathered at the spot, *i.e.*, at each particular holding, by native commissioners regularly appointed for the purpose, usually give the clan and "service" names of the tenants and their families, and, as a rule, the home or village names of the individuals, whilst the School Thombos contain the registered baptismal names of the parents and their families. We, therefore, very often have two different sets of names of the same people, one of them undisturbed by foreign influences or including local adaptations of

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foreign names, and the other consisting of wholesale adoptions from the Portuguese and the Dutch, but retaining in common use till after the abolition of the service tenures in early British times the cognomen, or service-name, which was derived from the holding which the tenant possessed for his service and which it was therefore to his interest to maintain. The cognomen which went with the ancient tenures, which both the Portuguese and the Dutch after them considered it impolitic to disturb, is our only link with the remote past, but there are also certain communities which through some obscure cause, probably their conservatism or social isolation, have survived the clouding influences of foreign intercourse on their national life. I refer to the depressed and degraded communities of former regimes, from whose names it may be possible to recover some of the lost elements which go together to make the Sinhalese nation of today. Impressive as these witnesses of history are, it would be idle to speculate too far on the possibilities which they suggest in the absence of confirmatory detail. Their study, however, as a branch of the larger subject and with particular reference to the ancient institutions of the Sinhalese of which they are a part, would not only contribute to our knowledge of names in general and early conditions in Ceylon but would also throw much light on the prejudice and ignorance which are the bane today of our communal existence.

Local names in Ceylon as elsewhere in the world are as a rule purely descriptive. They, for the most part, indicate some local feature or commemorate some historical event. They also sometimes go back to earlier happenings which are not recorded historically but have their roots in tradition and poetical fancy. Their value for us then is to help us to reconcile seemingly conflicting data, but chiefly to suggest, as they do in Ceylon, a partnership in an older scheme of civilisation, fragments of which like the fly in the amber have been preserved to us in old Sinhalese names in the

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Portuguese and Dutch records. It is chiefly to the soil that we must go for these data, the possession of which by succeeding races, from the legendary invasion of the Ramayana to the English, has left their stamp on local nomenclature by introducing new names or modifying those already in use according to their own particular fancy.

The history of personal names although having its beginnings in similar conditions is more complex. Added to the concept of possession from which the earliest names sprung, we must take into consideration the variable factor of human interest, the various communal groupings according to the ancient revenue and industrial departments of the Island, and, lastly, the service tenures on which all social conditions were based, from the Sovereign from whom all tenures depended to the humblest serf cultivating the land of his lord. In an earlier paper read before this Society, I attempted to sketch the constitution of a village in early Sinhalese times in so far as it provided for the payment of dues and the rendering of services, and regulated the mutual relations of overlord and mesne-lord and mesne-lord and tenant. These village dues and servitudes undoubtedly had their origin in a very early village system, when, it may be supposed, the people were divided into tribes and clans whose communal interests centred around a head or representative who was responsible to the Sovereign or great man of the district for the payment of the dues and the rendering of the services to which his clan as represented by himself was liable. Later, with the general centralisation of authority and the economic development of the village, these clans were again split up into families, or houses, or gé's, each of which performed its particular service and possessed the holding attached to that service, but all nicely graded in social precedence according to the accepted dignity of the service, from the proud Nanayakaraya, or noble, to the humblest "cooly,"

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or serf, of the village. However, people still thought communally or in terms of the clan or family, and the patronymic as such did not exist, or only existed within the family when a branch of the family sprung from a brother or other relation of the chief tenant performed the service for which the family derived its holding, by rotation —"kara-māru," in Sinhalese, or the shifting of the burden from one shoulder to the other—or when some member had acquired a separate interest in the family holding. These distinctions too arose directly from possession and carry us back to the *ultima fons et origo* of names in general. As we shall see later, it was directly due to European influences, chiefly to the Portuguese, that the patronymic was used separately, to the exclusion of the wāsagama or gē-name. A Sinhalese usually had two or three names, viz., the name given to him at the weaning ceremony (bat-kawāpu nama), corresponding to our Christian-name the warige-nama, wāsagama, or gē-nama, corresponding to our surname but used and written before the "Christian-name," and the Paṭabändi-nama, or honour-giving name. The bat-kawāpu nama, generally implying some natural quality, was given, as the term implies, when the child was fed with rice for the first time. The warige-nama was the clan name, either of local origin or indicating the service and, therefore, the social rank of the possessor, and the paṭabendi-nama, very often an accretion of honour-giving names as the family advanced in official status, was the name symbolical of worth or courage conferred on elevation to office. It also happened sometimes that the wasagama gave way to the paṭabendi-nama when the title conferred raised the possessor to a higher social status than that originally possessed by him. The distinction between the wasagama and the paṭabendi-nama was that the former was attached to a tenure in a particular village representing an essential village service or rank in the village dating sometimes from time immemorial and held hereditarily by

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the family or clan of the tenant, and that the latter was of purely personal origin, the tendency however being to retain all the honour-giving names in the family as exemplified by the names of inordinate length which we commonly come across. The paṭabändi-nama, literally, a "frontlet-tied" name, was, according to a Dutch authority, engraved on a thin sheet of gold or other suitable material such as silver, copper, or ola, and secured round the head of the recipient by the Prime Minister or Sovereign himself. These names were taxed, and probably contributed an important item to the Island's revenue. Familiar examples are Jayasinha (victorious lion), Wijaratna (victorious gem), Jayawardhana (victory increaser), Jayasuriya (sun of victory), Abhayakoon (fearless chief), Wijesinha (conquering lion), Baṇḍāranāyaka (a courtier or a great treasurer of the kingdom), Ekanāyaka (sole or unrivalled chief), Manampery (great-hearted man), Ammerakoon (immortal chief or king of the people), Ilangakoon (king of the Island), Dissānāyaka (lord of a fourth of the world), Ameresekara (highest of the immortals), Jayalat (a conqueror), Jayatilaka (victorious head ornament), Seneviratna (gem of commanders), Rājapaksa (loyal to the King), Wijawickrama (one who through bravery brings about victory), Jayasekara (highest of the victorious), Abhayasekara (bravest of the brave), Navaratna (nine gems), Abayaratna (gem of the fearless), Tennakoon (Chief of the South), Wijakoon (victorious chief), and Wijawardana (increaser of victories). The substitution of the paṭabendi-nama for the wāsagama is the earliest example of the patronymic as distinguished from the Portuguese heritage of today, the Silvas, Fernandos, Pereras, Soysas, &c., with which we are so familiar. The village fabric generally was the iron frame which held together its component elements represented by the services necessary for its economy and general well-being, which have survived as wāsagama names of persons to the present day. We are in a great

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measure indebted to the Dutch, whose 156 years' regime succeeded the Portuguese regime of 140 years (incidentally the English have been here for only 133 years), for the particulars of the ancient village constitution contained in the Thombos already referred to. The Dutch incorporated all the ancient village tenures in their registers and adapted the village services to their own advantage where that was possible, all other "useless" tenures being also retained according to a system of oppressive re-grant, the old free allotments being taxed for that purpose. We may, therefore, turn to any volume of the Thombo to recover all the elements of the village community, even dead and gone tenures being represented by the escheated holdings of the original possessors. Turning to a village of the Salpitty Korle, we find the holdings of Wahalatantrige, alias Colombetantrige, described in an early School Thombo as Gamaetige or "Dono d'Aldea" (lord of the village, classed as a Nanayakaraya or nobleman), Patirage or house of the Accountant, Pelenda Patirage or house of the Accountant who had settled there from the village of Pelenda, Gamage or house of the village factotum—a junior headman whose chief duty it was to supply cooked provisions to officials staying at the village on the King's business,—Mannannage or house of the Grain-measurer, Hewage or house of the soldier, Vitarnege or house of the Inquirer, Achcharige or house of the blacksmith, Radage or house of the washerman, Panikkige or house of the barber, &c., &c. Another village, probably a Devalagama or temple village under the Sinhalese Kings, includes the Basnayaka or lay chief of the Devala, Nanayakarayas, Gamaralas, Kanganies or subordinate military officers, Goigama and Durawa lascarins, or soldiers, of the Basnayaka, Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Messengers, Potters, Dancers, a Singing-master, Washermen, Barbers, &c., &c. Some of the escheated or lapsed holdings are described as Nanayakaraya's malapalu, showing that a family of Nanayakaraya class in that village had

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died out, dancers' malapalu, drummers' malapalu, and coolies' malapalu. The Dutch system of adapting the tenures to their own advantage is illustrated from an original document. "Mayoraals or Gamaralas must provide the necessary maintenance for officers on inspection duty, &c.; lascarins, or Sinhalese soldiers, are employed principally to carry letters from one post to another; Naindes are employed to transport cinnamon and timber; Dutepaimini Weddekarayas are liable to be pressed for services such as carrying goods, clearing roads, &c.; 'Fishers'—the literal translation of the earlier Portuguese 'Pescadores'—must supply fish daily for the Governor's table and help to navigate ships, make triumphal arches, recover lost anchors, &c.; Chandos, or toddy-drawers, must tap the Company's trees for toddy; Badallu, or Silversmiths, must make the gold and silver articles the Company requires; Achchari or blacksmiths, as above; Waduwo or carpenters, ditto; Chalias include cinnamon-peelers, lascarins and soldiers who accompany them, Ilandarias or messengers, and coolies; Badahellayo, or potters, must make the necessary earthenware for the resthouses and supply tiles; Anbettayo, or barbers, must shave the persons who are on duty in the country on the Company's behalf; Radauw, or washermen, must wash the Company's calicoes; Hoenno, or lime-burners, must supply lime to the Company; Porrowakarayo, or woodmen, must cut down the necessary timber for the Company; Hangeranno, or Jagereros (Jaggery caste) must make palm-sugar for the Company, &c.; Berawayo, or Drummers, are bound to attend the Elephant Hunt; Kinneru, or fine-mat makers must supply the necessary mats for the use of the Government, &c., &c.," Reference is also made to foreigners such as Chettys from Coromandel and Madura; Moors from the coast of Madura but mostly from Kailpatnam; Parawas from the coast of Madura; Shoemakers composed mostly of Moors and Malabars, or Tamils; and "Estrangeros," the floating population from

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Coromandel, Malabar, &c., with no fixed domicile. These extracts indubitably show that the Dutch followed the line of least resistance and employed the classes and families of the ancient revenue departments and industries in the same or similar services. They thereby preserved the ancient village framework, and, most important for the purposes of my paper, ensured the continuity of the ancient clan and service names of the people who contributed their services and paid their dues. In the meantime nearly three centuries of foreign domination had had their influence on the names of the inhabitants of the maritime districts, due to the missionary zeal of the Portuguese and the more persistent if less enthusiastic efforts of the Dutch. The profession of the faith of the Dutch Reformed Church and a regular attendance at Church or the village "Palliya" or school were a qualification for office, and, judging by the entries in the Parish Registers, a "heathen" as he was styled by the Dutch was a rare exception. Portuguese and Dutch Christian and surnames, Portuguese chiefly, took the place of the old Sinhalese names ; the wāsagama was less regularly used ; and gradually the more westernised population drifted to their present hybrid denominations. The following examples taken from the Thombos illustrate this tendency and at the same time give an indication of the selective genius of the people—the variable human factor—both in wholesale adoptions and variations peculiar to the original clan or community. These variations and adoptions naturally vary directly with the "nearness" of the individuals concerned to the foreigner, who for the time being had acquired a dominating influence in his affairs ; but what strikes one more than the fact is the manner of the adoption, all pointing very clearly to early radical differences in dialect and temperament. We also find evidences of the imperium in imperio-parallel institutions, parallel ranks of distinct communities grafted on the parent tree when or how it is now impossible to determine. Begin-

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ning with the so-called "low-castes"—the aborigines, it may be presumed, or the servile and degraded classes of the Island—the names have a distinctive classical flavour in balance, timbre, and general aesthetic value. The family is that of Sindiagé Kalloe, the Black One of the House of Sindia, Paduwa, or Serf of the Royal Villages or Gabaḍāgam. The names of his children and relations are as follows, viz., males: Aderaya (loving one), Tikira (little one), Nandoea (pleasing one), Botoea, Kiria (milky one), Kekkula (bud), Wattoewa (wealth), Sobena (beautiful one), Happua (Champak flower), Haukina, Malwarusa (shower of flowers), Sielinda (smooth one), Horatalla (pet), Rakina, Dinesa (an adaptation from the Dutch Denys), Sedera, Lattoea (God's gift), Setuwa (lucky one), Soebadara (auspicious one), Pina (meritorious one), Yasodera (bearing fame); and females: Inderie (goddess), Amadoe or Amandoe (sweet one) Kirimalie (milky flower), Sillie (little round one), Nilloe ("blue" or pretty one)—"blue" was used to describe the lotus or was applied to "hair of raven blackness"—Dinnoe (winsome one), Kekkoelie (bud), Sirimalie (little flower), Nilmalie (blue flower), Ilandoe, Ehelemalie (flower of the Ehele tree), and Kitenoe (adaptation of the Portuguese or Dutch Christina). The masculine and feminine terminations are very similar to those of the names of a family of the Nekettige or astrologer class, viz., that of Nekettige Ederia (adaptation of Dutch Adriaan) classed in the Thombo as a Drummer. The males are Nipoena (clever one), Amita (sweet one) Anthona (adaptation from Portuguese Anthonão), and Siria; the females are Sitti (little one), Doeminga, Loezia, and Minga (from the Portuguese—note the abbreviated Minga for Dominga), Goeninderie (virtuous goddess), Kalloe (black one), Punchi (little one), Dinezie (Dutch), Manikoe (? Portuguese), and Poerebelie. The following names are those of a family of one of the Demelagattera villages in the Pasdun Korle, villages, as the name implies, of captive Tamils. The Wasagama is one of the proudest in the

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Thombo, viz., Lankeswerege Raphia, or Raphia (Port.) of the house of the King or Lord of Lanka, classed as a Hinnawa or washerman of the Salagama (Cinnamon-peeler) caste. The names of his family are as follows, viz., males: Obelikoewa (doubtful, but of probable Port. origin), Baba (little one), Thomena, Thomenikoewa (Dominic), Simentoewa (Port., Simao), Ederia (Dutch, Adriaan), Oepekarea (Help), Aberan (Abram), Salman (Salomon), Doema, Goenia, Abantje (little Aban or Abram—note the Dutch diminutive—je); females: Donie (Port., Dona), Adriana (Dutch), Antikie (Dutch, Hendrika), Babie, Mado, Makie (Dutch, Maka), and Lentje (Dutch diminutive), Babika, Babianie, Pinaderie, Soerenganie, and Pemaderie. The names of the Salagama caste show a marked European influence, due to the importance of the cinnamon industry in Portuguese and Dutch times and the nearness of that community to their European masters. Their wāsagamas are often compounded with Muni, sage, supposed to indicate their Brahmin origin, and Handi, or joiner, a term probably derived from the joining of the prepared bark into quills for packing into bales. The following are typical names of a family of this caste, viz., that of Nammuni Constantino Fernando. The males are Jacob, Siman, Dinees, Soeseuw (Joseph), Pedro, Salman, Mighiel, Dondina, Pieter, Kaluwa, Cornelis, Rabel, Seprintje, Francisco and Johannes. The females are Johanna, Susanna, Disianna, Christina, Anna, Dominga, Adrianna and Catrina. In contradistinction to these almost wholesale adoptions and adaptations are the names of the more conservative families which although they adopted European names at baptism retained their Sinhalese names in their homes and villages, the greater or lesser remoteness of the village from the Portuguese and Dutch chief stations such as Colombo and Galle being a contributory factor in the practice. The names of a Nanayakaraya, or noble, family in a fairly remote village are as follows, viz., males: Don Siman (note the "Don"),

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Louis, Bartholomeus, Jannies (Johannes), Lokoe Appuhamy, Manan Appu, Adan Appu, Doeman Appu, Hattan Naide, Malhamy; females: Appolonia, Poentje Ettena, Donna Gimarahamy, Batjohamy, Janohamy, Lokoe Ettena, Joana, Kalloe Ettena and Ran Ettena. Dutch influence is, however, pronounced in a family of similar status domiciled near Colombo, the most prominent member of which, a Maha Mudaliyar in Dutch times, styled himself Philip Philipszoon conforming to the Dutch practice although his full name, Wāsagama and Paṭabendi-nama included, was Lienege Philip Philipszoon Wijekoon Panditeratne, translated, Philip, the son of Philip, Victorious Prince, Gem of Learning, of the house of the Scribe (or Mohottiar, in this case). The names of other members of his family are Hendrik, Cornelis, Abram, Leonora, Donna Maria, Constantina, Jebel, and Ursula. The Dutch influence is even more marked in the names of the family of Louis Pieris, Proponent of the Dutch Reformed Church, whose children were named Wilhelmus, Cornelius, Geertruyda, and Jacoba. Earlier European adoptions are exemplified in the names of Don Anatto Fairfax Abesinhe, Don Anatto being Portuguese, Fairfax, probably after the famous Parliamentary General given to the original possessor by a Dutch admirer, and Abesinhe, the honour or Patabendi name given to the recipient on his attaining the rank of Mudaliyar; Don Diogo de Astro Wijekoon, Dona Louisa de Madera Basta; Don Constantino de Ortha Wickremeratne Amerakoon; Don Francisco de Saa Abewickreme, named, one should like to imagine after the famous Portuguese General Constantine de Sa, Carel de Costa Basnaike Appuhamy, and the ridiculous Bastiaan Juriaan Jansz Wijepale. In marked contrast to the names read earlier, the Sinhalese names of the Goigama caste are not inflected for gender as the names of the Paduwo and others. There is also a certain amount of monotony in the familiar combinations of Loku, Medduma, and Punchi or Kuda (Major, Minor and Minimus) Appoe (gentleman), for males, and

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Ettena (lady) for females, both varied by Kallu (black), Ran (golden or fair), &c. Lastly, referring to the Thombo of Ambalangoda, I should like to draw attention to the evidence of parallel institutions and parallel ranks to those of the Goigama caste referred to earlier. The Chiefs of the Karawa were the Maha Vidana (or great Vidana or Chief) corresponding to the Korala (the civil chief of a district) or the military rank of Mudaliyar; Pattangatin, corresponding to Muhandiram, an officer wearing a sword and superior in rank to a Pattabenda who only carried a rod of office, changed by the Dutch to a cane with the V.O.C. stamped upon it. There are also several other ranks and wasagamas among the Karawo indicating their military and seafaring occupations, not merely as "fishers," such as Marakkala-ge, Hannedige, Malimige, and civil occupations such as Vidanelage, Lienege, &c., &c. The following examples are all taken from the Thombo of Ambalangoda.

Wenaidegey Siman, Nambie, *i.e.*, Siman of the house of Naide of the Adze, Nambie (a term applied in India to the offspring of a Brahmin and a Kshattriya); Nilawarigey Kaloea, Berawaya, *i.e.*, Kaloea of the Clan of Nila of the Drummer Caste (note the use of "Warigey" instead of "ge"); Kirawerelege Siman described as "Werelea" or Potter; Liennea-atjigey Daniel de Zilve, Vidana, Nanayakaraya, a descendant of Hitawakka (or Sitawaka) Tantilla, the holder of a Sannas granted by Mayadunna (Note.—Kalloemarakkalage Migel, Nanayakaraya, referred to above is also a descendant of the same person); Polwattege (*alias*) Setoehewage Dinees, *i.e.*, Dinees (Denys) of the Coconut-garden (*alias*) of the house of Setoe the Soldier; Matthys Perera, Schoolmaster; his brother's son Gurunanselage Michiel Perera, Nanayakaraya; and *his* brother Samuel Perera, Schoolmaster (Note.—The "Schoolmaster" obviously runs in the family, the wasagama being dropped from the names of those who were schoolmasters *de facto* and retained in the other case); Siekoewerelegey Donasia, Potter, *i.e.*, Donasia of the house of Siekoe the

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Potter, other males of the family being Babea, Andriesa, Donappoea, Janisa, Soma, Adriansa, Joewema, Bastijema, Dania, Issema and Salantjea, and females, Adriana, Annona, Joeanna, Babie, Kiriansa, Babiana and Gebie; Pettapedige Siddia Halloe Aponsoe, *i.e.*, Siddia Halloe Aponsoe of the house of Petta the Washerman, Appoelagey Poentjenaatjera, *i.e.*, Poentjenaatjera (female) of the house of the Gentleman; Mannanahewage Joean, *i.e.*, Joean of the House of the Soldier of the house of the Grain-measurer (Note.—The double wasagama is fairly common. In this case the founder of the family was Mannannage Matthys); and Witanegey Philippoe, described as belonging to the Gamarala's class (village headman) and a descendant of Rajapakse Tantilla who was also granted a Sannas by Mayadunne Naide Jakdehigey Siman, lascarin, *i.e.*, Siman of the house of Naide the Devildancer, lascarin or native soldier; Naide Witanege Adriaan, Pannewidacarea, *i.e.*, Adriaan of the house of Naide the Vidana, Messenger; Alegia Wadugey Adriaan, *i.e.*, Adriaan of the house of Alegia the Carpenter; Kerembege Juliana, Oliya, widow of Wallembege Siman, *i.e.*, Juliana of the village Kerembe, Dancer, widow of Siman of the village Wallembe; Beregammege Juan, lascarin, *i.e.*, Juan of the village Beregamma, lascarin; Gostinjoe Waddoegey Abram, *i.e.*, Abram of the house of Augustino, Carpenter; Santiaboegey Mendrikoe, Naide, lascarin, *i.e.*, Mendriku of the house of St. Iago (the Portuguese baptismal name of his ancestor), Naide (here applied to an illegitimate son), lascarin; Nallaradagey Juanisa, *i.e.*, Juanisa the son of Nallan the Washerman (note the Tamil-Sinhalese compound); Pattebendigey Michiel de Waas, *i.e.*, Michiel de Waas of the house of the Pattebenda (officer of inferior rank to a Muhandiram); Kalloemarakkalagey Juan, *i.e.*, Juan of the house of Kalloe the Sailor; Waddoemeestrigey Andries, Carpenter, *i.e.*, Andries of the house of the Master-Carpenter, Carpenter; Lokoegey Salman, Nanayakaraya, *i.e.*, Salman (Salomon) of the Great House, Nanayakaraya (of the

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gentry or "official" class); Magnus Perera Weeresekera Gunaratna, Muhandiram (note the Christian—, Sur—, and Paṭabändi-names) and his brother Philippoe de Zilve Weeresekere, Kangany of the Guard, (both nephews of Lokoegey Salman) and their brother-in-law Kodipilli Patabendige Hendrik, *i.e.*, Hendrik of the house of the Patabenda the Flagbearer; the latter's nephew or sister's son Arnout de Zilve; Goeroegey Maria, *i.e.*, Maria of the house of the Teacher (here, Pallia Gurunanse or Parish Registrar); Lienneaatjige Daniel, *i.e.*, Daniel of the house of the Writer Arachchi; Igelle Lokuhewage Maaka, *i.e.*, Maaka of the house of the Senior Soldier of the village Igella; Siman de Silva, Pattangatyn, grandson of Kirakankanige Sikoe, and Kirakankanige (*alias*) Aroemakankanige Thomis, Nanayakaraya; Kodikaregey Roebel, *i.e.*, Roebel of the house of the standard-bearer; Kalloe-malimige Philippoe, *i.e.*, Philippoe of the house of Kalloe the Pilot; Pattiregey Paauloe, Nanayakaraya, Schoolmaster, *i.e.*, Paauloe of the house of the Accountant, Nanayakaraya, Schoolmaster or Village Registrar; Kalloemarakkalage Migel, Nanayakaraya, *i.e.*, Migel of the house of Kalloe the Sailor, Nanayakaraya. (Note.—The latter, although bearing the same Wasagma as the family referred to above, is distinguished by the rank of Nanayakkaraya.

Note.—Except where specially stated, all the above names belong to the Karawa Caste including the "Nambi." The Dutch spelling has been retained.

Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, while thanking Mr. Reimers for his excellent contribution which might have been more exhaustive, said that he disagreed with him in regard to the derivation and meaning of "Yasodara," which he asserted was a female name and could not be applied to a low caste man. It was derived from the Sanskrit. There were Greek names too like Philip, so that not only Dutch and Portuguese had influence on names of the Sinhalese; other races as well. He also drew attention to the similarity of names of Sinhalese like Abaran, Davith Singho, and Aron Singho, which bore a resemblance to Islamic names such as Ibrahim, Davood and Haroun-al-Raschid of the Arabian Nights. As regards finding names like Obeyesekere in Bengal, he was of opinion that they were used not as surnames but as the English Harry, Dick, John, etc. It was only in the country where the Cochins come from that they had ge-names the same as in Ceylon.

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The Rev. Rambukwelle Siddhartha said that the name "Bandaranayaka" did not mean "the chief of the treasury." It meant, he said, "the leader or the chief of princes." "Bandara" was a word derived from the Tamil word "Pandaram" which was used by the Tamils as a general name or title for the Brahmin priests. The term, however, was borrowed by the Sinhalese and applied to the Sinhalese princes as an honorific title. Afterwards this became a part of the names of the princes, and so, we have in our history such names as "Rayigam Bandara," "Karalliyadde Bandara," and so on. Even our great king, Rajasinha, the First, before he was crowned king, bore the name "Tikiri Bandara."

As regards the name "Yasodara" with the long 'a' at the end, he said, that there should not be any surprise that it was a name of a male person. All those who know Sinhalese know that the names of the so-called low caste men mostly end in the long 'a.' For example, the word "Sundara" in such names as "Sundara Bandara" in the case of a high caste man, would be used as "Sundaraa" as a name of a low caste man. Similarly the names Karolis, James, and such others are used as "Karolisaa," "Jamisaa," and so on as the names of the low caste men. The name "Yasodaraa" in this place had, he said, nothing to do with the female name "Yasodhara" which is found in the Pali literature.

Dr. Paul Pieris: Mr. Reimers has given us an address which is fascinating but also tantalising. He has only touched on the fringe of a vast subject which will interest everyone in the country. He failed to mention what Knox had to say—that personal names were not used among high-class Sinhalese, for to give such names, they felt, would be to treat them like dogs. And even today among that class the members of a family are known by honorifics qualified by a term indicating their chronological sequence. He has also omitted reference to the Portuguese Thombos and the Sinhalese Lekam Mitiya, both of which constitute a veritable treasure-house of information on the subject. The speaker was glad that Mr. Reimers had correctly interpreted the term "Nanayakkara" which some local scholars have even attempted to connect with the Nagas of old. He was in error, however, in his explanation of Patangatyn; that had nothing to do with the wearing of a sword, but was the Portuguese form of the Tamil "Pattankatti" which is the same as the Sinhalese "Patabenda." Incidentally, the speaker had sent to the Colombo Museum one of the few genuine specimens of a gold *Pata Thahaduwa*. This was conferred about 1750 on a refugee from the Siyanê Korle and belongs to the Dodampe family of Sabaragamuva. The individual Portuguese names which Mr. Reimers had mentioned were of much interest, particularly that of Madera de Basto, a family now extinct and which was undoubtedly a branch of the Royal family of Jayawardhana Kotte. He might have commented at greater length on the singular paucity of Dutch names among the Sinhalese, though he did mention the best known, that of the Philipsz's. That was a clear Dutch creation, for the Maha Mudaliyar he mentioned, was the son of Don Philip, who was at the head of the important educational establishment at Kotte about 1704. The tradition of scholarship continued in that family and the Maha Mudaliyar's son, who was educated in Holland, was probably the most prominent Sinhalese scholar of Dutch times. The speaker was disappointed that the Mudaliyar had not drawn attention to the Dravidian origin of some of the names, as that of the noble family of Tennekoon, which beyond all doubt was Dravidian. As to Mr. De's inquiry regarding Indian names, the speaker suggested

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that the *Mudali* names of Kanahara and Kangara, well-known among the Sinhalese, are equally well-known in North and South India respectively.

Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera said that Mr. Reimers has taken them along the pleasant byways of historical research and given them the origin and history of names culled from ancient documents, fragrant with perfumes of the past. He would associate himself with Dr. Peiris in what he said about their Vice-President, Mr. R. G. Anthonisz. They owed a deep debt of gratitude to him for gathering up and preserving what was left of the Dutch Records, to Mr. Reimers for having in a short time brought before the public the importance and value of the treasures in his charge, and to the Ceylon Government for getting down an expert, Dr. Goede Molsbergen, to report upon them with a view to their publication and preservation. He hoped his (Dr. Molsbergen's) recommendations will shortly be carried out. Dr. Molsbergen has described the Ceylon Dutch Thombos (Head and Land Registers) as being unique and only to be compared to the Doomsday Book. They shed a flood of light on the economic and social condition of Ceylon in the 17th and 18th centuries and a perusal of the documents in the Archives would enable them to solve many present day problems which an insufficient knowledge of the past had baffled them. He would appeal to His Excellency the Governor who assisted them to get down the expert that he will take action to have the recommendations of Dr. Molsbergen carried into effect. He emphasised the urgent need of a Historical Manuscripts Commission like the one they had in England. A Historical Manuscripts Commission is doing good work in India. Under the aegis of Government it could undertake before it was too late the preservation of valuable historical records in temple libraries, in private possession, in public departments and in the Government Archives. Mr. Reimers has attempted to crack some of the most difficult of philological nuts and he has tackled his task most successfully.

His Excellency in concluding the proceedings said that the lecturer of the evening must feel gratified by the comments which had been made on his paper. They were as complimentary as they were deserving. The subject was really a fascinating one. He was very glad that one member of the Legislature had shown such interest in the preservation of the Island's record. He associated himself entirely with him and said that there was no doubt that many of those documents would be indecipherable if they waited much longer. Immediate steps should be taken to rescue them and have them preserved and published for the benefit of scholars in the world.

He agreed to the proposal to form a Historical Manuscripts Commission similar to the one in England which had done so much to add to the knowledge of the past.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 21, 1930.

Present :

Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Vice-President.

Mr. A. M. Abayagunaratna
,, K. W. Y. Atukorala, Muhandiram
,, V. E. Charavanamuttu
,, J. C. De
,, J. W. de Alwis
,, F. B. de Mel
,, Leslie de Saram
,, R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala, B.A.
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
,, A. E. Jayasinha
,, S. J. C. Kadirgamar
,, D. S. B. Kuruppu
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.
Mr. W. M'K. Martin
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. J. E. Perera
,, W. H. Perera
,, R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
,, Edmund Reimers
,, W. A. Samarasingha, Atapattu Mudaliyar
,, K. Vaithianathan, C.C.S.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary.*

Visitors : 9 ladies and 20 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on Friday, the 17th day of January, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman, in introducing the lecturer Dr. Victor Goloubew, said :—

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Ladies and gentlemen, the subject of the lecture this evening is "The Art of India and Indo-China, with special reference to Ceylon."

I remember, ladies and gentlemen, that twenty years ago at a public dinner I had occasion to make reference to the building of the new Cathedral in Colombo, and I then made an appeal to the Bishop and Archdeacon, who were present. I appealed to them, while they were building that Cathedral, not to bring here some chilly Gothic icicle from the north, but to give us something that had warmth, that had soul, that was more in accord with the glorious sun and the glorious vegetation and the glorious scenery with which God has endowed this country. And for these twenty years we, from our hard, straight-backed chairs, have been watching with interest the growth in the country of that feeling to which I gave expression, till now we see all round us undoubted manifestations that there is a belief in the possibility of an Art of Ceylon. And that we see not in one direction; we see it in painting; we see it in music; we see it in singing; and we even see people who are training us to realise the fact that the word "dancing" has no necessary connection with West Africa.

Into this atmosphere it is that the lecturer today has come; it is our very great good fortune that a man of the position of Dr. Goloubew should be here tonight. As you know, he is a man of particular distinction. He has dealt with the Art of Ajanta, with Elephanta, and with Mahabalipuram, he has been working in Cambodia and in Annam, and today he will tell us of the Art which is to be found in the far east with special reference to the Art which is to be found in our country.

I will ask him now to address you.

Dr. Goloubew, who was received with loud applause, delivered the following lecture:—

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THE ART OF INDIA AND INDO-CHINA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CEYLON

BY
VICTOR GOLOUBEW, D. PH.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, In ancient times nearly the whole Peninsula of Indo-China, with the exception perhaps of Tongking, adhered to the culture of India. The eastern part of the Peninsula, actually known as Annam, was then inhabited by a Malayo-Polynesian race, the Chams who, from the commencement of our western era, were in direct relationship with India. The conquest of that country by the Annamites in the fifteenth century brought about the disappearance of the Cham kingdom.

The western part of Indo-China was occupied by the Khmers or Cambodians, a race equally of Austro-Asiatic blood, and not of Sino-Tibetan origin, as some scholars have supposed. The Khmers still exist, and they form a native Buddhist kingdom of about eighteen hundred thousand inhabitants, under French protection.

For the earliest history of the Chams, as well as of their neighbours the Cambodians, we are indebted to the Chinese. The Tsin-Chou, or the history of the Tsin dynasty, contains a lot of information concerning a vast kingdom, Fou-nan by name, situated on the Lower Mekong and the coast of Cochin-China. This kingdom can be identified in part, at least, with the Cambodia of the present day. The Chinese chronicles tell us that this country was conquered at the beginning of the western era by a Brahmin called Kaundinya. In 484 A.D., the king of Fou-nan addressed, through the Buddhist monk Śâkya Nâgasena, a petition to the Emperor of China, in the course of which he gives some most interest-

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ing information concerning the religious customs observed in his country. Images of bronze were mentioned, with many heads and many arms, as well as elephants in sandal-wood and stûpas in ivory.

The most ancient inscription found in Indo-China is a Sanskrit text dating as far back as the early third or even the end of the second century. It was discovered in 1885 in a village near Nha-trang, on the coast of Southern Annam, and is known as the Vo-Canh inscription. It deals with a pious foundation instituted by a sovereign who proclaimed himself to be a descendant of a certain king Śrî-Mâra. Numerous other inscriptions have furnished detailed information on the Cham kingdom and its history. The most ancient of these are written in Sanskrit. Later on some of them are in the Cham language. Past the twelfth century, no Sanskrit inscriptions are to be found; and all are written in the indigenous idiom.

The most ancient Cambodian inscriptions actually known date from the beginning of the seventh century. Some of them are in the Khmer language, others in Sanskrit. The epigraphical monuments of Cambodia are, as a general rule, very well composed, and they have a good reputation among Sanskrit scholars. Some of them are considered to be models of calligraphy.

The art of Cambodia as well as the art of Champa have been profoundly influenced by Hindu traditions, but it would be a mistake to consider them as pure Indian ; native tendencies had the effect of giving to those arts a rather national character, and I agree entirely with my friend Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, when he says that "Indian Colonial Art" is not a good definition of the arts of Further India and Indonesia. Of course, those arts had borrowed a lot of formulas from India, but they have also their own life, their own traditions, and they have to be considered in their native development as indigenous.

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I have chosen some examples of Cambodian and Cham sculptures, which will, I think, prove that the point of view of Dr. Coomaraswamy is the right one.

The first picture is that of a bronze Buddha discovered in 1911 among the ruins of Dong-Duong in Central Annam.

(Describing the picture): The figure of Buddha is upright, with the right hand lifted in the attitude of argumentation and the left hand occupied in raising the monastic robe. Although discovered in Annamite soil, this bronze does not give the impression of being of Indo-Chinese origin. In a lecture delivered at the India Society in 1922, I suggested that this statue may be of Ceylonese origin. Quite similar standing Buddhas are to be seen at Anuradhapura as well as in the Colombo Museum and especially the folds of the drapery are treated in exactly the same way as those of the sedent Buddha from Badulla. I think we may consider this most beautiful statue as a masterpiece of the fifth or sixth century modelled and chiselled in the monumental style of the marble Amarâvatî Buddhas, perhaps even as a copy in bronze of one of them. I should also say that there is a slight influence of Indo-Hellenistic art in the expressive and almost imperious attitude of the discoursing Buddha. If really this Buddha is a replica or copy of the Amarâvatî marble statues, the Indo-Hellenistic influence may be easily explained.

The fact that a work of Ceylonese origin was found in Indo-China is not in itself surprising. There was constant communication between Ceylon and the far east at the beginning of the middle ages and sometimes objects of art, particularly Buddhist images, were sent to China by pious Sinhalese kings.

(Indicating another picture): Let us now have a look at a stone image of Hari-Hara (Śiva) a work of the seventh century, one of the most perfect specimens of Cambodian art. It represents what I would call the transitional style

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in which the elements borrowed from Indian plastic art are still predominant. Note specially the pose of the statue. It reminds us slightly of the pose known in Indian sculpture as the "three flexions" (tribhaṅga) although the god seems to be represented in a quite straight and hieratic attitude. Recently some other Khmer images of the same period and representing the same god have been found in Siam; and the attitude of those is the pure Indian "tribhaṅga." In the later Cambodian sculptures, and that is a most important point, there is a tendency to stiffen the pose of the divine images and to provide them with heavy, clumsy legs. The ancient Cambodian images of the first period are more elegant and better proportioned than the later ones. Here is a most perfect example. You may pay some attention to the peculiar cylindrical head-dress, not unknown to Indian art scholars. Similar head-dresses occur in the Andhra, Gupta and Pallava art, and are most probably of Iranian origin. The expression of the face is solemn, the eyes are wide open, the mouth is closed, and the lips are without a smile. The proportions of the body give an impression of refinement and elegance.

(Referring to another slide): I now draw attention to a figure of the Buddha in meditation, from the Museum of Phnom-Penh. It was found near the Bayon, one of the most magnificent temples of Angkor-Thom. The Buddha is seated on the coils of a Nâga. This arrangement is not rare in Cambodian art but there is no doubt about its Indian origin. In the Madura Museum there is a sitting Jain saint who may be considered as a plastic ancestor of all Buddhas overshadowed by the cobra hood. Another particular feature of this statue is the nakedness of the thorax. Cambodian Buddhas of the classic period are often represented without the upper dress. But we ignore the origin of this tradition which may be based on a local heretical interpretation of the Buddhist monastic rules. The plastic perfection of this sculpture strikes the eye imme-

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diately. The impression is one of harmony and calm, and creates an atmosphere of complete serenity.

The smile is a characteristic feature of the classic Cambodian art (indicating the next picture), the art of the flourishing Angkor period. In French we often call it, "le sourire d'Angkor." It occurs in almost every Cambodian sculpture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and even on temples adorned with human-shaped faces, like the Bayon of Angkor-Thom which we know to have been originally dedicated to the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara.

It is instructive to compare with the beautiful Buddha of the Bayon, a Buddha in meditation holding a thunderbolt (vajra) (referring to another picture) found near Banteai-Chmar in Northern Cambodia. The first difference to note is the presence here of ethnological characteristics which are absent from the former examples. The face is almost square, the nose flat, the mouth very broad, the eyes are slanting, and the eye-brows curve up to the temples. All these details can be actually noticed in many representatives of the Khmer race, and it is fair to conclude that this Buddha image is an example of purely native work.

Now this (indicating another picture) is the head of a Buddha from Angkor-Vat which is related in style to the last example, but here the features are interpreted with such a delicate touch that one might almost think it is a portrait. We have in fact here a masterpiece of Cambodian art where the chiselling of the Khmer craftsman has attained the summit of perfection.

I now turn (indicating the next picture) towards an example of the female plastic ideal of ancient Cambodia. This slide represents a range of *devatâs*, or divine female attendants on a god, (in this special case the attendants on Vishṇu). There are hundreds of these in Angkor-Vat and at many other temples of Cambodia. They repeat most exactly the features of the Indian goddesses; the waist is slender and supple, the breasts are accentuated.

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We may consider them like near cousins of the delightful frescoes of Sigiriya (referring to the slide).

I now draw your attention to a female dancer from the Museum at Tourane (indicating the next slide) in Central Annam. It is not Cambodian sculpture. It is Cham, and may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century. This lovely alto-relievo reveals the high level of plastic art which the Chams attained during their best period. Here, equally, the features are Indian, and the movement recalls, to a certain extent, the rhythm of the dancers carved at Polonnaruwa, at the beautiful Laṅkātilaka-Vihāre.

Now let me turn your attention towards architecture. The oldest Cambodian temples (referring to the next slide) reproduce the Indian brick temples of the early mediaeval period. They exhibit an undeniable resemblance with the *Śikhara*, especially in the roofing which is obtained by reduplication of similar elements.

The same type of temple occurs in the Javanese art (exhibiting another slide) for instance at Dieng. We doubt if Ceylon has ever possessed temples of that type.

Later on, during the classical Angkorian period, the high parts of the Cambodian temples affect the form of a pointed dome resembling a lotus bud. As an example, I have chosen this magnificent *prasad* of Angkor-Vat, (indicating the next slide) dating from the twelfth century.

A most characteristic feature of Cambodian architecture are the storied pyramids with central stairways on each side (referring to the next slide) and supporting stone galleries on the top. You see here the Phimeanakas, a Vaishṇava foundation of the late ninth or early tenth century, and one of the architectural gems of Imperial Angkor-Thom.

It has been believed by some scholars that the Sat Mahal Prāsāda at Polonnaruwa may be the copy or replica of a Cambodian building. I confess that I do not share this

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opinion. The original plan of the building seems to have been octagonal and not quadrangular, and, on the other hand, there is no doubt that the Sat Mahal Prasada proceeds from the many-storied Indian buildings of the Buddhist period.

There is another Ceylonese building (indicating the next slide) whose shape presents some relation with old Cambodian temples. The stairway of Yāpahuwa reminds one strongly of the stairway of the storied Khmer pyramids, but this resemblance cannot be ascribed to an artistical contact between Ceylon and Indo-China.

Now let us pay a short visit to a small but most beautiful Cambodian temple (pointing to the next picture) which has been partly unearthed and freed from the jungle some years ago, in 1923 by the Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient. The temple is called Banteai Srei ; its ancient Sanskrit name was Îśvarapura (Śiva's town). This picture gives you an idea of the state in which we found the temple, hardly covered with earth and grass. Here you see the beginning of the work (indicating the next slide). This shows you the present state of the main buildings. You will now see (indicating the next slide) some details. The whole temple is covered with sculptures ; there is not an inch left without chiselling.

There is another part of the same temple (indicating the next slide) with sculptures, showing Krishṇa and Balarâma in the forest ; surrounded by the birds, snakes and other animals, all waiting for rain.

Another sculpture (referring to the next slide) represents an episode of the Râmâyaṇa, when Râvaṇa (well-known in Ceylon) tries to shake the Kailâsa.

Our last slide represents the roofing of the principal temple of Îśvarapura. You see on the top of the roofing a pûrṇaghaṭa, a symbol of welfare and happiness well-known in Ceylon.

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I ask now your kind permission to exhibit to you a small bronze statue belonging to the Colombo Museum. In 1922 I was rather surprised to find among your collections a small Cambodian image. I asked Mr. A. E. Jayasinha of the Colombo Museum, and he kindly gave me some information about it. After studying it, I formed the impression that this little masterpiece of bronze casting may be ascribed to the eleventh or twelfth century. At the beginning of this short lecture I showed you a Ceylonese work of art which was brought to Annam and now I show you a Cambodian god found in Ceylon.

Chairman.—The learned lecturer mentioned in the course of his lecture, the name of another very distinguished visitor whom we have here today. I refer to Professor Finot, late Director of L'Ecole Française d' Extreme-Orient. Another distinction which brings him very close to us is that he is an Honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. I am sure that we will be very glad if Professor Finot will also find it possible to address a few words to us. Till he makes up his mind to do so, there is one member of our Council who has had opportunity to visit works of this kind in Java. I refer to Mr. Reimers—and I am sure he will make a few remarks on the lecture.

Mr. E. Reimers: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, It was my privilege to visit Java last year, as representative of this Society, and to have been present at the 150th anniversary of the Royal Batavian Society. We were all taken to mid-Java to view the Archaeological remains, the work of preservation and reconstruction there at Borobodor and the various Hindu temples at Prambanam. It was my good fortune at the time to meet Prof. J. Coedès of Bangkok and M. Paul Mus of Hanoi and it struck me that the work of preservation and reconstruction was a very bright business both in Java and Indo-China; what impressed me was the very close co-operation between the Dutch and French authorities. For instance at Prambanam there was a stone missing from one of the temples; it had been given some time before to the King of Siam, and by the joint efforts of Prof. J. Coedès and the French government that stone was restored. A party of us went to mid-Java under the guidance of Dr. Van Stein Callenfels and I wondered at the enthusiasm of that man. His knowledge was unbounded. He led us round Borobodor a place containing temples similar to those in Cambodia. He was just like one of the Malays themselves, he was wearing a sarong, feet bare, his beard reaching almost to his waist, and he stood in the sun lecturing to us. The thought struck me at the time that Dr. Van Stein Callenfels' enthusiasm might overflow to Ceylon: he expressed a wish to see the remains here, and it would certainly be a great object achieved if we could prevail on Dr. Van Stein Callenfels to visit Ceylon on his way to Holland on one of the very rare occasions on which he takes a holiday.

Chairman.—As you know, ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Nell in the midst of numerous preoccupations, has paid attention to Ceylon art and architecture. Probably he would like to make some remarks.

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Dr. A. Nell: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I will not presume to make any observations of my own this evening on a subject that Dr. Goloubew has made peculiarly his own. I can assure you that those who consult this library will find that we in Ceylon are very greatly indebted to French archaeological workers in many fields, and more particularly to the work done by Professor Finot and Dr. Goloubew. It is a great honour to us to have them in this room this evening, and it has proved a great source of profit to students in Ceylon that they have devoted their lives to this study. I was particularly struck by the very apt way in which the learned lecturer has pointed out the link between Cambodia and Ceylon. He began with that Ceylonese image in Cambodia and fortunately he remembered that little bronze statue found in Dondra, which he has shown is a Cambodian image reproduced in Ceylon. It is a subject which we might discourse on for hours—the archaeological intercourse between the two countries, but I think it is a subject which I should not touch upon after the admirable way in which it has been brought out this evening.

Chairman: Professor Finot will now address the house.

Prof. Finot, speaking in French, expresses the keen interest he has taken in the fine works of Sinhalese art it was his good luck to meet during his delightful tour in this Island. He begged to convey his feelings of thankfulness to the scholars who had lent to him and his friend V. Goloubew such invaluable help, especially to Dr. Pieris, President of this Society, Dr. Pearson, Acting Director of the Archæological Survey, and Dr. A. Nell. He hoped that their visit will result in a closer co-operation between the scientific workers of this country and those of France and Indo-China, particularly between the Asiatic Society of Ceylon and the Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient.

Dr. Goloubew: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, You will allow me to add to my lecture some remarks which have been suggested to me.

Some scholars speak of a "Cambodian quarter" in Polonnaruwa. We have examined with attention the buildings met in Polonnaruwa; the feeling is that although they are related—and in many points of view—to the monuments of Cambodia, none of them have been sculptured by Cambodians. The frescoes at Polonnaruwa although closely related and connected with the Sigiriya frescoes, which are considered Indian—reveal to us something different from Indian paintings: especially in the colourings with predominant yellow and red tints; there is very little use of green and no use at all of blue. What I will admit quite freely is that there may have been some Mogul influence on late Sinhalese painting; nevertheless there is a well defined local Ceylonese style. It would be rather useful to continue the researches of Dr. A. Coomaraswamy, Dr. A. Nell and other learned scholars, and to reveal this interesting phase of Ceylonese art revealed by describing and publishing the frescoes of Kandy, Kelaniya and other places of Ceylon. We must not lose any time because many of these frescoes will vanish and disappear and there is great danger of restoration by pious vandals. Steps must be taken to keep with great care what has remained and to prevent further restoration which may be carried out by inexperienced artists. What is needed is scholarship and tradition. I think those elements are to be found in Ceylon and there can be done very fine work.

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Chairman: Now it remains for me, ladies and gentlemen, on your behalf to tender our most hearty thanks to the lecturer of this evening. But apart from the lecture the occasion has been more than justified by one pronouncement which he made—that in the opinion of himself and of Prof. Finot the Art of Polonnaruwa is the Art of Ceylon. The importance of a pronouncement of that nature from men who among the few whose opinion is worth having, is to us of immense weight. It is to us a great inspiration; and to those of us who believe in the possibility of a Ceylon Art of the future—not an Art which is an imitation of Sigiriya, as I once pointed out, but an Art of Ceylon in the year 1930—it comes as great inspiration that we did once have an independent art of our own.

To you Sir (addressing the lecturer), it is difficult to express how deep and great our sense of obligation is. It is our good fortune that you should be interested in our country; it is a very great thing that you should come and personally inspect and judge for yourself and it is a great thing that you should with your sympathy and kindness, tell us what your views are and what are the impressions you formed. Your interest will stimulate us for many years, and the knowledge that men of your position in the world of learning, are interested in the works of our country will help the rising generation towards that self-respect and pride which we are so anxious to inculcate. In the name of the Society I thank you most heartily for the lecture you have delivered this evening.

The vote of thanks which was carried with acclamation brought the proceedings to a close.

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COUNCIL MEETING.

Queen's House, Colombo, April 14, 1930.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair. Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.
Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. Edmund Reimers
,, L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary*.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 16th December, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. Arising out of the Minutes—The Honorary Secretary informed the Council that :—

(*a*) A revised list of members was published in the last issue of the Journal.

(*b*) Contents of Journals, Rules and Regulations, Past and Present Office-bearers, etc., was ready for printing and was laid on the table. The President undertook to add an Introductory note to this.

(*c*) That the translation of Fernao de Queyroz Ceilao was now through the press, save for the Index.

(*d*) Mr. J. C. Jayasinha was appointed as Clerk to the Society on six months' probation.

3. The names of the following candidates elected by Circular as members were announced :—(i) C. Don Amaradasa. Recommended by P. E. Pieris, A. N. Weinman. (ii) W. Martin Fernando. Recommended by W. F. Gunawardhana, J. D. de Lanerolle. (iii) W. von Pochhammer. Recommended by Joseph Pearson, P. E. Pieris. (iv) B. W. Fernando. Recommended by A. C. G. Wijeyekoon, W. A. de Silva. (v) The Hon. Mr. B. H. Bourdillon. Recommended by P. E. Pieris, A. N. Weinman.

Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana stated that Mr. K. Shanmukham, a member of the Parent Society, wished to become a member of this Society. It was agreed that Mr. Shanmukham should address the Secretary on this subject.

4. The following programme for 1930-31 was approved :—

May 10—Annual General Meeting. Paper : The Central School Commission between 1841 and 1847, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A. (Lond).

May.—Paper : The Alakesvara Period by Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana.

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June.—Lecture: The Excavations in the Citadel at Anuradhapura illustrated with lantern slides, Mr. S. Paranavitana.

August.—Paper: Some Place Names of Ceylon by Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle.

September.—Paper: Political Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries A.D. with special references to Ceylon, by Mr. J. C. De.

October.—Paper: Glimpses into the Social and Economic conditions of Ceylon during the Ninth and the Tenth Centuries, by Mr. S. Paranavitana.

November.—Paper: The Culture of the Indus Valley and the Excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, by Mr. P. C. R. Jayasuriya.

1931 :—

Jany.—Paper: Notes on Some Documents of the last four Kandyan Kings, by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, M.L.C.

February.—Paper: The Early Mission Schools, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A. (Lond).

5. The manuscript copy of the Journal for 1929 was laid on the table and approved for early publication.

6. Papers *re* Exchanges were laid on the table and referred for report to a sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. L. J. B. Turner, E. W. Perera and Dr. S. C. Paul.

7. Dr. P. E. Pieris proposed for the consideration of the Council the desirability of :

(*a*) Limiting the possible length of tenure of the Presidentship.

(*b*) Making resident ex-Presidents ex-officio members of Council.

(*c*) Making residence in Colombo an essential qualification in the Secretaries.

A letter on the subject from Dr. Joseph Pearson was read. After discussion, the Council approved of (*b*) but not of (*a*) and (*c*).

8. The draft Annual Report for 1929 was read and passed.

9. The Council unanimously voted an Honorarium of Rs. 600/- to Mr. A. N. Weinman as a mark of appreciation of the services rendered by him to the Society during the last year.

10. The following nominations of the Office-bearers for 1930-31 were unanimously agreed upon.

Dr. Andreas Nell to be Vice-President, *vice* Mr. H. W. Codrington retiring under Rule 18.

Mr. A. N. Weinman, Dr. G. P. Malalasekara and Mr. Edmund Reimers to be Honorary Secretaries.

Mr. A. N. Weinman to be Honorary Treasurer.

Prof. R. Marrs, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Messrs. S. Paranavitana, P. E. P. Deraniyagala and H. W. Codrington to fill the vacancies on the Council.

Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana retiring under Rule 20 by seniority.

11. Resolved that the Annual Meeting be fixed provisionally for the 9th May, the business for the Meeting being left to the discretion of the Secretary.

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12. A photograph of a painting of the signing of the Convention at Kandy in 1815 was produced by Dr. P. E. Pieris. It was agreed that this should be reproduced in the Journal, and it was suggested that an explanatory note should be added by Mr. Turner or Mr. Codrington.

13. A letter dated 14th April, 1930, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, regarding the appointment of an Historical Manuscripts Commission was read, and a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, Dr. Andreas Nell, Mr. L. J. B. Turner, Dr. P. E. Pieris and Dr. G. P. Malalasekara was appointed to report generally on the whole question. The President suggested that Mr. Perera should act as Chairman.

14. A letter dated 13th March, 1930, from Mr. Frederick Lewis inquiring whether the Society would care to have a paper by him on Ceylon Agricultural Enterprises.

Resolved that Mr. Lewis be requested to forward his Paper for the consideration of the Council.

15. Dr. Pieris on behalf of the Council conveyed an expression of its gratitude to the President for his helpful interset in the Society's work, and wished him a pleasant holiday in England.

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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 10, 1930.

Present :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. St. P. Deraniyagala, B.A.
,, L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
Mr. J. P. Obeyesekera, M.A., Maha Mudaliyar
,, S. Paranavitana
,, H. T. Ramachandra
,, Edmund Reimers
Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary.*

Visitors : 2 ladies and 4 gentlemen.

Business.

1. A telegram from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government, regretting His Excellency's inability to attend the meeting was read.

2. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on Friday, the 21st February, 1930, were read and confirmed.

3. Mr. H. T. Ramachandra moved the adoption of the Annual Report for the year 1929. Mr. S. Paranavitana seconded. The motion was carried unanimously.

4. Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, Maha Mudaliyar, proposed the election of the following office-bearers for the year 1930-31 :—

Vice-President :
Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.

Honorary Treasurer :
Re-elected : Mr. A. N. Weinman

Honorary Secretaries :
Re-elected : Mr. A. N. Weinman
Elected : Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph. D.
Mr. Edmund Reimers.

Mr. Edmund Reimers seconded—Carried.

5. As there was a very poor attendance on account of the floods, the reading of Mr. Gratiaen's papers on "the Central School Commission between 1841 and 1847" was postponed for a later date, and the meeting terminated.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 31, 1930.

Present:

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D. Sc., F. R. S. E., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa
,, P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.
,, R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala, B.A.
,, W. M. Fernando
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
,, Irving Gunawardena, Mudaliyar
,, L. A. Hayter
Mr. V. Kandiah
,, J. D. de Lanerolle
Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.
Prof. S. R. Pasha
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. W. von Pochhammer
,, R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
,, C. Suppramaniam
,, F. A. Tisseverasinghe

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary.*
Visitors: 7 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on Saturday, the 10th May, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., read a note on the discovery of ancient pillars in a culvert on the Kandy Road.*

3. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, who read a paper entitled "The Alakesvara Period Reviewed."

4. The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, Mudaliyar R. C. Proctor, Dr. S. C. Paul, Dr. Andreas Nell and the Chairman offered remarks.

5. Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana replied.

6. Votes of thanks to Dr. Joseph Pearson and the lecturer proposed by the Chairman brought the meeting to a close.

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* This note will appear in a later issue of the Journal. C. H. C., Hony. Secy.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 27, 1930.

Present:

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Vice-President, in the Chair
Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Vice-President.

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa
,, K. W. Y. Atukorala, Muhandiram
Dr. W. Balendra
The Hon. Mr. C. W. Bickmore, C.C.S.
Mr. Felix R. Dias, M.A., LL.M.
,, K. C. Fernando, B.A. (Lond.)
,, W. M. Fernando
,, E. G. Gratiaen
,, L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
Mrs. E. Hunsworth
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka
Mr. S. J. C. Kadirgamar
,, W. C. McK. Martin
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, M.L.C.
Mr. W. von Pochhammer
,, W. Samarasingha, Atapattu Mudaliyar
,, J. L. C. Rodrigo, M.A.
Rev. R. Siddhartha Thero, M.A.
Mr. F. A. Tisseverasinghe, Advocate
,, D. D. Weerasingha, Mudaliyar
,, D. S. Wijemanna

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph. D.,
Mr. Edmund Reimers, *Honorary Secretaries*.

Visitors: 7 ladies and 17 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 31st May, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. S. Paranavitana, who delivered his lecture on "The Excavations in the Citadel at Anuradhapura" illustrated with lantern slides.

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THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE CITADEL AT ANURĀDHAPURA

BY
S. PARANAVITANA
Epigraphical Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner.

The outlines of the ancient citadel of Anurādhapura—referred to in the chronicles as *nagara* and in inscriptions as *ätnakara* "the Inner City"—were first traced by Mr. Bell in 1893. Three years earlier, the Archaeological Survey, at the suggestion of Mr. R. W. Ievers, the then Government Agent of the North-Central Province, searched for the remains of the royal palace in the area to the north of the "Jetavanārāma"; but failed to discover ruins that could be considered as such. This failure led Mr. Bell to locate the royal enclosure or citadel at a place about 1½ miles north of the sacred Bo-tree. In his Annual Report for the year 1893, Mr. Bell says:—"Everything now points to its definite location within areas A, B, lying between the Y Road and the Outer Circular Road on the east or broadly between the Jetavanārāma ruins and the Abhayagiriya and Thūpārāma groups. A high brick *bämma*, easily discernible on the south and south-west, has been followed more or less clearly, and surveyed throughout a circuit of some three miles. This was doubtless the Royal Enclosure. Of the palace itself—unless it be the massive brick structure, once storied, still standing—no traces remain above ground."

Subsequent researches have confirmed this hypothesis of Mr. Bell. Mr. H. Parker who discusses this question, in his *Ancient Ceylon*, on the evidence of certain statements in the chronicle concerning the distance between the southern gate of the city and the sacred Bo-tree, comes to the same conclusion.

The massive brick structure referred to by Mr. Bell in the paragraph quoted above and which is known as the

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Gedigē, was first noticed in 1886 by Mr. Burrows, who says that it "looks like a bit of Polonnaruwa suddenly transplanted to this capital." This was excavated in 1897 by Mr. Bell and was found to be "a rectangular recessed building constructed of brick and mortar" with an upper storey. It has been ascribed to the twelfth century; but, as will be shown in the sequel, an earlier date is more probable. Some 225 yards to the south of this Gedigē, there are the remains of an "imposing oblong building resting on 40 grand monolithic pillars." A few fathoms north of this is a small circular *pokuṇa* unfaced. On its brink a fine inscribed slab with moulded facing was found almost completely buried.

This inscription which, unfortunately, is partly defaced, has been published by Dr. Wickremasingha in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*; but, owing to its find spot being wrongly reported to him as "a few yards to the east of the Thūpārāma Dāgāba," its archaeological significance escaped his notice and was only realised by Mr. E. R. Ayrton who, with its help, identified the remains near by as those of the Temple of the Tooth. The inscription lays down certain rules regarding fields belonging to the royal palace and also mentions the granting of revenue for the upkeep of the shrine of the Tooth Relic. Fifty yards to the west of this monument there is a large stone canoe near which a few pillar stumps show above the earth. Relying on certain statements in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Mr. Ayrton conjectured that this stone trough marks the site of the Mahāpāḷī, the alms-house maintained by the Anurādhapura kings within the precincts of the royal palace. On this stone canoe, there are three short records of the tenth century which were yet undeciphered when Mr. Ayrton put forward his hypothesis. In 1927, I succeeded in deciphering these inscriptions and found that two of them referred to the place as "this Mahāpāḷī," thus confirming Mr. Ayrton's conjecture. As has been stated above, the Mahāpāḷī is described in the

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chronicle as part of the royal establishment. It has also been noticed by Fa-hien who says that it was by the side of the king's palace. The decipherment of these inscriptions established, beyond doubt, the location of the royal palace suggested by Messrs. Bell, Parker and Ayrton and, therefore, I suggested to Mr. A. M. Hocart, the late Archaeological Commissioner, that excavations undertaken in this area might yield interesting results. He, too, agreed with this view and entrusted me with the conduct of these excavations. Mr. Hocart, as well as Mr. C.F. Winzer, while he was acting as Archaeological Commissioner, took a keen interest in the progress of these excavations and were always ready to offer their expert advice and guidance. Mr. P. D. Ambrose, the senior draughtsman of the Department, was supervising the work for some time and after the excavations were over, the conservation of the buildings unearthed is progressing under his immediate supervision.

The site selected for the excavations was 80 yards to the north-west of the Mahāpāḷī where a few stone pillars appeared above the ground level. Three of these pillars seemed intact and their tops were only 3 feet from the ground, thereby indicating that a good deal of digging was necessary to reach the floor level of the building. A few yards to the east of these pillars is a depression in the ground, near which can be seen two fragments of a stone lion. A few other stone pillars on the lower area of the mound had been mutilated in recent times.

Excavations at the site were continued for two seasons in 1928 and 1929. During the first season, only about 25 coolies were available for a period of little over a month and hence very little progress was made. In 1929, more coolies and funds were at our disposal, and work at the site was continued from the end of January to the beginning of June. Progress was also retarded by the necessity of removing the spoil earth to a distance of about quarter of a mile, outside the limits of the ancient citadel,

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as we did not consider it desirable to dump earth in our reservations and thereby increase the labour of possible excavators in the future. During both these seasons, an area roughly measuring 140 ft. by 125 ft. was excavated and at certain places it was found necessary to dig to a depth of 10 feet from the original level to reach the foundations of the building of which the pillar tops were visible before starting work.

Remains of buildings belonging to two different periods of occupation were laid bare during the operations. Of these, the topmost stratum which was found immediately after the subsoil was removed, consisted of vestiges of ephemeral mud structures in the foundations of which fragments of the older buildings were freely used. Not a single ground plan of any of these huts could be made out with certainty and the irregular foundations of these buildings had to be demolished in order to lay bare more substantially built structures of an earlier age. In this topmost level, many old rubbish heaps consisting of potsherds of various sorts were met with but they did not yield any finds of interest. A complete cooking pot covered with a flat vessel of the type now known as *koraha* was found in this level. A copper coin of Līlāvatī was also picked up on the same stratum and with this evidence we may date these poor structures as belonging to about the fourteenth century, *i.e.*, the last days of old Anurādhapura. The occupants of these huts seem to have been workers in metal, for we found several fragments of plumbago-coated crucibles, each about 4 inches in height, one complete specimen about 10 inches in height and several masses of coagulated metal. Beads of various sorts, mostly made of clay, fragments of conchshell bangles, glass beads, clay disks and several terra-cotta rings for a well, were among the finds belonging to this stratum, besides material from the lower deposits thrown up in diggings.

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The building at which the excavations were first started (Building B) was completely cleared of debris which had buried it, at places, to a depth of nearly ten feet. In ground plan, it measured 50 feet square and is erected on a brick faced plinth 2 ft. 2 in. from the ground level. This structure has suffered greatly at the hands of despoilers. Of the 40 stone pillars which originally seem to have supported the superstructure, only three, each 12 ft. 3 in. in height, and fragments of seventeen others, were in position. It cannot now be determined how many of these pillars were embedded into the walls and how many were free standing. No traces of any walls separating the ground floor into apartments could be seen. The probability is that the entire space was an open hall or a *maṇḍapa*. Doubtless, the stone pillars supported one or more upper storeys, probably of wooden construction. In the debris round about this building, bricks were found sparsely and the walls must have been constructed of clay as in the Kandyan buildings. In this, as well as in most of the ancient buildings of Anurādhapura, the principle of construction was of the wattle-and-daub type, foundations were hardly laid below ground, the stability of the structure depending on the stone pillars firmly planted on the ground, and which supported the woodwork and the clay walls. Lumps of plaster with which the walls had been coated were found in the debris.

Of the flight of steps at the main entrance to the building, facing east, only the landing slab of polished white sandstone is *in situ*. A moonstone, in a crumbling state of decay, was found several feet above its original level. This has a band of well executed elephants, horses, bulls and lions. One of the carved risers is to be seen about 10 feet from the entrance. In addition to this main entrance, there was another smaller flight of steps at the south-west corner of the edifice—a feature not noticed in any other building hitherto discovered at Anurādhapura. This flight of steps which, too, was of limestone, is in a better state of preservation;

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only one of the balustrades and one riser being missing. Near the centre of the hall there was found, removed from its original position and lying at an angle with its smoothed face downwards, a rectangular moulded slab, similar to the royal *āsanas* with which we are familiar at Polonnaruwa.

This building was originally roofed with glazed tiles of various colours. Fragments of these tiles were found in large numbers in the debris round the building; but, unfortunately, no complete specimen was forthcoming. The great majority of these tiles were of a bluish green colour, some white, a few yellow and one specimen red. Thus we have four out of the traditional five colours.

The tiles were of the typically Sinhalese pattern and only as much of them as would be visible when they are placed on the roof was glazed. Fragments of glazed tiles have been found at other buildings in Anurādhapura and also in the excavations carried out by Dr. Paul Pieris at Kantarodai in the Jaffna Peninsula. But I do not think that they have been found elsewhere in such large quantities and in various colours as in this site. Several lumps of the actual coloured glaze were also found in the debris.

A few specimens of these glazed tiles were sent to Mr. Mohd Sana Ullah, M.Sc., the Archaeological Chemist in India, and he very kindly furnished us with an analysis of the composition of the glaze. It is as follows :—

Silica	66·26%
Alumina	12·09
Ferric Oxide	0·11
Manganese Oxide	Nil
Lime	2·10
Magnesia	traces
Copper Oxide	2·33
Alkalis (chiefly Soda)	17·11 (by difference)
Total ..	100·00

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He further remarks :—" The lump of glaze of the same colour is probably indentical with the material with which the potsherd is coated. The colour is due to the presence of 2·33% oxide of copper ; but in its absence a white glaze would be obtained such as can be seen on some of the specimens. The black lump is a fragment of crude glass or glaze which has a dark-yellowish colour in their sections due to the presence of ferric oxide. The composition of this glaze does not exhibit any close relationship with those found in Egypt, Mesapotamia or India, and it is therefore highly probable that the glazes were prepared independently in Ceylon. It is quite conceivable that the art was originally learnt from some foreign traders and the variation in the chemical composition is due to the nature of the materials (*e.g.*, sand) which were handy locally in Ceylon."

To the south-east of the building described above, remains of another building, of quite a different type, were brought to light. The only indication of it that was noticeable before excavations started was about one foot of a stone pillar embedded into the wall of the porch. This building is of massive brick construction and, at places, the walls are preserved to the level of the window sills, four of which are still *in situ*, at a height of about 8 feet from the original ground level. The bricks used in its construction measure, on an average, 12½ in. by 6½ in. by 2½ in. and are laid in a very adhesive kind of lime mortar. Though the bricks are laid in alternate courses of stretchers and headers, the resultant bonding is not quite regular. All the bricks used in this building seem to have been specially made for it, as no fragments have been made use of as in the brick buildings at Polonnaruwa. Bricks were specially made to suit the shapes of the different mouldings and wedge-shaped ones were used for constructing arches. Among the heavy masses of masonry which were scattered outside the building, we came across a fragment of an arch constructed with wedge-shaped bricks—an interesting piece of evidence to show that the principles of

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the true arch were known to the Sinhalese architects at the date of this building which, as will be shown later, is about the eighth century A.D. Though the arch was known, it does not seem to have been used for spanning any considerable spaces. The walls were covered with lime plaster which is still preserved.

In ground plan, the edifice comprises a cella 33 ft. 6 in. square with projections 20 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. on the west, south and east. On the north, the projection is lengthened to form a porch 20 ft. 6 in. by 11 ft. 3 in. Stone pillars are embedded in the walls of the porch which seems to have carried a roof constructed of timber and covered with tiles. The main building had a vaulted roof. Entrance to this building is through a flight of five plain stone steps facing north. The two balustrades and the guardstones, as well as the risers of this flight of steps, are devoid of any ornamentation. The moonstone, also plain, is of an elongated type hitherto known from only one or two other specimens. The outer wall is five feet in thickness and rises from a moulded basement 4 feet in height. It appears as if the wall was originally plain and the mouldings were added at a later date. The foundations of the buildings are of stone and are not laid to a very great depth. The interior dimensions of the porch are 13 ft. 10 in. by 7 ft. A stone doorway, only the sill of which was *in situ*, 7 ft. 4 in. broad and 3 ft. 7 in. high now fallen down, led from the porch to a circumambulatory passage 3 ft. 6 in. in breadth, which ran round the inner room, the walls of which are 2 ft. 10 in. in thickness and which measures 13 ft. square. The entrance to this inner room is also from the north through a stone doorway now fallen down. The passage was lighted by 11 stone windows, two of which at the centre of the eastern, southern and western walls are broader than the others. These broader windows on the eastern and southern walls were placed in arched niches and at the corresponding point on the western wall there is a stone staircase built into the thickness of the wall,

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leading to the upper storey. Eight of the steps are still *in situ*. Within the inner room, or sanctum, is a platform or *āsana* faced with moulded slabs of stone measuring 8 ft. square and 2 ft. 7 in. high from the floor level. The moulding consists of an ovolo and ogee with a vertical face between. When the room was cleared of debris, the upper slabs of this stone platform or *āsana* were found fallen down. But all the pieces were there and were replaced in their original position with little difficulty. On the vertical slab on the northern side of this platform there were five letters, reading *uturudese*, "northside," which doubtless was a mason's mark. The stones were fitted together at the quarry and the position of each marked on them so that the masons could, at a glance, find out the relative position of each slab. It is only on this slab that the direction is given in letters. On others, symbols such as crosses, circles and squares at the ends of two consecutive slabs indicate their position. Though constituting only a mason's mark, these letters are of interest in that they supply us a date to this building. The letters, from their form, must be ascribed to the eighth century, and hence we must conclude that this building, too, dates from the same period. This discovery is of considerable archaeological interest, as very few examples of datable stone work of this type have been discovered at Anurādhapura or elsewhere in Ceylon, This building also shows that lime mortar was used as a binding material in brick construction before the Polonnaruwa period. The great majority of ancient buildings in Ceylon, in which lime mortar was used, are found at Polonnaruwa, and archaeologists generally ascribe similar buildings when found elsewhere to the same period. This building now shows us that it need not necessarily be so. In ground plan, the building just described is identical with the structure now called the Gedigē which was mentioned before. The Gedigē has its walls standing to a much greater height than the present building; but, in other respects, the latter is

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better preserved. The details of the mouldings are clearly discernible in this building, whereas they are obliterated in the Geḍigē. It also has its porch and the entrance completely demolished, and we do not know whether it contained an *āsana* in the inner room. The deficiencies of the one are supplied by the other and both together give us a fairly accurate idea of a type of building of which no other examples have so far been brought to light in the island. The Geḍigē and the building we have described are both on the same level. This fact, coupled with the similarity in plan noticed above, leads us to the conclusion that both these structures are of the same date. Hitherto it has been assumed that the Geḍigē must have been built in the twelfth century; but as our building can be dated, on the evidence of the inscription mentioned before, in the eighth century, I think the same date will have to be assigned to the other building also.

About 35 feet to the north of the flight of steps leading to this building, there are the vestiges of what appears to have been a *muragē*. Its ground plan cannot be made out clearly. The walls are constructed of bricks laid in mud and stone pillars are embedded in the brickwork. The basement of this structure, too, was moulded and the lime plaster was still visible when it was excavated. To the east and the south of the buildings described above, there are remains of an outer *prākāra* which enclosed the whole group. The lower part of this *prākāra* was built of slabs of stone placed vertically and the upper part was of brick construction.

When the main work at the site was completed, a trench was dug from the excavations to the low lying ground to the north in order to drain away rain water. In so doing, we had to dig below the level of an old street and the remains of an ancient underground drainage system were brought to light. This drain was laid across a street and consisted

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of terra-cotta pipes, each about a foot in length, socketed to each other. The pipes were laid on stone slabs and seem to have been covered with brickwork. Our attempt to trace this drain pipe further was without success ; and, for obvious reasons, it was covered with earth after photographs were taken and drawings were made. So far as I know, this is the first time[1] that a discovery of this nature has been made at Anurādhapura, though terra-cotta drain pipes were found by the Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera, at the site of the city of Kotte. But they were, I presume, not found in position, as in the present instance. A similar discovery was accidentally made a month later at Polonnaruwa. The rains had washed away the ground to the south-east of the Rankot Vehera near the footpath from the Northern Gate and a terra-cotta pipe was exposed to view. We had the place cleared and traced an underground drain pipe to a distance of about 8 feet. The pipes in this place were longer and broader than the Anurādhapura ones and seven of them could be traced in all. Near this drain pipe an old street can definitely be traced. An example of vertical terra-cotta pipes embedded in a brick wall so as to drain the lustral water from the upper storey of the shrine was brought to light by Mr. P. D. Ambrose in a vihāra at the Ranisi-māligāva near the Northern Gate of Polonnaruwa. That underground drainage was common in ancient Indian cities, we know from references in Sanskrit literature, and the excavations at Mohenjo-daro in the Indus valley have brought to light the existence of a drainage system,

1. Since writing the above, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the retired Archaeological Commissioner, in a letter addressed to Dr. Pearson has informed that similar drain pipes were found in considerable numbers, in his excavations at Anurādhapura. He, however, does not seem to have attached any importance to this fact, as it has nowhere been recorded in his numerous archaeological reports. Terra-cotta drain pipes have also been found at the building known as "Rajamāligāva" in the Citadel at Polonnaruwa; but this information, too, having not been considered worthy of a more conspicuous place than a foot-note (*A. S. C. Annual Report for 1905*, p. 5, n 3) escaped my notice.

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much more in advance of the examples mentioned here, in cities dating from the third millenium before Christ.

The excavations yielded very few minor antiquities. The coin of Līlāvatī found in the upper stratum has already been mentioned. Another copper coin containing the legend which has been read as *Śrī Laṁkeśvara* or *Śrī Laṁkāvibhū* and three small copper coins, too corroded for identification, complete the list of numismatic finds at this site.

As regards pottery, the two complete specimens belonging to the fourteenth century level have already been mentioned. They belong to types of ware which are still in use among the Sinhalese people. One is a round pot used for cooking rice and the other a flat vessel with grooves inside used in washing rice. The former is known as *häliya* and the latter as *koraha* or *nāṁbiliya* in modern Sinhalese. The great majority of the potsherds unearthed in the upper stratum are of a coarse type and too fragmentary to be of much use in the study of pottery types. But a few sherds from this level as well as the small number found in the lower stratum belong to a superior texture. A small piece of egg-shell pottery and a rim of a vessel with the relief of a double *vajra* or trident may be worthy of mention here. Small fragments of china as well as glass ware were also found. Of interest was the find of two pieces of gilt pottery belonging to two different vessels. They are also too small to judge the form and the purpose of the vessels of which they were fragments. I do not know whether any such finds have previously been made in the excavations of ancient sites in Ceylon.

Of great importance for the chronology of Ceylon pottery was the discovery of two small potsherds with Brāhmī letters of the third century B.C. scratched on them. The letters on one read *liya* which may be considered to be the genitive case ending of a proper name such as *Asaliya*.

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The letters on the other read *pata* which may be the old Sinhalese word derived from Sanskrit *pātra* and Pali *patta*, meaning 'vessel.' Both these fragments belonged to the same type of ceramics, the texture of which is of a superior order. The inside is black and the exterior red. Examples of the same ware were found in considerable numbers and they seemed to have belonged to a flat dish-shaped type of vessel. It should be mentioned here that both these potsherds were found in a comparatively upper stratum, only about three feet from the surface; whereas the present excavation did not reach a stratum earlier than the eighth century A.D. Therefore, we have to conclude that these potsherds were thrown up in disturbing the deposits when the ground was dug for foundations of buildings in successive ages. These also indicate that this site has been in occupation at least as early as the third century B.C. Mr. Parker, in his article contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, about his archaeological researches at Tissa-maharama, says that potsherds with Brāhmī letters were found by him at that place; but these do not seem to have been preserved.

Beads, too, were not found in any considerable numbers. The majority of them were flat circular ones made of red paste. A few examples of beads made of terra-cotta, crystal, coloured glass, ivory, jade, agate, and amethyst were also among the finds. Two beads of jade were shaped like miniature chanks. Among miscellaneous finds mention may be made of the following:—

A convex piece of crystal, about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. square with holes at two ends. This was probably a pendant.

A bone object shaped like a chessman.

A sharp pointed stylet, made of some kind of bone.

Two fragments of the leg of a small gilt copper statuette. This was found in the inner room of building A.

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A copper object, two inches in height, shaped like a cup on a pedestal.

One of the most important among the finds was a thin oval plate of gold $\frac{9}{16}$ inches in diameter with the figure of a lion between two lamp stands embossed on it. It appears to have belonged either to a seal or some kind of ornament. I quote below the remarks of Mr. Codrington to whom it was sent for examination :—

" The type of an animal or object between two standing lamps is not uncommon. It appears in the Pallava coins and most commonly in the Pandyan series. In this last, it is the type of the coins which apparently precede the introduction of the " Ceylon type, " but it reappeared in a modified form in a coin of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

The gold ornament shows a maned lion, sitting right, between two standing lamps, all within the bead circle. The nearest type to this is the Pandyan " fish " or " fishes " type which I attribute to the period before the Chola conquest in the tenth century. The present ornament is identical save that the dynastic emblem of the Pandyan fishes is replaced by the Sinhalese lion.

Provisionally, I should put this ornament as belonging to the same period (before tenth century). There is, however, a possibility in view of the thirteenth-fourteenth century Pandyan coin, that it is later."

From the depth in which the gold object was found, I think that the earlier date is more likely.

The excavations themselves did not yield any evidence to determine what purpose the buildings unearthed served in their time. But in the prefatory remarks, I have brought forward evidence to show that this locality was the royal enclosure, and therefore, we may not be wrong in concluding that the buildings formed part of the Sinhalese royal establishment during the Anurādhapura days. The brick built structure excavated appears, from its plan,

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more like a religious shrine than a building intended for living purposes. It is quite possible that it was one of the religious edifices which, as we learn from the chronicles, were located within the limits of the royal palace. At the same time we should not forget that the temples of gods were themselves modelled on the king's residence and the temple ritual was but a copy of that observed in the king's palace. Moreover, the king himself was a living god and, therefore, we may reasonably expect similarities between certain buildings dedicated to the king's use and the temples of the gods.

Further excavation at the site might possibly throw light on these curious buildings, and also afford us more information about the secular side of the old Sinhalese culture than we are at present in possession of.

Mr. E. W. Perera, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that they had all been very greatly impressed with Mr. Paranavitana's paper. It was not often that they had papers of the same degree of interest as the result of original research work. His identification of the palace remains of Anurādhapura from lithic record and contemporary record was exceedingly creditable. They were all keen about the work of the Archaeological Department since Mr. Bell had ceased his connection. It was Sir William Gregory who first took an interest in Ceylon antiquities, and it was Sir Arthur Gordon who created that Department of Archaeology. They had a very brilliant man in charge, Mr. Ayrton, who was unfortunately drowned in a tank in the Southern Province. The war came on and the Department was closed for some years. Mr. Hocart was then appointed but he did not remain very long. Those of them who felt that they had ruins second to none in the world were anxious that these should be conserved as relics of their civilisation. The Government which had taken some interest in the matter was keen on getting a fully qualified man from England. But it was now thought than an expert from India who had worked with that unrivalled Archaeologist Sir John Marshall was the wiser course. They had to get a man at the earliest possible opportunity because monuments were fast decaying and vandals were about. In conclusion he hoped that Mr. Paranavitana would give them another paper on the subject very soon.

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka in seconding said that the lecture was of absorbing interest. Apart from its intrinsic merits it indicated the vast amount of research that had yet to be done in the ancient City of Anurādhapura. The fact that although the Citadel was discovered in the nineties, yet the exploration work upon it was begun only in 1927 showed how perfunctorily the work of the Archaeological Department had been carried on though large sums of money were annually voted for it. In fact, real Archaeological work had yet to be begun in Ceylon. Now that this work was started he hoped

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that that work would be carried on continuously and systematically. He could not but congratulate Mr. Paranavitana on the success of his investigations. His discoveries incidentally disproved the theory held by some that brick buildings belonged to a later period in the history of Ceylon. The fact that such buildings existed in the 8th century was therefore very important. His own opinion was that there was a continuous and natural course of development in architectural work in Ceylon from the earliest times. He hoped that these excavations would be carried further and deeper until they reached the 3rd century buildings referred to by the lecturer. He (the speaker) agreed that these buildings were religious structures. He was, however, doubtful if the building that was exhibited in the pictures was really the old Dalada Maligawa. The lecture had whetted their curiosity very much and he hoped that the whole area would be thoroughly explored.

The Chairman, in commenting on the lecture, said that the paper by Mr. Paranavitana provided them with a very good object-lesson as to what Archaeological research was. He hoped that those of them who would be visiting Anurādhapura would make it their business to see the excavation and conservation work now being carried out in the Citadel. The nature of the work would show to what a remarkable degree the buildings had been covered. In order to get down to the foundation of the building 10 feet of earth had to be removed. It required no little courage to undertake such a piece of research which, properly speaking, should require the services of experts in four different branches of archaeology. In the circumstances Mr. Paranavitana had done remarkably well. Archaeological work of this type was beset with difficulties. Not the least important thing was to decide which sites would most profitably repay excavation. Having decided upon this the excavation work itself requires to be done with the utmost care and skill. At any stage the results might be irretrievably spoilt by ignorant and untrained workers. In exposing the building the various strata of earth removed must be examined scientifically for evidence of successive occupations of the site. In this particular case evidence was obtained to show that the site had been used in at least three different periods. Restoration work though more spectacular than the laborious process of excavation was perhaps easier. But one has to guard against over restoration as restoration should not be carried beyond the point at which with the materials at hand. A reasonable idea of the original structure could be obtained by a person of average imagination.

In the particular case before us the value of epigraphical research has been fully demonstrated, and in all cases historical evidence is of great value in assisting us not only in dating a building but also in determining its functions.

Therefore that was a fitting opportunity to call public attention to the needs of the Archaeological Department. At least they needed an archaeologist, an architect, a historian, an anthropologist and an ethnologist.

Dr. Finot had told him that in French Indo-China they had ten highly trained French Archaeologists, and four of them devoted the whole of their time to exploratory work. Not the least important branch of Archaeological research in Ceylon was the need for a complete survey of the Archaeological remains scattered throughout the Island. It was impossible to do this with the present staff.

3. A vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and seconded by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, brought the proceedings to a close.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 21, 1930.

Present :

Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.
Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Dr. W. Balendra	Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
Mr. L. E. Blaze, B.A.	,, L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
Rev. H. V. I. S. Corea	,, G. E. Harding, B.A.
Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle	,, K. Shanmukham, M.R.A.S.
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva	,, F. A. Tisseverasinghe
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar	,, L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
	,, E. H. Vanderwall

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Dr. G. P.Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.,
Hony. Secretaries.

Visitors : 1 lady and 6 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 27th day of June, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman proposed the following vote of condolence on the death of Mr. Frederick Lewis.

Resolved that the Society do place on record an expression of its deep regret at the loss it has sustained by the death of Mr. Frederick Lewis.

Dr. Nell in proposing the vote stated that for many years, as they would see from the Journal of the Society, Mr. Lewis had liberally contributed to its pages. He was a very assiduous student of Ceylon Botany, Zoology and Antiquities, and they had been very greatly indebted to him for many contributions. The distinguishing characteristic of Mr. Lewis was always the desire to be precise and accurate. The vote was passed in silence all members standing.

3. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, who read his paper on "The Central School Commission between 1841 and 1848."

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THE CENTRAL SCHOOL COMMISSION, 1841-1848

BY

L. J. GRATIAEN, B.A.

This account of the Government schools as they existed about 85 years ago you will not expect to be either exciting or amusing. It is merely an orderly statement of facts regarding the Government schools, gathered partly from the official reports, partly from the newspapers of the period, and partly from original correspondence in the Government archives,* for permission to have access to which I have to acknowledge my debt to Government. It has been my aim to make no generalisations myself and to make no statements unsupported by evidence. This evidence and the names of authorities it has not seemed necessary to obtrude into the body of this paper, but it may be said here that the very words of the original authorities have been introduced very freely, even though the quotation marks are not always reproduced in the reading.

This paper carries us back to the day of small things, when Government spent on schools one hundredth part of what it spends now, and if anyone is inclined to think the matters treated of are petty, this may be partly conceded, yet little things may be important where greater things have resulted from them.

Before the year 1832 the schools supported by the Government of Ceylon were almost entirely vernacular

* References introduced by numbers in the footnotes to this article are to the volumes of correspondence in the archives. Few references have been made in the footnotes to the annual Government Almanac which have supplied some statistics.

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schools, which were situated chiefly on the south-west coast.[1] In 1830 Lt.-Colonel Colebrooke, one of the two Commissioners whose reports mark the end of the old era and the beginning of a more liberal administration reported that these schools were inefficient, and in several cases existed only in name. He recommended that they should be abolished and that attention should be given to the teaching of English, with the aim of educating the people so that they might be fit to occupy higher situations in the service of Government. In 1832 accordingly the Government vernacular schools were closed and English schools began to be opened, generally in connection with the Anglican churches and under the superintendence of Government Chaplains. The oversight of the schools was entrusted to a School Commission composed of Archdeacon Glenie as President, a number of officials and the clergy resident in Colombo.[2]

By 1841 there were 38 Government schools in existence, with 2,003 pupils, out of an estimated population of 1,400,000, or roughly one child for every 700 of population. Of these pupils it was reported that "not a fourth part of the pupils left school with education sufficient to enable them to read or write the English language with any tolerable degree either of ease or accuracy." The result of placing the schools in the hands of the church was also otherwise regrettable. There were a number of unpleasant incidents. As one of the newspapers expressed it—

"With the clergy as usual it's war to the knife ;
A general diffusion of malice and strife."

Besides the Government schools there were schools, both in the south-west and in the north, which were opened by the agents of the four Protestant Missionary societies.

1. For an account of these schools the writer's "Government schools in Ceylon, 1798-1832" may be consulted.

2. An account of The first School Commission (1832-1841) is printed by the Colombo Historical Association, paper No. 11, August, 1927.

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By 1848 these schools still contained four times as many children as the Government schools, but in the Sinhalese districts the missionaries devoted themselves chiefly to primary education in Sinhalese, though they had also a few English schools. In Jaffna the missions, led by the American Mission, while not neglecting Tamil paid a good deal of attention to English. The opening of English schools by Government would not therefore lead to competition in the south of the Island, but in the north rivalry was inevitable unless care and good sense were exercised.

Governor Stewart Mackenzie was anxious to improve the Government schools and also to bring the mission schools into the Government school system.

His proposals [3] were that :—

(1) Schools were to be open to children of all denominations. The basis of education was to be the Scriptures, but no exclusive tenets were to be taught, and children were to attend their parents' place of worship.

(2) Children were to be taught to read their own language before they were taught English. A Translation Committee was to prepare books for the vernacular schools.

(3) Teachers were to be trained in Normal Schools.

(4) Visiting Superintendents were to be appointed.

(5) The Commission was to contain others besides Chaplains and Civil officials.

All these reforms depended on depriving the Archdeacon and the Chaplains of control. The Secretary of State ordered that the matter should be referred to the Bishop of Madras. But the disorganised state of the Commission was notorious and the Bishop could not well object. Accordingly in March, 1841, at the very close of his government, Governor

3. Observer, 25th Nov., 1840.—Governor's address to Council and volume B 591 (in Archives) 2nd March, 1840.

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Mackenzie issued a minute dissolving the Commission, and substituting one of nine members appointed by himself.[4]

This Central School Commission was presided over by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Philip Anstruther, and consisted chiefly of representatives of the churches and missions. The first members were Rev. J. P. Horsford (Colonial Chaplain), Rev. G. J. MacVicar (Presbyterian Chaplain), Rev. C. Antonio (Roman Catholic Priest), Rev. D. J. Gogerly (Wesleyan Missionary), Rev. Joseph Bailey (Church Missionary), Mr. John Armitage (Unofficial M.L.C.), Sir A. Oliphant (Chief Justice) and Mr. P. E. Wodehouse (Government Agent, W.P.)

The appointment of a full-time Inspector of schools was found impracticable, and the Postmaster-General, Mr. George Lee, who had been Editor of Ceylon's first newspaper, the Colombo Journal, and who translated Ribeiro, was appointed Inspector and Secretary of the Commission.

Though the exclusive supervision of the Government schools was thus taken away from the Anglican clergy, there seems to have been no trouble for some years in carrying out the religious policy laid down by Governor Mackenzie, who issued a special minute[5] for the guidance of the Commission. This insisted on the two-fold duty of promoting "the religious education of such of the community as belonged to the Christian faith," and of doing nothing likely to "exclude scholars of any religious belief," or "raise religious scruples on the part of any."

The Commission managed the schools through sub-Committees and Superintendents of schools. The sub-Committees, composed generally of officials and clergy, recommended Superintendents, advised regarding masters and inspected schools.[6] The Superintendents, who were expected to visit and examine their schools frequently, were the means of communication between the Commission and

4. Almanac, 1844.
5. Minute of 26th May, 1841, in almanac for 1844.
6. Report of School Commission for 1846.

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teachers, and had to see that resolutions of the Commission and the sub-Committees were carried out. [6]

One of the first measures of the Commission was to invite each Superintendent of schools to continue in his charge. [7] Some of the Chaplains had scruples regarding doing so, and asked for aid for schools to be conducted under their exclusive management. [8] The Commission was unable to agree, but were willing, where a Chaplain retained his superintendence, "to leave the religious instruction entirely in his hands, provided only that those who professed tenets differing from the Church of England were not interfered with." [9]

It was ordered that the first hour daily in every Government school should be devoted to Religious Instruction, but masters were particularly enjoined not to require the attendance of those boys whose parents objected to their attending during that hour. [10] Very few children, we are told, absented themselves. The religious teaching was almost exclusively the reading of the Bible. [11]

Elementary Schools.

Under the new Commission the work of opening new English schools was continued, but there was no marked increase in the number of pupils. In 1841 the Government schools numbered 38, with 2,003 pupils. In 1848 there were 60 English schools, with a total attendance of 2,714. [12] This gives an average attendance of 45 for each school, but many of the outstation schools had about 25 children, with one teacher. Most of the larger schools were in Colombo, such as the Academy Model School, the Consistorial School, St.

7. Herald, 3rd February, 1843.
8. A 1532. 11th and 15th June, 1841.
9. Resolution of August, 1841—in Report for 1846, appendix.
10. Rules of 6th July, quoted in Report for 1860.
11. Report of School Commission, 1846.
12. Almanac.

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Peter's and St. Thomas', each of which generally had more than a hundred pupils. The fees charged continued to be 3d. a month, in return for which stationery was supplied free. [12]

Many of the schools opened during these years were closed when the demand was found to be insufficient. Places like Kegalle and Matale were thus tried and abandoned. Among the reasons given why there was not a greater demand for English education it is interesting to find already the statement that parents who had their children educated were ashamed to allow them to be employed in trade or manual work. [13]

There had always been far less desire among the people for schools for girls than for boys, and also far greater difficulty in obtaining qualified women teachers. [14] In spite of this the number of girls' schools rose from four in 1841 to sixteen in 1848. [12]

Very few of the schools were housed in suitable buildings, most of them being in rented houses. [11] Ventilation, Lee reported, was so imperfect, that a European could not remain even one hour in any of them without experiencing an injurious effect! The teachers, we are told, were "for the most part men reared for other professions, or who had devoted the greater part of their lives to some other employment." [15] The first Commission had not left its successor a pleasant legacy in this respect. At St. Thomas' Boys' School, for instance, it was found that the assistant masters "were so ignorant that the pupils could not be expected to derive any knowledge from them," while the master of the girls' school was completely superannuated. [16] So at Galle the master and mistress of the girls' school were "diligent and attentive,

13. Letter in Observer of 6th April, 1846.
14. Report, 1846.
15. Observer, 15th July, 1844.
16. Report of a visit of inspection, B 1532, 14th Sept., 1841.

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but much could not be said for their efficiency."[17] On the other hand, at Barberyn there was a patient, hardworking and efficient teacher, who gave nine hours a day to his scholars—if that can be thought a proof of efficiency.

Most of the teachers were paid between £48 and £68 a year. It was the "anxious desire of the Commission to render the situation of Government school masters such, that the best qualified persons might be induced to enter this branch of the public service, and having entered, to find themselves comfortable and respected."[11] It was therefore provided that when the number of pupils in a school was in excess of 100, and 25 of them had reached a satisfactory standard in the three Rs, the master's salary would be raised to £100.[17] Accordingly three teachers of elementary schools were in 1847 paid as much as £100.[18]

Central and Normal Schools.

The Commission early decided that the education given in the schools was not practical, and that schools were needed which should teach such subjects as mensuration, surveying, navigation, drawing and chemistry.[19] They therefore opened three superior "Central Schools," "on the improved system of education"[20] under trained teachers from the Normal Seminary at Glasgow, which had been begun in 1836, the first institution in Britain for the training of teachers.

The first Central School was opened at Colombo in August, 1843, under William Knighton, who wrote a History of Ceylon, and "Forest Life in Ceylon." He began his school with 40 boys, whose attainments he found to be various, but on the whole an honour to the institutions from which they came.[17]

Soon after he began work, a class of twelve normal students which had been begun at the Academy in 1842

17. Report, 1845.
18. Report, 1848.
19. Report, 1842.
20. Observer, 18th July, 1844.

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was transferred to him. These students worked with the highest class of the school, and taught under supervision. They had each an allowance of £10 a year, and the course lasted three years.[21] As the other Central schools were opened, similar normal classes were attached to them.

Knighton thus explains the new methods of teaching now introduced by him. "Two students are employed weekly in delivering training lessons or lectures to the entire body of pupils, by means of ellipses and questions mixed, as pursued in the Normal Seminary of Glasgow, By means of these almost every subject may be impressed. clearly and accurately, upon the minds of the pupils."[17] Certainly the elliptical method was deeply impressed upon teaching in Ceylon.

The next Central and Normal school was opened at Galle, under Mr. J. Millar. In October, 1844, there were 93 pupils, and four normal students.[17] The discipline was admirable, and "Mr. Millar evidently spared no pains to stimulate his pupils, whose appearance and manner were respectable in the extreme." Here the Inspector noted the very simple method adopted of the boys holding up their hands when ready to answer.[14]

The third school was started at Kandy by Mr. Murdoch, afterwards famous as the first agent of the Christian Literature Society.

There were doubts about opening the school at Kandy, as education in English was not appreciated by the Kandyans, who were not ambitious of Government employment, and it was reported that the people would not pay the school fees or buy school books, but these predictions were not fulfilled.[17]

In 1846 there were 34 boys in the Central school, and 6 normal students. Though there was much less outward

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21. Report, 1845, 1846.

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appearance of progress here than in the other schools, there was a greater degree of attention paid to all without favour or exception. [14]

The three Central schools gave great satisfaction. It was reported that the pupils were assuming a degree of energy and acquiring a love of study and regularity which an untrained teacher rarely imparted. At Galle there was in all the Government schools a show of discipline and improvement which might easily be traced to the influence of the Central school.[17] Even more important was the success of those normal students who left the Colombo school and took charge of schools at out-stations. These were able to prepare their pupils for the senior school, where they at once readily fell into the system ; and when a trained master was transferred his successor, educated in the same school, did not throw back his scholars for a while. [17]

The Colombo school was unfortunate. It soon lost Knighton, who left Ceylon for Bengal in 1846, whereupon the normal students returned to the Academy. [14] Mr. Crank of the Academy, who succeeded Knighton, soon left, and the school was then entrusted to Rev. Dr. Kessen, the Wesleyan Missionary, who was reported to be more or less familiar with 14 languages, and whose "talents as a teacher were well-known." [22]

The barracks where the school was held being required by the military [23] the school was moved to "the lower part of an old building, the residence of a missionary, bordering on one of the noisiest streets," where it had "one long crowded and dirty room." There was no playground, and the children were on the street during the intervals. [24]

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22. Monthly Literary Register, 1884.
23. 1892, 26th January, 1847. "Nearly 170 boys thrown loose from their education."
24. Observer, 13th July, 1848.

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Superior Girls' Schools.

While thus opening Central schools for the boys the Commission did not forget the girls. Before 1843 the best education for girls available in Colombo cost from 15 shillings to £1 a month at a private day school under the charge of Miss Giberne at Mutwal.[25] But in 1843 the Commission opened two girls' schools in Colombo, with a monthly fee of 1*s.* 6*d.* and under English Principals "initiated into the improved system of instruction taught at the Borough Road, and possessed of a missionary spirit." The establishment of these schools, the Female Seminary and the Consistorial Girls' school, was "the commencement of female education, which can hardly be said to have previously existed in Colombo."[26]

In June, 1844, both schools were publicly examined, and prizes offered by the Commission were distributed. The examination of the Seminary "elicited the decided approbation of the visitors. The young ladies read well, answered scripture questions and enquiries as to the meanings of words very readily. Their needlework was at once bought by the ladies in attendance." At the Consistorial school the examination was conducted by Miss Wells, whose system others could not be conversant with. The children all joined in singing cheerful songs, and "all seemed lively and interested."[27] Next year the pupils had increased in numbers, and at their examination gave proofs of great progress."[25] The salaries of the Principals were accordingly increased as a sign of approbation.[28]

So successful were these schools that similar ones were opened at Galle and Matara, but both these had soon to be closed.

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25. Report, 1845.
26. Observer, 18th July, 1844.
27. Observer, June, 1844
28. 1746. 2nd Nov., 1844.

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The Academy.

The apex of the Government school system was the Academy, founded by Rev. Joseph Marsh as a private school and refounded as a Government school in 1836. Mr. Marsh died in 1839, and the Principal from 1842 was the redoubtable Dr. Barcroft Boake, as pugnacious a cleric as ever came out of Ireland. His chief assistant was Mr. Brooke Bailey. In 1841 there were 103 boys in the Academy itself and its lower school, which was called the Model School but was conducted in a cadjan shed.[29] The fees were 8 Rds. a month in the upper school and 4 in the lower. One of the first acts of the Commission was to reduce the fees by half.[30] The numbers in the Model School quickly rose[31] to 277, while the upper school had 61 boys in 1844. There were, however, bitter complaints from the school that the doors had been thrown open to a promiscuous crowd,[30] and the relations between Boake and the School Commission were never cordial.

Aided Schools.

The next innovation by the Commission was with regard to aid for Mission schools. Governor Mackenzie had specially stated in his Minute[32] that the Commission was at liberty to grant aid to private schools, on full right of inspection and examination being allowed. A plan was now adopted[33] by which some "Ministers' schools" were supported by Government, the minister being sole Superintendent of his school and appointing and dismissing teachers with the concurrence of the Commission. Salaries were regulated as in Government schools.

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29. Young Ceylon, May, 1850.
30. Reports, 1841, '45, '46.
31. Examiner, 15th July, 1846.
32. Minute of 26th May, 1841, in almanac for 1844.
33. 18th September, 1843.

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In the south the Missionaries, especially the Wesleyans, who were most affected, thought English "a very imperfect medium of instruction"[34] and were not much interested in the scheme. The Wesleyan Boys' and Girls' schools at Colpetty, Galle and Trincomalee and a Baptist school at Grand Pass did however figure for some years among the Government schools.[35]

But it was in Jaffna, where the Missionaries were keen on English education, that the system of aid to Mission schools really took root. There the first Commission had started an English and four vernacular schools. These were not satisfactory and were closed in 1842 and others opened under new masters.[36] There was difficulty in providing for efficient superintendence, and danger of interference with the Mission schools.[37] The Government schools were therefore discontinued,[38] and grants were made instead to the Missions in Jaffna.[39] The American Mission received £200 a year and the Church Mission and the Wesleyans £150 each, "to be expended, in addition to the amounts already devoted by those Missions, in the diffusion of English education," "on condition of their extending their schools, either their English schools, or if their vernacular schools, then their girls' schools, to the extent that the grant made to them would permit."[40] In 1847 there were 30 Jaffna grant schools with 1,466 pupils. The work of superintendence was actively performed, and thus the object of the Commission was attained.[40]

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34. Rev. Spence Hardy in Observer, 6th December, 1837, and Friend, April, 1839.
35. Almanacs.
36. Report of School Commission, 1843.
37. Observer, July, 1844.
38. In 1844. Reports for 1844, 1845.
39. 1746. 29th February, 1844. Resolution of School Commission and Examiner, 12th August, 1846.
40. Reports of School Commission, 1845, 1846.

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Similar arrangements were next made for Chaplains who refused to superintend Government schools. Rev. S. Owen Glenie at Trincomalee opened two small schools, which he conducted "not as rivals but as useful adjuncts to the Government schools," and grants were made to enable him to open three more.[38] It was arranged that if a Chaplain raised a quarter of the expenses of his school by subscriptions or fees, made monthly returns, taught up to a minimum standard, kept within the Commission's scale of salaries, and allowed inspection, he should have entire freedom in appointments and dismissals of staff and fixing of fees, and three-fourths of the school expenses should be borne by Government.[41] In addition to Glenie's schools two Chaplain's Girls' schools were opened in 1847; one at Jaffna under Rev. Arndt; and the other at Kandy under Rev. Von Dadelzen.[42] This experiment, however, did not last long.

Vernacular Schools.

Another innovation of these years was the decision to open Government vernacular schools. After 1832 the policy of Government had been to have English schools and leave vernacular education to the Missions. Governor Mackenzie was anxious that the beginning of education should be in the vernacular, but the Secretary of State, Lord John Russell, refused to sanction expenditure for such a purpose.[43] The former policy was therefore continued for a while, but it was found that many of the scholars, especially in the village schools, could not benefit by the instruction they received unless it was combined with Sinhalese.[44] After a time masters were allowed to use Sinhalese as an aid in teaching,[41] and in September, 1843,

41. Report for 1846.
42. 1892. 20th, 22nd April, 1847.
43. Report of Committee of Legislative Council, 1867.
44. Report for 1849-1850, and 1846.

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the Commission resolved that where necessary an elementary school should be supplied with the means of giving instruction in Sinhalese, so that "the children might be able to read with accuracy their own language, prior to commencing the study of English." [41] In order to encourage this primary vernacular education it was made entirely free, no fee being charged until a pupil began to study English. [45]

One reason why Government objected to establishing vernacular schools was that the Missions were able to conduct schools more efficiently and economically, so much more vigilant and influential was the superintendence of the Missionaries than that of such persons as Government could call to its aid. [46] The Missions, however, had not the funds to extend their work. In 1845 Rev. Gogerly wrote to the Colonial Secretary pointing this out. Nineteen children out of twenty he declared were receiving no education at all. He suggested that as a first step Government should open a normal school for Sinhalese masters. It could be decided later whether Government should open schools or the Missions continue the work. [47] It was resolved that the matter was of the greatest importance. A supplementary grant was voted, and by the first of June the Native Normal Institution was opened with twenty students. [48]

The Rector was Rev. Kessen, and the Institution was housed near the Pettah Wesleyan Chapel. The course was for two years, and from 1846 there were two classes of twenty men each, and what was "perhaps an entirely novel feature" there were ten women students. [48] The subjects of study were the Bible, Reading, Writing,

45. 1892. Circular of May, 1846.
46. Barrow's Ceylon Past and Present, p. 164.
47. 1746, 5th and 13th May, 18th June, 1845. Report for 1845.
48. 1746. 23rd May, 1845.

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Geography, History, Arithmetic, Elements of Science, and a very little Geometry. This last subject was taught that the masters, being able to measure land, might be more useful in the villages.

At the end of 1845 there was a public examination in the presence of the Governor.[49] It began at eleven o'clock. The Bishop, Dr. MacVicar and Mr. Lee examined the students and the result was declared to be "extremely creditable." Mr. Lee particularly noted the penmanship and the "almost incredible readiness" with which sums in addition and reduction were worked. A second examination was held in December, 1846,[50] and a third in June, 1847.[51] At the latter the Governor and the Colonial Secretary and a large assembly were present. The walls were covered with paintings and drawings, the work of the students. The Governor spoke of the advancement of the pupils in this branch in very flattering terms, and generally in high praise of what he saw.

In 1847 Government vernacular schools were begun. The Commission took over some schools from the Missions, and began others for some of the teachers trained at the Normal Institution.[52] The other trained teachers were "awarded" to Ministers' schools,[53] which seem ultimately to have been taken over entirely by the Commission. The attendance at these schools varied from 16 to 54.

Once the Commission had decided seriously to treat Sinhalese "not merely as a step to English, but as a permanent channel for acquiring information,"[41] it was necessary to set about obtaining the necessary books, for

49. Examiner, 28th January, 1846, and Report for 1846.
50. Times, 11th December, 1846; Examiner, 30th December, 1846.
51. Examiner, 9th and 17th June, 1847.
52. Report of S.C. for 1847.
53. B 701, minute of 24th July, 1847, Examiner, 13th September, 1847.

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there was an "almost entire absence of all books in the native language adapted for instruction;[54] "little or nothing in the native literature fit to be introduced into a good school."[41] At the Normal Seminary at first the Principal and the Headmaster translated for their pupils the lessons absolutely necessary, and in other things had to content themselves with verbal explanations.[55]

A Committee was therefore appointed in 1845 to select works for translation, and thus form "a new literature, commencing from its very rudiments," the actual translation being done by a paid translator.[56] But the printing was delayed, and by 1850 there were still no Arithmetic, no History and no Geography books available in Sinhalese.[55]

The Commission.

One matter in which the Commission was open to criticism was the inspection of schools. The Observer declared that the Inspector was not practically acquainted with school routine or method and described his inspection as being "of a most superficial character, consisting merely of a hasty glance into the interior of a few schools in the Central and Western Provinces: a glance only cast on them once a year."[57] This was exaggerated, and the Herald thought it was superfluous to praise Lee's activity and zeal,[58] but as the Inspector was not only Secretary of the Commission but also Postmaster-General, at a time when the duties of the post office were increasing,

54. Report for 1845.
55. Report for 1849-50.
56. A Spelling book and a First Reading book by Mr. Gogerly, a School Sinhalese-English Dictionary, and large Sinhalese Alphabets were published in 1847. Mr. Haslam prepared an Arithmetic with Ceylon examples, and a first book in English and Sinhalese. Mr. Kessen translated a Geography of Asia, and a suitable Geometry, while Mr. Brooke Bailey prepared books in History and Geography. (Reprt for 1846-47).
57. Observer, 15th July, 1844.
58. Herald, 31st March, 1843.

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the Commission had at last to represent that his other duties made it impossible that the inspection of schools should be attended to properly.[59] Government was urged to separate the offices of Secretary and Inspector. It decided to relieve Mr. Lee of both offices, to which it appointed Mr. Brooke Bailey.[59] The Commission protested. They thought Mr. Bailey better qualified for the post of Inspector than any other person on the spot, but they wanted the two posts to be separated, and Mr. Lee to continue as Secretary.[59] The separation of duties was allowed, but Government appointed as Secretary a member of the Commission, Rev. John MacVicar, D.D.,[60] the Scotch Chaplain, "a brawny old mathematician who combined poetry with metaphysics,"[61] and who was the first Vice-President of this Society.

We see, therefore, that between 1841 and 1847 the plans of Governor Stewart Mackenzie were gradually realised. A representative Commission was working harmoniously; teachers were being trained; schools were inspected by a full-time Inspector; arrangements were made for children to begin their education in the vernacular; a Translation Committee was appointed; the Native Normal Institution was laying a foundation for vernacular education; superior schools had been opened, and a system of grants-in-aid established.

The results of all this were full of promise. English had now come to be in universal use among the Burghers, among whom it was rapidly superseding all other languages.[62] The people in all parts of the Island were awaking to the advantages which education brings with it. Contrary to the general opinion, which was that national apathy

59. 1746. 2nd and 9th September, 1845.
60. 1746. 18th and 23rd September, 1845.
61. Life of Lorenz in "Forty Years in a Crown Colony."
62. Times, 3rd November, 1845.

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presented a bar to the success of any educational system, the local Times declared that there was not a people more alive to the superiority which mental cultivation confers.[63]

In 1848 there were 60 Government English schools open with an attendance of 2,714; four of these were superior schools for boys and three superior schools for girls. There were two Normal Classes for English teachers, a Normal Institution for Sinhalese teachers, and 24 new Sinhalese schools with about 800 pupils, while in Jaffna there were 28 grant schools with 1,049 pupils.

There was, however, another side to this picture of progress; and that was the financial. The expenditure on schools rose steadily, and though the number of pupils rose too, the average cost per pupil rather rose than fell, since the superior schools were under qualified imported teachers, who could not be got on next to nothing. Progress had to be paid for, but no attempt had been made to secure that a fair share of the payment came from those who benefitted. Almost the whole cost fell on Government. The total expenditure on schools rose from £2,999 in 1841 to £11,415 in 1847,[64] an increase of almost 300 per cent., while (if we take the Jaffna grant schools into account) the increase in attendance was only 120 per cent.

For some years after 1841 the membership of the School Commission continued almost unaltered, and members worked harmoniously together.[65] But in 1845 changes began which soon turned it almost into a new body. On the departure of Mr. Anstruther in that year, Bishop Chapman, lately appointed first Anglican Bishop of Colombo, was offered and accepted the Presidency.[66] Other new

63. Times, 18th July, 3rd December, 1846.
64. Figures in Report, 1862-3.
65. Herald, 3rd February, 1845.
66. 1746. 14th November, 1845.

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members in 1846 and 1847 were Rev. J. D. Palm (Presbyterian Minister), Rev. A. Renaud (R.C.Priest), Mr. G. Crabbe (M.L.C.), Mr. W. C. Gibson (Acting Auditor-General), Rev. H. D. Gordon (C.M.S.), J. MacCarthy (Auditor-General), and Sir J. E. Tennent (Colonial Secretary).

Anstruther's position as Colonial Secretary and President of the Commission had helped the Government and the Commission to see eye to eye. But with the Bishop as President the position was different. Difficulties were bound to arise regarding the administration of a Government department by a semi-independent body.

A crisis was precipitated by Rev. Kessen, Principal of the Central school and the Native Normal Institution, who applied direct to the Governor for a vacant post in the Academy, to which he was appointed. [67] It was explained to the Governor that appointments lay with the Commission. He said he was unaware of it and disapproved it, and issued a minute stating that the administration of funds, the appointment of masters, and all proceedings of the Commission which involved an expenditure of money would be subject to his approval, and all appointments carrying salaries over £100 per annum would be made in the first instance by him. [68] Upon this Bishop Chapman resigned the Presidency, [69] and Tennent took his place. [70]

One of the first acts of the Commission after the change was the revoking of the arrangements regarding assistance to Chaplains' and Ministers' schools. Such schools as continued under the Commission now became wholly Government schools. [71]

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67. Examiner, 8th September, 1847.
68. B 701, in Report dated 14th August, 1847.
69. August, 1847.
70. 3701. 13th August, 1847.
71. 731. 1st January, 1848, 1892, 28th December, 1847. Report of School Commission, 1848.

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The religious differences which it had been hoped to heal with the appointment of the Bishop as President now broke out afresh.[72] Anglican Chaplains refused to serve on the Board. They also objected to the Scotch Chaplain, Dr. MacVicar, being Secretary. In order "to quiet the sectarian jealousies which disturbed the proceedings" of the Commission, Dr. MacVicar "made a voluntary surrender of his office for the maintenance of Christian peace," and was replaced by a layman, as "less likely to excite religious jealousies out of doors, or to attract the suspicions of sectarian influences."[73] The new Secretary was Mr. J. Fraser, keeper of the Government Records.[74]

Meanwhile Ceylon was passing through difficult times. 1847 was marked by a commercial panic in England. In Ceylon, coffee planting suffered a severe set-back, and the Island's revenue was seriously affected. The next year when revolutions broke out in Europe, there was a Kandyan rising, followed by martial law. It was necessary that the axe should be applied.

In September, 1848, Government, with the "strongest confidence in the zeal, devotion and judgment" of the School Commission, informed it that for the ensuing year the vote for schools would be cut down from £10,684 to £6,000, and asked for a scheme of retrenchment.[75] A Committee was appointed which produced a scheme to run the schools "on a reduced scale of expense with greater efficiency." We shall not now enquire how they achieved this aim. It is enough to note that in January, 1849, reorganisation took place and a new chapter began in the story of the schools.

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72. B 729. 1st, 3rd and 27th January, 1848. 21st February, 14th April, 1848.

73. A 1968, 22nd May, 1848, 13th and 20th April, 1848.

74. Mr. Fraser drew £50 of the Secretary's salary, Dr. McVicar drawing the rest in consideration of his voluntary surrender of the post.

75. 732. 20th September, 1848. Report 47-8.

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Mr. G. E. Harding, B.D., B.A., said that Mr. Gratiaen was thorough in all that he undertook, and the short paper he had read to them that evening was exceedingly interesting.

He had thrown great light upon one of the earlier phases of educational activity in the British period.

In some respects the views held by important people of those days were similar to those of the leading educationists of to-day, notably in emphasizing the importance of early education being given in the vernacular.

Here, however, they were only reverting to the ideas enunciated by the great Comenius in the 17th century, who in his "Great Didactic" maintained that up to the age of twelve the teaching of other languages should be in the mother-tongue, and that direct instruction in the mother-tongue should precede all other instruction.

Mr. Gratiaen had shown that in the period under review there had been difficulties to solve even as now, though of course not of the same type.

He had great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Gratiaen for his illuminating paper.

The Chairman in conveying the thanks of the Society to Mr. Gratiaen reminded him of the expectations expressed by some of the speakers and hoped Mr. Gratiaen would favour them again with papers on the history of educational efforts in Ceylon.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 29th, 1930.

Present :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. M. Abeyagunaratna.
,, J. D. de Lanerolle.
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva.
Mr. S. B. Dias.
,, G. C. Edirisingha, B.A.
,, J. S. A. Fernando.
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
Mr. L. A. Hayter.
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.L.C.
Mr. Jacob Moonasingha.
,, Walter Samarasingha, Atapattu Mudaliyar.
,, Charles Wickramaratna.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara and Mr. Edmund Reimers,

Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : 12 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 31st July, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle, who read the following paper on "Place Names of Ceylon."

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PLACE NAMES OF CEYLON

BY

JULIUS D. DE LANEROLLE

The place names of a country are necessarily bound up with its history and language. Old forms of words, which in later periods, have gone out of use, and words, of which the real significance is lost, are often found preserved in place names. A systematic study of them is therefore greatly helpful in the elucidation of numerous historical as well as linguistic questions. In Ceylon, however, very little seems to have been done by way of a systematic and scientific study of place names. The importance of such a study may not be sufficiently realised until and unless a few interesting names are thoroughly examined and the results viewed in the light of history and language. It is for that reason that I venture to place before the members of this learned Society some of the results I have been able to obtain from the investigations which I have carried on for some time. I do not, however, claim my investigations to be quite exhaustive; some of my conclusions, too, may be regarded as tentative for the present. The main object of my paper, today, is to stimulate the interest of our scholars in this very important subject, which, to my mind, is badly neglected.

The one thing that impressed me most in the course of my enquiries is that a comprehensive survey of the place names of Ceylon—if systematically done—ought to add a wealth of information to our present knowledge of the history and the languages of Ceylon. Until such a survey is done it is exceedingly difficult to treat the subject in all its aspects.

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The names of which the original significance is lost may be considered as the most interesting to the philologist and to the historian. When the original meaning of a name is forgotten, one of two things happens: either the meaning of a homonym is given to it, or, when a homonym is not available, the meaning of the word nearest to it in complexion is applied to it. Owing to this process, the original significance of many an important name is rendered unintelligible; several historical names have got most fanciful legends grown round them; and the identification of some places are made well-nigh impossible. Consequently, some statements in the history of Ceylon are without a proper background.

Out of a considerable number of place names which I have examined, I propose to discuss in this paper six typical ones. I proceed with them one by one:

Paḷā-Bat-Gala

This is a resting place of pilgrims along the route to Adam's Peak. It is a well-known spot. But the original significance of its name is now forgotten. When we examine this name it would be necessary first to find out the meaning of *paḷā-bat*, the first two parts of the compound; the third—*gala*—presents no difficulty. The word *paḷā-bat* occurs in the Sinhalese Ummagga-Jātaka[1] (Kuruṇāgala period —14th Century). Mudaliyar A. M. Guṇasēkara translates it as "potherbs and cooked rice."[2] In all the editions of the Sinhalese Ummagga-Jātaka which I have seen, the word *paḷā* of this compound (*paḷā-bat*) is found spelt with a dental *l*, which, apparently, Guṇasēkara has taken to be correct. *Palā* (with a dental *l*) is the Sinhalese derivative of Pāli *palāśa* (Skr. *palāśa*) a leaf or leaves, foliage; but the source of what occurs in *paḷā-bat* is entirely different. The Pāli word in the Jātakaṭṭhakathā corresponding to

1. Simon de Silva, *Sinh. Ummagga-Jātaka* (1899), p. 97-17.
2. A. M. Guṇasēkara, *Sinhalese Grammar*, p. 474-17.

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paḷā-bat in the Sinh. Ummagga-Jātaka is *puṭa-bhatta*, [1] which means (*puṭa* a tube or bag—*bhatta* food) 'bag-food,' 'food carried in a bag or knapsack.' In general application it implies viaticum or food for a journey. Hence *paḷā-bat-muḷak* (*paḷā-bat* viaticum—*muḷak* a knapsack) a knapsack of viaticum, in the Sinh. Ummagga-Jātaka. [1] There can be little doubt that this word *paḷā* is etymologically connected with Pāli *puṭaka*. (For further instances of *u* > *a*, cf *purāṇa* > *paraṇa* old, *khura* > *kara* a razor). Baṭuvantuḍāve gives its meaning as *patra-puṭa*, [2] a bag or knapsack made of leaf; and, it may be remarked that even in modern times, viaticum is, as a rule, packed by villagers in the spathe of an areca-nut leaf formed into a *puṭa* a sort of a knapsack. The word *muḷa* found in the compound *paḷā-bat-muḷak* may be considered as another form derived from Pāli *puṭa*. Its Tamil equivalent is *puḷḷai* a tube or pipe. *Puṭa-bhatta* in the Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa [3] is rendered as *bat-muḷak* in the Eḷu Attanagalu Vaṃsa. [4]

The Sinhalese word *paḷā-bat* meaning viaticum is not found in the modern language. Hence, apparently, the meaning of **palā-bat* (with a dental *l*) attributed to it by Guṇasēkara. There is, however, no doubt that at the time when Paḷā-bat-gala came to be mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa, it was in use. At least, the author of the Mahāvaṃsa was aware of its significance. He calls it Puṭa-bhatta-silā [5] (=a viaticum rock) : the rock where pilgrims stopped a while, unpacked their knapsacks and took a meal before they resumed their journey. This word clearly shows how the Pāli form of a Sinhalese place name still preserves its original significance, while the Sinhalese name itself has lost it.

1. Fausböll, *Jātaka* Text, Vol. vi. p. 397-*30*.
2. Baṭuvantuḍāve, *Ruvanmala* (1892), p. 76.
3. James D'Alwis, *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa* (1887) Ch. viii, l.
4. James D'Alwis, *Eḷu Attanagalu-Vaṃse* (1887), p. 93.
5. *Mv.* lxxxiv, v. 24.

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Koḷaṁba

Koḷaṁba (Anglicised 'Colombo') is the name of the modern Capital of Ceylon. This is a word with an interesting history behind it. Originally, it was not a Proper Noun and meant any port, ferry, harbour or haven. The Sidat-Saṅgarā (Daṁbadeṇi period—13th Century) calls it an indigenous term.[1] The first information as to its meaning is found in the oldest commentary to the Sidat-Saṅgarā,[2] written, perhaps, by the same author. The Ruvanmala (Kōṭṭe period—15th Century) gives it as a synonym for *toṭa* and *toṭu*, a ferry, port or haven.[3] The author of the Ruvanmala himself uses it in a passage in that sense.[4] After the Kōṭṭe period, nowhere is it found to have been used as a synonym for *toṭa* or *toṭu*. The word *koḷaṁba*, meaning ferry, etc., does not occur in Pāli and Skr., either in the same, or in a variant form. Nor does it appear to exist in Tamil. Therefore, the author of the Sidat-Saṅgarā is probably justified in calling it an indigenous term—indigenous, in the sense, that it is a Ceylon-born word, coming to Sinhalese from a language of the aborigines. The stem form of this *koḷaṁba* seems to be *kōḷ*, found also in modern Indian vernaculars. For instance, Tulu has *kolli* a bay, Malayāḷam *kollāi* a breach in a bank, Marāthī *kōḷ*, a creek or inlet, Hindī *kōḷ*, a creek or bay. In the Saddharma Ratnāvaliya (Daṁbadeṇi period—13th Century) occurs a word *kōḷ-baḍa*,[5] which is still found in use in the North-Central Province. It signifies the space occupied by an indent—a breach—in the bank of a river or tank. To my mind, both these words, *kōḷ-baḍa* and *koḷaṁba*, have the same meaning. Within the space of a ferry, water is naturally shallow, and, at a distance from it, deeper. Even today,

1. Śrī Dharmārāma, *Sidat-Saṅgarā* (1913), p. 16.
2. *Sidat-Saṅgarāvē Purāṇa Sanne*, Colombo Ed. (1915), p. 4.
3. Vijayasēkara, *Ruvanmala* (1914), v. 141.
4. *ibid* v. 1. "*mulu sat-vaga set koḷaṁba'l'e mahatmā*" that Great One who conveyed all beings to the haven of peace.
5. D. B. Jayatilaka, *Saddharma Ratnāvaliya* (1930), p.48-3.

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the area outside a ferry where water is deeper than within it is called *diyaṁba* ; and, in the days of old, there seems to have been a word of similar complexion to denote the area of shallow waters within a ferry, too. That word, I am inclined to believe, is none other than the now forgotten *koḷaṁba*. Apparently, it meant not merely the area of shallow waters within a ferry, but also a ferry or port itself. The Tamil equivalent of *kōḷ* or *koḷaṁba* is *kuḍā*. Cf. Kal-kuḍā (= a rocky bay) in the Eastern Province. Father Gnāna Prakāsar connects Tamil *kuḍā* with an "original word-type" **kuḷ*, which, according to his theory, [1] shows an affinity with *kōḷ*, although the form *kōḷ* itself is not found in Tamil.

In course of time the general term *koḷaṁba* came to be fixed as the name of the principal port on the western coast of Ceylon. Of this process, there are numerous other instances, such as, *mōdara* 'a mouth of a river'—now a village near the mouth of Kälaṇi-Gaṅga ; *maha-mōdara* 'the principal mouth of a river'—now a village near the mouth of Giṁ-Gaṅga. In what paticular period the general term *koḷaṁba* was fixed as a Proper Noun—as the name of the modern Capital of Ceylon—it is difficult to say. It is in the writings of the 14th Century that its first mention is found. Both Wang-Ta-Yuan [2] and Ibn Batuta [3] have spoken of this port in their Travels. The earliest record of it in any Sinhalese work is to be found in the Tisara-Sandēsa (Gampoḷa-period—end of the 14th Century). [4] The Mahāvaṁsa mentions it at a very late period : in the 94th Chapter and after. [5] The Kalyāṇī Inscription (15th Century) speaks of a natural lake by the

1. For particulars read Father Gnāna Prakāsar's *Rough Sketch of the treatment of a Specimen Word* (1929)—Reprinted from the Jaffna Catholic Guardian.
2. *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) xxviii, pp. 32, 35.
3. Ibn Batuta, *Travels*, Ed. S. Lee (1829), p. 191.
4. *Tisara Sandēsa*, v. 90.
5. *Mv.* xciv, v. 1 ; xcv, vv. 4, 15.

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name of *kaḷambu*.[1] According to the Mahāvaṃsa there has been a village called *koḷambahālaka* or *koḷambālaka* near Anurādhapura in the second Century B.C.[2]. This, I venture to think, marks an early stage of the general term getting to be fixed as a Proper Noun.

There is a Sinhalese word *koḷom* meaning a tree (nauclea cordifolia) "with orange coloured fragrant blossoms" and derived from Pāli *kadamba*. This word is often found confused by modern scholars with *koḷaṁba* in trying to trace the origin of the latter.[3] *Kadamba-Nadī* of the Mahāvaṃsa,[4] otherwise known as *Koḷom-Oya*, is now called *Malvatu-Oya* (= the *oya* of the flower gardens).

Koḷonnāva

The Nikāya Saṅgraha (Gampoḷa period—14th Century) speaks of a lake not far from the port of Colombo.[5] The Kalyāṇī Inscription not only mentions that there was a natural lake where an Upasampadā ceremony was held under the patronage of the King of Kōṭṭe, but also states that that lake was called *Kaḷambu*.[1] Apparently, both these works refer to the same lake, a natural[6] reservoir for the back-waters of the Kälaṇi-Gaṅga. It was probably known as 'the lake of Koḷaṁba' as indicated by the passage *kaḷambunāme mahājātassare* in the Kalyāṇī Inscription.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, xxii (1893), p. 239. "*kalambunāme mahājātassare*."
2. *Mv.*, xxv, v. 80 ; xxxiii, v. 42.
3. Śrī Dharmārāma, *Sidat-Saṅgarā* (1913), p. 17.
4. *Mv.*, vii, v. 43.
5. *Nikāya Saṅgraha* (1907), p. 22-35.
6. Father S. G. Perera, S. J., is of the opinion that the lake of Colombo was not a natural one but that it was artificially made by the Portuguese. His authority is a Portuguese record, which, in itself, is far from satisfactory regarding the information it supplies on the point. He has apparently overlooked this reference in the Kalyāṇī Inscription. We have, therefore, no reason to disregard the definite statement in a pre-Portuguese record that the lake of Colombo was a natural sheet of water. The Portuguese record in question probably refers to some development scheme carried on by the Portuguese for the protection of their city.—Father S. G. Perera, S.J., *City of Colombo*, in Paper No. 8 issued by the Ceylon Historical Association, p.13.

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The Sinhalese word *koḷonnāva* (*koḷon-(n)-āva*) which is now applied to a suburb of Colombo also means precisely the same. Cf. *luṇāva*, 'a salt lake,' a township in the Western Province. My belief is that *kolonnāva* was originally the Sinhalese name by which the lake mentioned in the Kalyāṇī Inscription and the Nikāya Saṅgraha was popularly known, and latterly also applied to the suburb. In this way the word *koḷaṁba* shows an interesting process of evolution. First it was a general term. Then it was fixed as the name of a port, and again as the name of a whole city. Latterly, the port or the city gave its name to the lake that was near it. Lastly, the lake gave its name to the village that sprang up near it.

Mahaväli-Gaṅga

Mahaväli-Gaṅga is the modern name of the longest river in Ceylon. It is generally rendered as 'The Great Sandy River' (=*maha* great—*väli* sand—*gaṅga* river). The Pālified form is *mahāvālukagaṅgā* or °*nadī*. It would be interesting to enquire why of all the rivers in Ceylon this alone is called a "sandy" river. However, a careful examination of the term shows that the idea of "sand" is simply a recent development. In the Mahāvaṃsa the form *mahāvālukagaṅgā* is found for the first time in the 71st Chapter.[1] In the earlier Chapters the river is referred to as *mahāgaṅgā* or *gaṅgā*.[2] *Mahā-gaṅgā* means 'The Great River,' and *gaṅgā* 'The River.' This is another instance where a general term is fixed as a Proper Noun. The word *mahāgaṇgā* given in the Mahāvaṃsa is obviously the Pālified form of some Sinhalese word that was in popular use; and there can be little doubt that that word was *maha-väli*, which, the later authors, not knowing its original significance, rendered as *mahā-vāluka* or °*vālika*. So, the word *väli* seems to have had lost its meaning 'river,' during the period when

1. *Mv.*, lxxi, v. 17.
2. *Mv.*, x. vv. 44, 57, 58; xxxviii, v. 41.

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the 71st Chapter of the Mahāvaṃsa was written, when people thought that *väli* meant nothing other than sand. It would be interesting to note that the word *väli-viṭa* 'high-land bordering a river or stream' still preserves the meaning 'river' of *väli*. Cf. *ō-viṭa* high-land bordering an *oya*; *vā-viṭa* highland bordering a *vāva*; *pokuṇu-viṭa* high-land bordering a *pokuṇa*; *väli-maḍa* (for *väli-baḍa* or °*boḍa*) the land that adjoins a river. This word *väli*, meaning a river, may be compared, for its etymological relations, with Pāli and Skr. *vāri* 'water' and Tamil *vellam* 'a flood or inundation.'

Giri-Dīpa

The mention of Giri-dīpa is found only in one connexion in the chronicles of Ceylon, and that is, regarding the driving away of the Yakkhas from (?) Ceylon by the Buddha. The Mahāvaṃsa says that the Master brought Giri-dīpa near to the Yakkhas and, when they settled there, he retransported it to its former place.[1] The word *dīpa* is generally rendered as "an island"; and, therefore, Giri-dīpa is supposed to be an island, too. Prof. Geiger does not, however, think that it was an island. He says, the notion underlying the statement in the Mahāvaṃsa may be that the Yakkhas were driven back to the highlands (*giri*) in the interior of the country.[2] As Geiger himself observes it is in comparatively recent times that the word *dīpa* (Skr. *dvīpa*) came to mean an island. Originally, it meant a tract of land bounded by sheets of water on either side (=*dvi* two—*ap* water). Therefore it need not be necessarily thought that Giri-dīpa where the Yakkhas were driven to was an island. Geiger's suggestion that they were driven to a region of Ceylon itself is quite reasonable. But his surmise that that region was the highland may be further examined, for, he himself is not able to say anything definitely as regards the

1. *Mv.*, i, vv. 30, 31.
2. Geiger, *The Mahāvaṃsa* Translation, p. 4, n. 4.

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geographical position of that district. The Mahāvaṃsa, after mentioning Giri-dīpa, speaks of a Giri-janapada 'a province called Giri,' the native place of Goṭhaimbara and Velusumana.[1] This Giri-janapada is generally identified with Rohaṇa, which is also known as Giri-vā or Giru-vā. Nundo Lāl Dey points out that in Indian toponymics *dvīpa* or *dīpa* is often changed into *vā*[2]: Kaṭa-dvīpa (in Bengal) is now called Kaṭ-vā.[3] In the same way it is not unreasonable to think that *giri-vā* is merely a changed form of *giri-dvīpa*. Then, however, the question may be asked why the author of the Mahāvaṃsa, who had occasion to mention both these names, did not recognize the one as indentical with the other. The answer is simple. As regards Giri-dvīpa he comes in contact with it when he deals with a pre-Vijayan event. He is obviously one of those who held the Yakkhas to be demons—not men. Naturally, therefore, his impression would be that the Yakkhas were driven not to any particular part of Ceylon itself, which was to be made safe for men to live in, but to some place outside; and, accordingly, he would take Giri-dīpa connected with the Yakkhas to be an island outside Ceylon. At the same time, the author of the Mahāvaṃsa had to deal with Giri-vā, well-known to him as a district of Ceylon, which he rendered, very rightly, as Giri-janapada. Thus it would be interesting to note that the so-called island where the Yakkhas were driven to by the Buddha can be reasonably identified with Rohaṇa, a part of which is still called Giri-vā or Giru-vā. Besides etymological relations, there seem to exist other circumstances which tend to justify this identification. It is obvious that *giri-dīpa* is not a general term: it has all the characteristics of an established name of some place or other. As such, it would not have been used in a general sense—such as to mean "highlands," as suggested by Geiger. Therefore, a Giri-

1. *Mv.*, xxiii, vv. 49, 68.
2. Nundo Lāl Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, Second Edition (1927), p. i.
3. *ibid*, p. 96.

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dīpa, whether it was an island or something else—something known by that name—did exist. But, towards the highlands from the scene of the event (*i.e.*, Bintänna), there is hardly any place whose name can be compared with Giri-dīpa, whereas, Giri-vā, the adjoining district on the south, affords practically everything that is necessary for a satisfactory comparison.

As regards the meaning of *giri* in Giri-vā, the current belief is that a mountain or mountain range is meant by it. Hence, also, perhaps Geiger's suggestion. Giri-vā is, nevertheless, one of the least mountainous parts of Ceylon. On the other hand, there is a rendering of *giri-vā* as *giri-pāda* 'foot of a mountain or mountain range,' indicating that the district extends from the foot of a mountain range in the up-country. There seems to be yet another belief, and that is, that Giri-pāda is so-called because it extends on all directions from the foot of Mul-*giri*-gala, the well-known rock near Taṃgalla.[1] Here it may be remarked that *mul-giri-gala* has also another form *mū-kiri-gala*. Whatever that may be, if the rendering of *vā* as *pāda* in this instance is correct, it is difficult to believe that the author of the Mahāvaṃsa, in the 5th Century, would have committed a mistake by rendering it as *janapada*.

In Giri-vā, even to-day, we come across, besides Mū-*kiri*-gala, place names like Kirama and Kiriñdi-Gaṅga. Kiriñdi-Gaṅga is given in Pāli as *karinda-nadī*.[2] That *kiriñdi* is rendered here as *karinda* may or may not be of any etymological significance. But one thing is clear: the author of the Mahāvaṃsa, who is responsible for this rendering, did not recognize the Sinhalese word *kiriñdi* as having in this place its popular meaning 'tares.' He rendered it into Pāli as *karinda*; and, what meaning he attributed to it it is difficult to say. There is, however, a word *karin* in both Skr. and

1. This information is supplied to me by Gate-Mudaliyar W. F. Guṇawardhana.
2. *Mv.*, xxxii, v. 14.

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Pāli meaning 'elephant,' and its Sinhalese derivative is *kiri*.[1] To my mind, the *giri* of our *giri-vā* is very likely a variation of this *kiri* 'an elephant.' In Sinhalese *k* is often found softened into *g*. *Cf.*, for instance, *kīra* > *girā*, 'a parrot.' On the other hand, an original form *giri* meaning an elephant, too, does not seem to be altogether impossible. The Skr. word *gaja* 'an elephant' comes from a root *garj* to roar, thunder or growl; and the Sinhalese verb corresponding to it is *goravanavā* or *guguranavā*. It would be worth enquiring if a word *giri* meaning elephant could not have been formed out of the root of *gorav-a-navā* or *gugur-a-navā* in Sinhalese in the same way as *gaja* was formed out of the root *garj* in Skr. It would further be interesting to find out, in this connexion, the origin of the words *giri-mekhalā* and *nālā-giri*—both, well-known as names of elephants. My belief is that the district Giri-vā takes its name from the elephants whose abode it seems to have been from very early times;[2] and thus, it would be interesting to note that Giri-dīpa mentioned in connexion with the driving away of the Yakkhas can be reasonably identified with Giri-vā (or Giru-vā) which appears

1. Vijayasekara, *Ruvanmala* (1914) v. 341.

2. Even to-day there are wild elephants in this part of the country. From very remote ages Ceylon has been noted for its elephants. Pliny, Dionysius and others are said to have spoken highly of the good breed of Ceylon elephants (Pridham, *Ceylon*, iv. p. 709). The elephants engaged in Persian wars, the wars of Pyrrhus, the Punic wars and others, are all said to have been procured from Ceylon, from whence they were shipped to the Persian Gulf or to various ports on the Red Sea by the Phoenicians (*ibid*, p. 710, n.1). Ptolemy also speaks of wild elephants in Ceylon, and their feeding grounds towards the sea. (S. M. Śāstrī, *McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (1927), pp. 247, 249). From the earliest known times Ceylon seems to have been engaged in breeding elephants and exporting them to other countries. The Mayūra Sandēsa (Gampoḷa period—early 15th Century) says that at Mātara, in the country of Rohaṇa, there were a royal stable of elephants (Ed. W. F. Guṇawardhana (1928) v. 92), and, not far from Mātara, a forest teeming with elephants (*ibid*, v. 107). This is ample evidence to show that Rohaṇa has been a regular breeding ground for elephants. Under the Dutch and the early British Rules, too, Southern Province is said to have been the chief centre of great elephant hunts (Pridham, *Ceylon*, iv, p. 712). Even in our own times, the elephants entrapped at Panāmurē are those that migrate there from Rohaṇa.

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to have been so called because it has been the home of elephants (*kiri* or *giri*) in Ceylon.

Kusṭarajā-Gala

The well-known rock at Väligama with an ancient sculpture is now called Kusṭarajā-gala (=the rock of the leper king). Connected with it is a tradition, of which Mr. Bennett gives a fairly long account as it was related to him by the "Head Priest of Karangodde Vihare in Saffregam."[1] It says that a Sinhalese king, afflicted with a cutaneous disease, got himself cured by eating coconut; and to commemorate the event the image was carved and named after him by his men. The figure is claimed to represent this king. Before this event, coconut is said to have been unknown in Ceylon as an edible nut; and credit is therefore given to that leper king for discovering it as an article of food. There is also a belief that this king did not belong to Ceylon but had come here from a foreign country owing to his disease.[2] Whatever the story, the figure at Väligama does not represent a human being; iconographically it can be identified with a particular deity.[3] Therefore, the supposition that it is the likeness of a king whether of Ceylon or of any other country has evidently no foundation. Mr. W. A. de Silva thinks that the name *kusṭarajā* is "nothing more than *kusirāja*, the titular deity of coconut in Travancore."[4] In support of this opinion he says that "one of the first coconut plantations during the time of the Sinhalese kings was made at Weligama."[4] Apparently, he believes that coconut was first introduced to Väligama—if not to Ceylon—from Travancore. The implication is that, with the coconut, the so-called deity Kusirāja was also introduced, whose name, in course of time, came to be transformed into

1. Bennett, *Ceylon and Its Capabilities* (1843). pp. 331ff.
2. S. Paraṇavitāna, *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sect. G, Vol. ii. pt. i., p. 49.
3. Vide infra (p. . . .)
4. *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) xxviii, 72 (1919), p. 86.

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Kusṭarajā. Whatever was the origin of Kusirāja in Travancore, it is difficult, in the first place, to believe that coconut was ever introduced to Ceylon from the Indian Continent, and, secondly, to suppose that coconut was not in popular use as an article of food in Ceylon before the earliest known coconut plantation at Väligama. There is no gainsaying the fact that coconut is essentially an oceanic plant. It is found nearly in all the islands in the Indian Ocean. When it first appeared in any particular island it is impossible to say. Its introduction from island to island requires no human agency.[1] Whether, on the other hand, Travancore itself got its first coconut from Ceylon, we are, of course, not able to say; but, for one thing, we learn from Portuguese sources that Ceylon has been exporting coconuts to South India until so recently as the time when the Portuguese first landed in Ceylon.[2] When these exportations had begun we are unable to find out owing to the silence of our historians in regard to Ceylon's foreign trade connexions. What Mr. de Silva refers to as "one of the first coconut plantations at Weligama" is apparently the one noticed by John Ferguson.[3] It is for the first time mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa, where it is said that Aggabodhi I (6th Century) dedicated a coconut plantation, three yojanas in extent, to Kurunda Vihāra.[4] In the words of Ferguson himself "this is doubtless the very first record of the formation of a regular coconut plantation in Ceylon."[3] It is the first *record* indeed; but the statement by no means conveys the idea that it was one of the earliest *plantations*, regular or otherwise. The Mahāvaṃsa itself speaks of coconut trees in Rohaṇa during the 2nd Century B.C. It is said that Goṭhaimbara, at the age of sixteen, while in his village, smote the stems of palmyrah and coconut trees with a club and levelled them to the

1. Ferguson, *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) xix 57 (1906), pp. 50ff.
2. Ferguson, *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) xix, 57 (1906), p. 56.
3. *ibid*, p. 50
4. *Mv.*, xlii, vv. 15, 16.

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ground.[1] At the Vijita-pura battle he killed the *Damilas* by striking them with a coconut palm.[2] Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is said to have treated the men engaged in the great work of building the Ruvanmäli with the water of the young coconut (*kurumbā*)[3] Some writers seem to have been under the impression that although coconut was known in Ceylon during early times, yet its edible properties were then unknown. Sir J. E. Tennent, for one, says without any hesitation that "although it is sometimes spoken of in the Mahāvaṃsa, no allusion is ever made to it as an article of diet or an element in the preparation of food."[4] The explanation, however, is not far to seek. The coconut is a tree which cannot thrive by itself: it has to be cultivated. Nowhere is it known to grow wild.[5] The very fact that it is mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa as any other common tree found in a village shows that people in Ceylon have been planting coconuts at that period. If they did plant the coconut, then there is no doubt that they planted it for its dietary use. Therefore, why its edible properties were not mentioned is clear: they were too well-known to be mentioned. Moreover, Tennent has obviously overlooked the statement that men in Ceylon were at least used to drink the water of the young coconut in the 2nd Century B.C.[3] In these circumstances, the theory, that the popularity of coconut in Ceylon is not older than the image at Väligama, is of no use for the solution of the problems regarding Kusṭarajā or Kusṭarajā-gala.

The figure at Väligama is obviously of a Bodhisatta; both Paraṇavitāna and Nell are satisfied that it is the likeness of Avalokiteśvara—of the Mahāyāna.[6] There is no reason whatsoever to reject this view; nor is it unreasonable to

1. *Mv.*, xxiii, vv. 58, 59.
2. *Mv.*, xxv, v. 46.
3. *Thūpavaṃsa*—Sinh., Colombo (1929), p. 132.
4. Tennent, *Ceylon*, i. p. 436.
5. Ferguson, *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*, xix, 57 (1906), pp. 50ff.
6. S. Paraṇavitāna, *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sect. G., Vol ii, pt. i, p. 49.

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disregard the suggestion that it represents a deity named Kusirāja from Travancore. Once it is established that the image is of a Mahāyāna Bodhisatta, it becomes quite easy to fix its earliest possible age. According to history, the first appearance of any form of Mahāyānism in Ceylon took place in the 3rd Century A.D., during the reign of Vohāraka Tissa [1]; and, at all events, our sculpture could not have been made before that date. In the Mahāvaṃsa, the last act of Aggabodhi I is mentioned as the building of a monastery called Nīla-geha-pariccheda. It was dedicated to an elder by the name of Jotipāla who lived under the protection of the Viceroy of Rohaṇa. [2] Evidently, the situation of the monastery was also somewhere in Rohaṇa; it would therefore be useful for our discussion to find out more particulars about it. The Slab Inscription No. 1 of Mahinda IV mentions a *nil-pahā* 'a blue edifice,' in which there was an image of a Bodhisatta. [3] Wickremasinghe, who edited that Inscription, compares the name *nil-pahā* (Pāli *nīla-pāsāda*) with *nīla-gēha-pariccheda*. [4] In the Inscription, *nil-pahā* is given side by side with *viluvana-vehera* (Pāli *Veluvana-Vihāra*) built by Aggabodhi II and dedicated to the Sāgali Order. Mahinda IV gilded the image in the nil-pahā and rebuilt the viluvana-vehera. [3] Here, I am inclined to suggest that these two, viz., Nil-pahā and Nilageha-pariccheda, are identical. If this identification is correct, then the image in question may be considered as the only survival of that temple to-day. There is, however, one point which it would be necessary to clear. The Mahāvaṃsa does not say to which sect belonged Jotipāla to whom Nilageha-pariccheda was dedicated. But the Chronicle does not make it a secret that the Viceroy, under whose protection Jotipāla lived, and who probably carried on the building operations

1. *Mv.* xxxvi, v. 41. See Geiger *Mv. Translation*, p. 69, n. 7.
2. *ibid* xlii, vv. 35-39.
3. *Ep. Z.*, Vol. i. p. 222. 22
4. *Ep. Z.*, Vol. i. p. 228, n. 2.

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of Nīlageha-pariccheda under the direction of Aggabodhi I, was a patron of the Sāgali Order.[1] And Sāgali Order was one that upheld the Mahāyānic cults in Ceylon. Not long after the building was completed the king expired, and the Viceroy came to the throne. The new king, compared with his predecessor, was rather young, and was therefore called by a special name by the people. The Mahāvaṃsa definitely states that the name so given to him was "Khudda(rāja)"[2] and, on more than one occasion, he is referred to as Khuddarāja (=the young or small king) in the Mahāvaṃsa.[3] This term *khudda* is clearly the classical Pāli form of whatever the Sinhalese word that was in popular use. The modern Sinhalese equivalent of P. *khudda* is *kuḍā*. Khudda-Nāga stands for Kuḍā-Nāga, and is often found used as Kuḍḍa-Nāga.[4] In Pāli, *kuḍḍa* is only a variation of *khudda*. The following forms are found in works like Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Jātakaṭṭhakathā, Saddhammopāyana and Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā :—*khudda-rāja*, *khuddaka-rāja*, *kuḍḍa-rāja*, *kuḷḷa-rāja*. Of these, the form *kuḷḷa* seems to obtain both in Sinhalese and Pāli indifferently. For the use of *kuḷḷa* in Sinhalese, see in the Īripinniyāva and Raṁbāva pillar inscriptions *kuḷḷā seneviradā*,[5] where *kuḷḷā* stands for Pāli *kuḷḷaka*. Accordingly, it is possible that the special name by which Aggabodhi II was popularly known was *kuḷḷa-rajī* or *kuḷḷa-rājā*. The Mahāvaṃsa recorded its correct interpretation as *khuddarāja* 'the young king,' while in common parlance, in course of time, its real significance was forgotten. It is a natural phenomenon in Proper Nouns that, when the original significance of a name is lost, a new meaning is given to it by people. In this instance, there does not seem to have been any difficulty in finding a new meaning. The Sinhalese

1. *Mv.*, xlii, v. 43.
2. *ibid*, v. 40.
3. *ibid*, xliv, v. 2.
4. See e.g. *Rājāvaliya* (1923), p. 47.
5. *Ep. Z.*, Vol. i, pp. 168, 174, where Wickremasinghe reads it as *kuṭṭhā*.

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derivative of Pāli *kuṭṭha* (Skr. *kuṣṭha*) 'leprosy' also happens to be *kuṭṭa*, which was evidently confused with *kuṭṭa* meaning 'young or small.' In common speech *kuṭṭa* (=leprosy) has another form, viz., *kusṭa* or *kuṣṭa*,[1] both used indifferently when the intended meaning is leprosy. In this way, I am inclined to think that the word *kuṭṭa-rajā*, which originally meant 'a young king,' came in later periods to be interpreted as 'a leper king'—what was originally known as the young king's rock (*kuṭṭarajā-gala*[2] came latterly to be called the leper king's rock (*kusṭarajā-gala*). It is difficult to say when exactly the word *kuṭṭa* lost its meaning 'young or small.' Whenever it happened, it is clear that for several centuries the real significance of an important name has thus been concealed behind a fanciful legend.[3]

Mr. W. Samarasinghe (Atapattu Mudaliyar) remarked that some years back a former Secretary of the Society, Mr. C. H. Collins, had endeavoured to gather material for a Gazetteer of the Island and had sought the co-operation of the Chief Headmen to that end. Apparently the compilation of that work had been interfered with but he yet hoped that it would be resumed and carried through. For his part he had gathered in that connection many useful particulars relating to the various villages of Alutkuru Korale South. In interpreting the meaning of such terms as Muturajawela, the Pamunugam, Tarakuliya, Dandugama, Kindigoda, and so on, he happened to unearth a Royal establishment of old forgotten times. Piecing together the traditions which had still survived, he found no difficulty in identifying the Muturajawela with Muttu Rajah, a brother-in-law of Magha of Anuradhapura, who led the third and the most terrible of the Tamil invasions of Ceylon. The field had most probably been asweddumized or been appropriated by this sub-King. The Pamunugam which surrounded the field were apparently appurtenances of the Royal establishment. The seat of the ruler now known as Dandugama was then known as Kindigoda, the latter name still surviving as the name of a small hamlet. He found also the name of Séraman associated with the field and the village of Wattala. It was a name referred to in connection with the landing of "Devol Deiyo." Tradition referred to Séraman as being the successor of Muturajah as ruler of the Province. Various other matters of historical interest were disclosed in examining the meaning of other place names, but he had not the time to deal with any further examples. He could not, however, conclude

1. These are half Sinhalized forms.
2. So called because the building operations on that rock were carried on by him as suggested above.
3. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka draws my attention to a passage in the Saddharmālaṅkāra. Ed. 1924 (p. 398) which speaks of a district called *Kuḍḍarajja-danavva*.

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without commenting on the derivation of the Giruwaya to which the learned lecturer had made reference. In the beginning of the last century, a scholar of great eminence named Thomas Samarasekara Mohandiram, a native of Giruwa Pattu, had in his poem "Gangarohana" described his birth place as being in the Janapadaya known as Giripada. Giripada meant the foot of the hill range as it actually was. His familiarity with the subject and his great scholarship invested his opinion on the point with much authority and he (the speaker) failed to see sufficient justification for rejecting it.

The Chairman expressed his appreciation of the scholarly manner in which the lecturer had dealt with his subject. The day, he hoped, would soon arrive when it would no longer be possible for local philologists to trace Nanayakkaraya to a *Naga* origin. The identification of the Kusta Raja image with the Bodhisatva was not new : the speaker had mentioned that in a publication twenty-two years before, but the credit for it was due to an eminent scholar, the late Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala. When the lecturer connected the Giruwas with elephants, he was perhaps not aware that sixteen centuries ago Ptolemy had placed the feeding grounds of the elephants in the Giruwas. That was more useful than a quotation from Pridham, for the Carthaginians certainly did not use Ceylon elephants as suggested. Mr. Neville, one speaker said, had proved that the Sinhalese "blue" is the English "white"; but when a building is described as blue, may it not be that the building really was blue, and tiled with the blue enamelled tiles which have been found at Kantarodai, Tissamaharama and Anuradhapura ? He agreed with Mr. Jayatilaka that their Society might take in hand a systematic investigation of place names : but this investigation should, to start with, be confined to a limited area which the Society could easily control. He understood from the Atapattu Mudaliyar that he and several of his brother-officers had some years ago collected and recorded much relevant information. He hoped that that information would not be lost but would be placed at their disposal. He expressed his satisfaction, in thanking the lecturer on behalf of the Society, that a younger group was fast rising up well qualified and willing to help forward the objects for which that Society had been established.

4. Mr. de Lanerolle replied.

5. A vote of thanks to the lecturer proposed by the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva and seconded by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka brought the proceedings to a close.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 5, 1930.

Present :

Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.
Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa
Dr. W. Balendra
Mr. A. M. Caldera, B.A.
,, S. Paranavitana
,, R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
Mr. C. Rasanayagam, Mudaliyar,
,, K. Shanmukham, M.R.A.S.
,, F. A. Tisseveresinghe
,, Charles Wickramaratna

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D., *Honorary Secretary*.

Visitors : 6 ladies and 11 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 29th August, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. G. Venkatachalam, who delivered his lecture on "Some Aspects of Indian Architecture," illustrated with lantern slides.

3. A vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by Dr. P. E. Pieris and seconded by the Chairman, brought the proceedings to a close.

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COUNCIL MEETING.

Queen's House, Colombo, October 27, 1930.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-President.
Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
,, S. Paranavitana
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
Prof. R. Maris, C.I.E.
Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman.
Dr. G. P. Malalalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.
Mr. Edmund Reimers.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 14th April, 1930. were read and confirmed.

2. Arising from the minutes, and on the recommendation of the Honorary Secretary, it was resolved that Mr. J. C. Jayasinha's probation be extended by a further period of three months.

3. The names of the following candidates elected by circular were announced :—(i) William Henry Gregory de Zoysa. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, W. F. Gunawardhana, (ii) Geo. Chas. Edirisingha, B.A. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (iii) Ramaswami Kulathu Iyer. Recommended by T. R. Sanjivi, M.B. Medagama. (iv) Justin Ferdinandus Pieris Deraniyagala, B. A. Recommended by P. E. Pieris, Aubrey N. Weinman. (v) David Hussey, Recommended by Aubrey N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (vi) Andias Edirisingha. Recommended by W.F. Gunawardhana, J.D. de Lanerolle. (vii) Michael Samuel Seevaratnam. Recommended by R. C. Proctor, V. Kandiah. (viii) Don Cornelius Gammanpila. Recommended by H. Gunaratna, P. de S. Kularatna. (ix) Rev. Pitadeniye Ratanapala Bhikkhu. Recommended by H. Gunaratna, P. de S. Kularatna.

4. A letter from Dr. G. C. Mendis regarding the publication of a new edition of the Dipavamsa and offering his services for the work, referred to the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, for observations by the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, was considered.

Resolved to inform the Colonial Secretary that the Council was of opinion that the work should await the publication of the Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā. It was also decided that the Society should in the meanwhile acquire a copy of the manuscript in Cambodian characters said to be in the Royal Library in Cambodia and that Dr. Malalasekara should make inquiries as to what other manuscripts were available for collation.

5. A letter from the Secretary, Reception Committee of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, requesting the Society to

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nominate representatives to attend the meetings was considered. As Dr. Nell had already arranged to be in Patna attending the All-India Congress of Orientalists, he assented to represent the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, at the Conference.

6. A letter from the Acting Director of Education forwarding a copy of a letter from Prof. Walter Wüst, M.A., Ph.D., applying for a grant of £150 from the Ceylon Government towards the publication of a volume of essays for presentation to Prof. Wilhelm Geiger was laid on the table for the opinion of the Council.

It was decided to suggest to the Director of Education that the following particulars about the proposed publication be obtained from Prof. Wüst :—

(*a*) Whether it was to be sold and at what price ;
(*b*) Whether any other subscriptions had been obtained.

While the Council were very much in sympathy with the project, on the present state of Ceylon's finances, they did not feel they could recommend that Government should subscribe as much as £150, but when a reply to the above questions was obtained they would be in a better position to advise.

7. A letter from Dr. P. E. Pieris, Vice-President, regarding the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary was laid on the table and, in the absence of Dr. Pieris, the resolution standing in his name was moved by Mr. A. N. Weinman. Resolved that the Chairman of the Dictionary Managing Committee be asked to furnish the Council with a memorandum on the lines indicated by Dr. Pieris.

8. A proposal to elect Prof. Wilhelm Geiger and Mrs. Rhys Davids as honorary members for life of this Society, under Rule 11 at the next General Meeting by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, and seconded by Mr. Edmund Reimers, was carried unanimously.

9. A letter from Dr. G. P. Malalasekara suggesting that the extended Mahawansa be issued as the next volume of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund, and offering to see the work through the press was considered.

10. A report from the Historical Manuscripts Committee was laid on the table.

Decided that the report be accepted with the deletion of para 3, clause *c*, "That the appointment of the members of the Commission be for a limited period," and that the report be forwarded to Government with reference to letter dated 14th April, 1930, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

11. Read a letter from the Colombo Apothecaries Co. regarding a reduction in the charge for printing the Society's journal. Decided that estimates be called for and submitted to the Council for consideration before the next journal was handed over for printing.

12. A paper entitled "The Alakesvara Period" by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam and a note on "Sinhalese Chronology of the 14th and 15th centuries A.D." by Mudaliyar H. E. Amarasekara were referred to a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, Messrs. H. W. Codrington and S. Paranavitana for report.

13. Resolved (*a*) that the following papers be printed in the journal in due course :—

(1) Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames by Mr. Edmund Reimers.

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(2) Art of India and Indo-China with special reference to Ceylon by Dr. Victor Goloubew, D.Ph.

(3) The Central School Commission, 1841-1848, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.

(*b*) That the question as to whether the following be printed in the journal be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Messrs. H. W. Codrington and S. Paranavitana :—

(1) Some Place Names of Ceylon by Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle.

(2) Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth centuries A.D., with special references to Ceylon, by Mr. J. C. De, M.A.

(3) The Culture of the Indus Valley, and the Excavations at Harappa and Mohenja-Daro by Mr. P. C. R. Jayasuriya.

(*c*) It was decided that Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana's paper on " The Alakesvara Period Reviewed " should not be printed.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 31, 1930.

Present:

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.
Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., and Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Vice-Presidents.

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa
" K. W. Y. Atukorala, Muhandiram
" W. H. Biddell
" L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
Rev. H. V. I. S. Corea, B.A., B.D.
Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle
" J. C. De, M.A.
" P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.
" Felix R. Dias, M.A., LL.M.
" G. C. Edirisingha, B.A.
" G. F. Perera
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
" P. T. P. Gunawardhana
" A. E. Jayasinha
" E. W. Kannangara, B.A., C.C.S.
Dr. G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D.
Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, M.A., J.P., U.P.M., Maha Mudaliyar
" S. Paranavitana
" W. Von Pochchammer
" C. Rasanayagam, Mudaliyar C.C.S. (retired)
Rev. R. Siddhartha, M.A.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D., *Hony. Secretary.*

Visitors: 1 lady and 12 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 5th day of September, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. P. E. Pieris proposed the election of Prof. Wilhelm Geiger and Mrs. Rhys Davids as honorary members for life under rule 11 and Dr. Joseph Pearson seconded. The resolution was carried unanimously.

3. Dr. Pieris drew the attention of Members to two exhibits which were on the table.

The first was—

An engraving of the Portrait of Ove Giedde, who commanded the Danish expedition to Ceylon in 1620 (see Journal, Vol. XXX—Article: "The Danes in Ceylon"), from the original by A. Vuchter, at the Royal Art Gallery at Christiansborg. This was obtained through the kindness of Mr. Anton F. Bruun, M. Sc., of Copenhagen.

A Tamil copper plate grant in favour of a Brahman, named Ramenaden, from the Batticaloa District, received from Mr. Walter Allegasegaram, and dated in the year 1615 (Saka)—Wednesday, the full moon day on which there was an eclipse (of the moon), the asterism being Visāka the 19th day of the month of Sittirai.

On the 27th of November, 1788, before the Land Court of Batticaloa, the Brahmin Ayya Swamie sued Conselia, Chief Pedi of Sampanturai, in respect of the land mentioned in the Sannas, and which he said was his wife's inheritance. Subsequently on the 22nd

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January, 1816, in an action brought by Ayya Swamie's son Ramasamy, he was quieted in the possession of the same field. The sitting Magistrate who dealt with the case was James Bagnett.

Dr. Pieris expressed the hope that Mr. Paranavitana would write a critical note on the grant for publication in the Journal.

4. Dr. Joseph Pearson read a note on the "Throne of the Kings of Kandy." (See Vol. XXXI, No. 82, page 380).

5. Dr. Pearson informed the meeting that a bust of the late Dr. E. F. Kelaart, M.D., F.L.S., F.G.S., had been presented to the Museum by the descendants of the late Dr. Kelaart and gave a brief sketch of Dr. Kelaart's work as a naturalist.

6. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. J. C. De, M.A., who read a paper on "Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth centuries A.D. with special reference to Ceylon."

7. A vote of thanks to Dr. Joseph Pearson and Mr. J C. De, proposed by the Chairman and a vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Dr. P. E. Pieris were carried with acclamation.

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THE EARLIEST DUTCH VISITS TO CEYLON.

BY DONALD FERGUSON.

Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 81, p. 379.

THE SOUTH-EAST COAST OF CEYLON.

REMARKABLE HILLS AND OTHER LANDMARKS.

(*From Imray's "Indian Ocean Pilot," pp. 893-4, 897-8*).

The south-east coast of Ceylon between Dorava [1] and Julius Nave [2] points, a space of 30 miles, trends nearly N.E. and S.W., with ranges of high mountains inland, often obscured, however, by the hazy state of the atmosphere, said to be peculiar to this part of the island, particularly during the south-west monsoon.

Near the coast inside the line of the Basses, are several hills of remarkable form, which from their position are admirable landmarks, during daylight and fine weather, for navigating in the vicinity of the Basses.

The shore is comparatively low and barren, fringed with a belt of sand, but without any marked salient features; the points are generally rounded and sandy, rising to elevations of about 100 feet. Off the pitch of all the points are rocky patches, extending in some cases a quarter of a mile. Along the whole line of coast the surf breaks heavily on the beach, the first roller rising at the average distance of a cable from the shore.

1. Dorawa is between Mágama and Kirinda.
2. This name is found on some of the olden maps of Ceylon: I do not know the origin. Judging by the distance named, apparently Mahagajabuwa, just south of the Kumbukkan-áru, is intended.

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Kattregamme Hill.—The most prominent land seen when approaching the Basses from the westward is the Kattregamme range of hills, the nearest and highest of which is 7 or 8 miles from the sea. These hills are sometimes conspicuous both from eastward and westward, when others nearer the sea are hardly discernible. Their summit presents an irregular ridge, the north-east peak of which is the highest, being 1,972 feet[3] above the sea.

Elephant Hill, the next height to the eastward, is conspicuous as it stands alone on the low land near the shore, and bears a remarkable resemblance to the animal from which it is named. It is two miles from the beach and bare of trees on its summit, which is 480 feet above the sea.

Little Elephant Hill, in shape resembling a hay cock, stands on the extreme point forming the western horn of Elephant bay. It is 105 feet high, and from it Elephant hill bears N.W. ½ N. distant two miles.

* * * *

Nipple Hill, farther inland than the other hills, bears from Elephant hill N. by E. ¾ E. distant about 9 miles. Rendered conspicuous by its superior elevation, 903 feet above the sea, which places it as if above, this peak is also distinguished by a flattened summit, with two lumps (one at each end) in a direction about W.S.W. and E.N.E., from which it derives its name; the western of these nipples is the higher. This hill may also be known by a remarkable cone W.S.W. from it, which is generally distinguishable, but more so when viewed from eastward, although it is only 520 feet above the sea.

Chimney Hill, next in succession eastward, is of much service to a vessel for ascertaining her position in reference to the Basses. It is 4½ miles from the nearest beach, 445 feet[4] above the sea, and very conspicuous,

3. The height of Kataragama Peak is actually 1,395 feet.
4. The heights given for this and the foregoing hills I cannot verify.

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being the highest part of a low range, which takes an east and west direction; it appears to be separated from the western part of the range, and derives its name from its resemblance to a chimney. From the Great Basses it is not easily seen, being in fact sometimes entirely concealed by the haze which generally hangs over the land, especially during the south-west monsoon.

* * * *

From Julius Nave point the coast trends N.N.E. nearly 20 miles to Appretotte point [5] in about lat. 6° 47′ N., long. 81° 50′ 45″ E., and then 15 miles N. ⅔ E. to Shanghe-man-kande [6] point, in lat. 7° 2′ 10″ N., long. 81° 53′ E., the most eastern projection of Ceylon. On the south side of Appretotte point is the mouth of Naveloor river [7]; and, on the north side, that of the Chadewakke. [8]

At about 3 miles north of it is Abrookgam [9] bay, of which nothing is known further than that it is the outlet of a stream [10] of no great magnitude that flows through the country around Lion peak. [11] The land hereabouts is named Aganis [12] in old charts. It is low, with sandy hillocks near the shore. In the interior, at about 12 miles from the sea, and W. N. W. from Appretotte point, there is an isolated hill 821 feet high, which appears peaked when viewed from eastward, but notched when seen from southward; hence it is known as the Saddle hill. Lion peak, 956 feet high, [13] is also conspicuous from the offing; it is 20 miles from the nearest shore, and readily recognised by its form, that of a lion *couchant*. Westminster Abbey,

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5. Gónáduwa. On "Appretotte," see G 3, note 59.
6. Sangamakanda.
7. The Nával-áru.
8. The Chedawak-áru, or Heda-oya.
9. See G 2, note 58.
10. The Arukgam-áru, or Karanda-oya.
11. See further on.
12. See G 2, note 59.
13. I cannot verify the heights given for this and the preceding hill.

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a table mountain 1,258 feet high,[14] and a few miles farther in the interior than Lion peak, will be distinguished without difficulty, as it has on its north end a large square knob resembling a turret. Aganis peak,[15] nearly midway between Westminster Abbey and the coast, is 767 feet high, and from seaward is in line with that mountain on the bearings of W. ½ S. These comprise the most prominent landmarks in the interior of the south-eastern part of Ceylon, south of lat. 7° 10′ N., then after some miles follow the Friar's Hood (Wallingbehella) in lat. 7° 26½′ N., long. 81° 28¼′ E., a mountain 1,563 feet high[16] and about 20 miles from the sea, which, from the circumstance that it leans over to the left, resembles a friar's hood when bearing to the S. W., but a pyramid when to the N.W. Southward from this a short distance, is another mountain of less height, and somewhat like it, which is known as the False Friar's Hood. The Kettle-bottom, 1,190 feet high, is a round conical hill in lat. 7° 32′ N., long. 81° 13¼′ E., it is 16 miles from Friar's Hood on the bearing of W.N.W. ¼ W. The Sugar-loaf, 24 miles northward from Friar's Hood and 14 miles from the sea, is 532 feet high.[17] Farther in the interior, on the bearing of W. ⅔ N., is the Gunner's Quoin, having an estimated height of 1,320 feet.[18] And, a few miles more to the northward, but nearer the sea, are two smaller mountains, known as the Baron's Cap and the Small Quoin, of which the latter is nearest the coast. The Baron's Cap is 473 feet high,[19] 11 miles from the shore, and nearly midway between Batticaloa river and Trincomalie bay.

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14. The correct height of Westminster Abbey Hill is 1,830 feet.
15. I cannot identify this.
16. The true height of Friar's Hood is 2,148 feet.
17. I cannot verify the heights of this and the preceding hill.
18. The actual height is 1,736 feet.
19. The real height of the Baron's Cap is 691 feet, and that of the Small Quoin is 524 feet.

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From Shangheman-kande point the coast sweeps round to the N. ¾ W., and at 13 miles we meet with the Singare-topu-aar,[20] a barred river, southward of which at a place called Tricoll,[21] there is a pagoda, in a grove of cocoa-nut trees. Between the point and the river, several small streams enter the sea by very shallow mouths. It then trends N. by W. ¾ W. 30 miles to Batticaloa river. All the land is low near the sea, and there are numerous plantations of cocoa-nut trees in proximity to the shore, besides a few villages. Near Batticaloa the coast is very low.

20. I do not know what name this represents. From the distance given, apparently the Tampodai backwater is meant.
21. Tirukkóvil (see D 2, note 101).

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EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

By H. C. P. Bell, c.c.s. (Retired).

No. 9.—LÓMÁFÁNU.[1]

FOREWORD.

Lómáfánu, or *Málófánu*[2], is the Máldivian term equivalent to Sanskrit *Śásanaṇ* and Siṇhalese *Sannasa*; signifying a Royal Grant inscribed upon one or more Copper, or other metal, Plates.

Prior to 1922 the existence at the Máldives of any such Deeds was unknown to the outside world; though the fact of their long-established use throughout the Continent of India and Ceylon argued strongly in favour of ultimate discovery of similar *Farmán* Plates in the Máldive Islands, so closely connected, since the dim past, with Southern India and this Island.

Patient investigation, during the stay at Mále in 1922 of the Archæological Expedition, elicited ultimately the belated admission that a few Copper-Plate Grants did exist here and there; but that these, being inscribed in a character for the most part more archaic even than "*Divehi Akuru*," or "*Dives Akuru*" "Island Letters"—its evolutionary derivative, and later form of Máldivian script,—were practically indecipherable by any one on the Group at the present day.

Ultimately, four sets of inscribed Copper-Plates (all incomplete, and one badly injured by fire) were produced, and placed in the hands of the writer for possible decipherment.

Even a cursory examination of the Plates revealed at once the most striking resemblance, *mutatis mutandis*, of

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the writing upon them—termed broadly by the Islanders "*Evéla Akuru*" or "Ancient Letters"—with mediæval Sinhalese letters found on pillar, slab, and rock inscriptions in Ceylon. This similarity proved, generally so marked in its close affinity as to be quite unmistakable to one long familiar with the Epigraphical Records of this Island.

Careful study of the Plates on the spot resulted in much of the Text of those which survive, wholly or partially undamaged, being Transcribed with considerable certainty; and, as regards Translation, in a "prentice-hand" effort (most generously aided by Máldivian scholars to the best of their own knowledge) not, it is hoped, altogether unsuccessful, to convert into English tentatively,—so far as the deficient Plates have permitted,—the Text of at least one, the *Bodu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* of Mále,[3] the oldest known Grant extant in "*Dives Akuru*" as distinct from their earlier form conveniently styled "*Evéla Akuru.*"

MÁLDIVIAN LÓMÁFÁNU.

The few *Lómáfánu* (single Plates excepted) existing at the Máldive Islands at this day may be listed chronologically, as follows :—

No.	PROVENANCE.	DATE.	SCRIPT.
1	Haddummatí Atol: No. 1	A.M. 582 (A.C. 1195-96)[4]	*Evéla Akuru*
2	Mále: Etere-kolu	A.M. 583 (A.C. 1196-97)[4]	*do*
3	Haddummatí Atol: No. 2	A.H. 636 *cir.* (A.C. 1238-39)[5]	*do*
4	Mále: Bodu-galu Miskit	A.H. 758 (A.C. 1356-57)	*Dives Akuru*

What has survived entire loss, or irreparable injury, in those fuller *Lómáfánu* is being dealt with provisionally elsewhere[3]; albeit of necessity with unavoidable inadequateness, naturally due to the limited knowledge of Máldivian Epigraphy and Linguistics by a comparative tyro.

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Similarly, with no little diffidence, the present Paper is offered here ; confining itself merely to three "singleton" *Lómáfánu* Plates—stragglers, so to say, from their respective folds, the complete Grants, to which each once belonged.

In an *Appendix* an attempt is made, partially at least, to differentiate and compare the respective types and forms of the "*Dives Akuru*" Alphabet as appearing in the three *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1, 2, 3.

With this semi-apology, for a venture not easy, by a pioneer ploughman of a lonely furrow in a fallow field, too long neglected, this Paper is frankly offered for the kindly criticism of scholars, interested in Oriental languages.

(1) LÓMÁFÁNU: NO. 1.

(*Plate I.*)

This solitary Copper-Plate, measuring 11½ in. by 2¼ in. by 1/32 in., is pierced to left, by a circular hole, for affixing to other like Plates with a metal ring; and is quite bare of any form of border, plain or ornamental.

On each side there are five (5) lines of writing (leaving virtually no margin) in the Máldivian language, with two Arabic interpolated quotations. The Plate shows no numbering.

It is in the possession of Mr. E. 'Abdul Hamíd Dídí, Máldivian Government Representative at Colombo, who kindly loaned it for the present purpose.

As to its true provenance nothing definite seems to be known. Mr. 'Abdul Hamíd Dídí believed that more of the Plates which once formed the whole *Lómáfánu* Copper-Plate Grant were to be found at Mále ; but every possible enquiry has failed to bring even a second Plate of the series to light.

This is to be regretted the more as the execution of the single Plate, here reproduced photographically, speaks

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to exceptional care in its inscribed calligraphy; whilst the verbal style of its contents points to an original document of much scholarly value, when complete.

Towards fixing the period when this isolated *Lómáfánu* was issued, very fortunately important clues are provided by:—

(i) The approximate form of script; (ii) the very noticeable similarity in recurring phraseology; and (iii) valuable historical evidence, presented both in the *Bodu-galu Miskit* Copper-Plate Grant which has luckily survived in some fullness to this day, and drawn from elsewhere.

(i) Script.

The formation of the engraved characters exhibited by *Lómáfánu* No. 1 much resembles that of the *Lómáfánu* belonging to the *Bodu-galu Miskit* (Mosque) at Mále.

This Grant,—by an Arabic colophon (in this case prefixed), which bears also the Seal of her father Sulṭán Jalál-ud-dín—is dated *Anno Hijrae* 758 (A.C. 1356–57), or, as given in the body of the Document, the sixteenth regnal year, of the Máldivian Queen, Sulṭána Rehendi Khadíjah; who ruled altogether for twenty-nine years, spread over three periods according to the "*Táríkh*" Chronicle, viz., A.H. 748–64 (first), A.H. 765–75 (second), A.H. 778–81 (third).[6]

(ii) Bodu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu.

In (*a*) the text of *Lómáfánu* No. 1, and (*b*) that of the *Bodu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*, are found sentences of absolutely synonymous intent—almost *verbatim* replicas in part—which invoke alternatively blessing, or curse, upon Royalty, Officials, and other persons who uphold, or nullify, the Grant.

A sentence from each *Lómáfánu* may suffice to bear out the close likeness in this respect:—

(*a*) *Lómáfánu: No. 1.*

Text.

(*Obverse: Lines 1-4*).

Mi Hinna Hinna amme tibya meve siṭṭá-kaḷa Muslimán Rahakun Ráda-Ras Kalamidi Raṇi-bihou Faṭamá-Valya Devi

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Fradáni Kangati ehen míhaku vyas Muslimunaṛ heu-hiti míhunaṛ vihai nuva-fahi Darmma vaní koṛu.

Translation.

"(Every) Muslim—(whether) King, Royal Prince, Queen, High-born Noble-man, High-born Noble-lady, Chief Minister, Trusty Personage, or other person—minded to preserve this *Hinna*, as a *Hinna* permanently, will assuredly receive nine-fold blessing (*nuva-fahi Darmma*) that falleth rightly upon persons minded to do good to Muslims."

(*b*) *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu.*

Text.

(*Plate D, No. 9 ; Obverse, Lines 1–4*).

Mi Darmya Darmya amme tibya demeve siṭṭá-kaḷa Muslimán kule Muslimán Rahakun Raṇi-bihev Ráda Kumaru Faṭamá Devi Mahá Mantri karṇṇa Kangatyakin vata me Rasúlai ekhen Swargga vadunai koṛu.

Translation.

"(Every one of) Muslim sect—(whether) King, Queen, Royal Prince, High-born Noble, High-born Lady, he who serves as Chief Minister, or (one of) the body of Trusty Personages—minded to preserve this Benefice (*Darmya*), as a Benefice permanently, will verily attain Heaven (as) with the Prophet (Muḥammad).

(iii) Historical Evidence.

That the High Post of *Henevi Ras Kiṇage* (or *Kilage*) —the very patent equivalent of the Siṇhalese *Senevi-rada* (*P. Sénápati Rája*, "Commander-in-Chief")—existed from early days among the State Officials at the Máldives may be taken for granted readily.

(*a*) *Haddummati Lómáfánu* : *No. 2*,

(*b*) *Ibn Baṭuṭa.*

The first references to—or, rather, adumbrations of—the title so far known are furnished by (*a*) the inclusion of

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Fehendu-vange Hadi Umari Seneviraṛ ("the General, 'Umar the Ḥáji, of Fehendú Island Family") among the Chiefs who attested *Lómáfánu* Haddummati No. 2, granted by "*Śrí Ráaṛádesvara Mahá Radala*" ("*Táríkh*," No. 7, Sulṭán unnamed; A. C. 1232-57) in his sixth regnal year; and (*b*) Ibn Baṭúṭa's denomination of the first Máldivian King converted to Islám as *Aḥmad Shanurázaḥ*.

(*c*) *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu.*

By mid-Fourteenth Century the definite adoption of the title is firmly vouched for by ample testimony.

Besides the distinct mention of "*Kilaki*, Grand Vazír and Lieutenant to the Sulṭána[7]", by the Maghribín Traveller Ibn Baṭúṭa (at the Máldives A.C. 1343–44), in the list he gives of Máldivian State Officials at the time, (*c*) the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* (Plate T, No. 4; Reverse, line 5) specifically alludes to a "*Kakai Mabárak Henevi Ras Kilage*" ("the illustrious Commander-in-Chief, of the Kaká Family"); or, as the Arabic colophon styles him with Oriental bombast, "the erudite Great Vazír, the beneficent, the revered, the illustrious Sharáf-ud-dín Mabárak Shanurázah, who ordered the erection of the blessed Mosque"—the present day *Boḍu-galu Miskit* at Mále.

(*d*) *Rádavali.*

Further valuable confirmation is provided by (*d*) the Máldivian "*Rádavali.*" This History calls Queen Khadíjah's second husband,—who (*teste* the "*Táríkh*") usurped the throne for three years, A.H. 775–78—"*'Abd-Allah* (I) *Henevi Ras Kilage*"; and applies the same title to his son.[8]

Upon all the above evidence (i), (ii), (iii) it may be deemed not unreasonable to attribute the Copper-Plate Grant, of which *Lómáfánu* No. 1 formed but one Plate, to Sulṭána Rehendi Khadíjah herself, the bestower of the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*; and to identify her first husband *Muḥammad-ul-Jamíl* (who, the "*Táríkh*" states, ousted her from the *Masnad*, but was murdered after one year's rule, A.H. 764–65, as

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Sulṭán Jamál-ud-dín) with the "*Muḥammad Henevi Ras Kiṇage*" of *Lómáfánu* No. 1.

Date of Issue.

If this supposition be correct, the date of the Grant cannot be put later than December, A.C. 1344 ; for Ibn Baṭúṭa has recorded that "the Vazír Jamál-ud-dín" died in the month of Sh'abán, A.H. 745, and that "the Vazír 'Abd-Allah" then married the Sulṭána.[9]

Contents.

The purport of this *Lómáfánu*—so far as disclosed—is the permanent detachment, on behalf of the ruling Sovereign (unnamed on this solitary Plate), by the Council of State and other personages headed by the Prime Minister, *Muḥammad Henevi Ras Kiṇage*, Commander-in-Chief—of a *Hinna* (delimited area of land) for some set purpose ; not definitely ascertainable owing to the absence of other Plates but, in all probability, the endowment by Religious Oblation in *Waqf* of some Mosque.

"In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is Charity."

Several such Beneficiary Deeds vouchsafed by Máldivian Muslim Rulers, between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries, are still in existence mostly written on Paper (*Fat-koḷu*) : to these should, with little doubt, be added the few (specified above) inscribed on Copper-Plates (*Lómáfánu*) dating back at least to the end of the Twelfth Century.

These Deeds (like similar dedicatory *Sannas* and *Tuḍapat* granted not infrequently by Ceylon Buddhist Kings) concluded, by way of hoped-for potential safeguard, with some form of pious imprecation, more or less stern and bitter, against transgressors ; but—in the case of Máldivian Muslim dedications always, and with Buddhist grants occasionally—such malisons were softened down by assurance of countervailing blessing accruing to upholders of the Royal benefactions.

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LÓMÁFÁNU : NO. 1.

TRANSCRIPT : WORD FOR WORD TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

1. DOSHAṆÁRE[10] ANYÁ VAṬṬAINE KRANIMENI
The iniquitous those wrong-doing (who have) committed

LÁṆAT LIBENÍ KOṚU *QÁL ALLÁHU TA'ÁLÁ ALÁ*
curse must receive Said God Most High "Know(ye)

LA'ANAT A-
the curse

2. *-LLÁHU 'ALA 'L-ZÁLIMÍN* MI HINNA[11]
of God (is) upon the unjust This Hinna

HINNE-AMME TIBYAMEVE SIṬṬÁKAḶA MUSLIMÁN
as a Hinna (to) continue (who is) minded Muslim

RAHAKUN RÁDA-RAS KALAMIDI[12] RAṆI-
King Royal Prince Queen

3. BIHOU FAṬAMÁ-VALYA DEVI FRADÁNI[13]
High-born man High-born lady Chief Minister

KANGATI[14] EHEN MÍHAKU VYAS
Trusty personages (or) other person if there be

MUSLIMUNAṚ HE-
to Muslims well-

4. U-HITI MÍHUNAṚ VIHAI NUVA-FAHI DARMMA
minded persons due nine-fold blessing

VAṆÍ-KOṚU *QÁL AN-NABÍ SALLALLÁHU*
(will) assuredly fall Said the Prophet the Blessing of God

'ALAI HI VA SALÁM LÁ'YU MINU
(be) upon him and Peace "Not one of you

AḤADUKUM ḤATTA YU-ḤIBBU LI
(is) believer (in God) until he loves his

AKHIHI
brother (in Faith)

5. *MÁ YU-ḤIBBU LI NAFSIHI*
as much as he loves (his) own self"

MI MERUMUN MUḤAMMAD HENEVI RAS-
This in conformity with Muḥammad Henevi King

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KIṆAGE- [15] ÁI FAṆSA FRADÁNI KANGATI
and the Five Chief Ministers Trusty personages

FAKÍ FAḌYÁRU [16] DETA
the learned Faḍiyáru given.

Reverse.

1. FÁTRÁ DAṚAṚ LIE VASSAIDIN MI
the feet beneath written published this

MÁ- FANU [17] RASGE - ÁI RAS-GEVÍ
Great Deed the King and (has) ended rule

FASDÁKU BUDAULA-
after the Government

2. DU FURṚUMÁI HINNA— VE NU-GEVI
continues (the) Hinna existing without alteration

TIBENI-VE HINNA VI BINEIN KOMME
(to) remain (a) Hinna being in the conditions any

EKYAI
one

3. UVAI NAHAI BAUHATTAI KRAMEVE
(by) cancelling breaking (and) appropriating (to) act

SIṬṬÁKAḶA MUSULIMÁN RAHAKU RÁDA-KUMARU KALA—
minded Muslim King Crown Prince Prince

MIDI RAṆÍ-
Queen

4. BIHOU FAṬAMÁ-VALYA DEVI FRADÁNÍ
High-born man High-born lady Chief Minister

KAMUGATI EHEN MÍHAKU VYAS MUHAMMAD
Trusty (or) other person if there be Muḥammad
personages

KÍ
named

5. FETÁNBRAGE [18] ṢARÍATU [19] TIBI MAGAṚ
of the Prophet Religious Law (what) is according to

NU-ḶI SUNNÁFATI AHUVA
without preserving (by) destroying perversely

KAḶAINAṚ VÁHURÍ HAIDU [20]
(upon) those who act (will) ensue tribulation.

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TRANSLATION.

Upon the iniquitous who commit wrong-doing the curse (of God) is bound to fall. The Almighty God has declared :—"Know (ye) the curse of God is upon the unjust."

(Every) Muslim—(whether) King, Royal Prince, Queen, High-born man, High-born lady, Chief Minister, Trusty Personage, or other person—minded to preserve this *Hinna* as a *Hinna* permanently, will assuredly receive nine-fold blessing which falleth rightly upon persons minded to do good to Muslims.

The Prophet (May the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him) said :—"None of you is a True Believer (in God) until he showeth as great love to his fellow (-religionist) as to himself."

In accordance with this (precept of the Prophet), this *Málófánu* (for the *Hinna*), granted by (*lit.* at the feet of) Muḥammad *Henevi Ras Kiṇage*, and (with the concurrence of) the Five Chief Ministers, Trusty Personages, (and) the learned *Faḍiyáru* (Qázi), was written and promulgated.

(By its stipulation, even) after the death (*lit.* cessation of Rule) of the King, so long as the Government continues (to last), the *Hinna* is to remain a *Hinna* unalterably.

Should any Muslim—(whether) King, Crown Prince, Prince, Queen, High-born man, High-born lady, Chief Minister, Trusty Personage, or other person—be minded to cancel, break, or appropriate (aught) in (conflict with) any of the conditions (affecting this Deed), he will incur the penalties of those who act perversely by not maintaining, (but) rendering nugatory, the Religious Laws (*Shari'at*) of the Prophet (Muḥammad).

NOTES.

1. **Excerpta Máldiviana No. 9.**—The present Paper could not have seen the light but for the invaluable—and in great degree indispensable—aid most kindly rendered the writer by Máldivian friends.

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To E. Aḥmad Dídí Effendí, *Doriméná Kilégefánu*, Private Secretary to H.H. the Sulṭán, to Mr. E. 'Abdul Ḥamíd Dídí, Máldivian Representative at Colombo, to A. Muḥammad Amín Dídí, son of the former, and to the present *Faḍiyáru* (Qází) M. Ḥusain Dídí Saláḥ-ud-dín, just meed of sincerest thanks is frankly due, for consenting, in all generosity, to revise the writer's tentative efforts at translation of the "*Dives Akuru*" Texts as transcribed and furnished to them by him.

For the suggested date periods of the Grants, and other observations offered in the Foreword, the writer must himself accept full personal responsibility; no less than for all matter in the *Appendix* bearing on the form of script displayed by the three *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1, 2, 3 respectively; as well as for the condensed shape into which the running Translations have been finally cast; and finally for the Notes.

2. Lómáfánu.—This term, and its partial metathesis *Málófánu*, as applied to Máldivian Copper-Plate Grants may find derivation in:—*Lómá* = Sanskrit, Páli, *lohamáya*, Siṇhalese *lómuwá*, "metal-made," "copper"; *fánu* = Páli *panna*. Sanskrit *paṇa*, Siṇhalese *pan* "leaf."

3. "The Máldive Islands : *Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy.*"

4. Lómáfánu : Haddummati, No. 1 : Male.—The dating of these two Grants—a startlingly anomalous and intriguing fact of historical interest and importance, in view of the universal adoption of the *Hijra* era by races who have once adopted the Muslim creed—is thus plainly recorded :—

Text.

Śrímat Gaḍanáditya Má Rasun (eka rádya viṇa da) tin-vana (setari-vana) avirodun Śrí Muhammadi Feṭánbarin (dunie videlai) Swargga vaḍaigata fás-shatta bay-ási (te-ási) avirodun.

Translation.

"In the third (fourth) year of the glorious Great King Gaḍanádítiya, (when the kingdom was unified), (being) the 582nd (583rd) year since the illustrious Prophet Muḥammad (having illumined the world) attained Heaven."

That the Máldivians should have followed, up to nearly the end of the Twelfth Century at least, the system of *Buddhist Chronology*—by dating their own era, not from the *migration* (*Hijra*) of the Prophet from Mekka to Medína on July 16th, A.C. 622, but from the *death* of Muḥammad, which did not occur until ten years later, *viz.*, on June 9th, A.C. 632; as do the Buddhists in reckoning the *Buddha Varsha* from the *Parinirvánaya* of the Buddha in B.C. 544—goes far to show the firm hold that *Buddhism* had secured over the Islanders, and the dilatory change in this respect from the Buddhist cult to Islám, despite Muḥammadanism being stringently enforced, as the State Religion, from the date of the Muslim Conversion in A.C. 1153.

The A.H. date 588 is given in the "*Táríkh*" for the accession of *Sulṭán* (*No. 4*) *Dinei Kalaminjá*, who from his *biruda* is identifiable as "*Śrímat Gaḍanáditya Mahá Rasun*" of the Haddummatí No. 1, and Mále *Lómáfánu*. It is more than likely that this date was equated by

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the compiler of the State Chronicle, Qází Sheikh Ḥáji Ḥasan Táj-ud-dín, for the *Anno Hijrae* era with the *Anno Muhammadi* date of that Ruler's accession deducible from the two *Lómáfánu*, viz., A.M. 580, covering the difference of ten years.

5. Lómáfánu: Haddummati, No. 2.—Whether the strange—perhaps unique—"*Anno Muhammadi*" dating for the Muslim era continued to be employed during the Thirteenth Century, the incomplete *Lómáfánu* of Sulṭán Ráarádésvara—the only existing source of information available so far—leave unsettled. The surviving Plates of that Grant nowhere refer to the Muslim year in any form.

Certain it is, however, that a century later the "*Anno Hijrae*" system had taken definite root at the Máldives; for the *Bodu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* issued by Sulṭána Rehendi Khadíjah is expressly dated, as recorded in its colophon, in A.H. 758 (A.C. 1356-57).

6. Máldivian Dates. These dates are those of the "*Tárikh*," which the *Bodu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* shows to be out by seven or eight years. Queen Khadíjah was on the throne when Ibn Baṭúṭa spent about eighteen months (A.H. 743-44, A.C. 1343-44) at Mále; and this fact fits in well with the sixteenth year of the Sulṭána's reign falling to A.H. 758 (A.C. 1356-57), placing her first accession in A.H. 742, or a year prior to Ibn Baṭúṭa's arrival.

7. Journal C.A.S., Extra No., 1882: "Ibn Baṭuṭa in the Máldives and Ceylon," page 18.

8. The Máldive Islands: *Sessional Paper* XV, 1921, p. 65.

9. Journal C.A.S., *loc. cit.* p. 36.

10. Doshanáre.—The Mále experts are unable to explain this word, and would connect it with the previous Plate, which is among those missing; but as a very natural derivative from the Siṅhalese *dósha*, "fault", "wrong," the word, as taken to mean "iniquitous" aptly suits the context.

11. Hinna.—A boundary-fixed area, planted or unplanted, belonging either to the Government, to a private individual, or to a family. The Government may bestow the income of a *Hinna* upon a Mosque, &c., or lease it out to any one.

12. Kalamidi.—This title appears in the "*Tárikh*" and "*Rádavali*" Chronicles under the form *Kalaminjá*. It has been explained as signifying "Royal on both sides" (*cf.* Sin. *De-oṭunu meda* in Dimbulágala Inscription, Ceylon, *Ceylon Antiquary, III, p.* 7).

13. Fradáni.—*Cf.* Sin. *Pradhána*. The Kandyan Court Ministers, in an *óla* Missive, addressed to the Dutch Council at Colombo in A.C. 1726, style themselves "*Mahá Wásala Pradhánivú Radulu-varu*" (*Ceylon Antiquary*, 1915, Vol. I., pp. 118-23); In a *Sannasa* granted six years before they figure as *Siyalu Paňcha Pradháni Amáptavú*. The term *Paňcha Pradháni* occurs in the Hendeniya *Sannasa* (B.V. 2052) of Vikrama Báhu, Kandy, two centuries earlier.

It is not possible to particularise the "Chief Ministers" here grouped as a body of "five" (*Fansa Fradáni*). Ibn Baṭúṭa gives the titles of eight, including the *Kilaki*, in office in A.C. 1343-44. The confusion is added to by Pyrard's list (A. C. 1619) of Máldivian dignities, nine in number, at the commencement of the Sixteenth Century; and from the

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mention (A.C. 1835-36) of six "Vazírs" by Young and Christopher of the Indian Navy—making it certain that the State Offices, and their respective status, have been altered from time to time (See *Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, I, pp. 209-15).

14. Kangati : Kamugati.—"Many other dignities there are of divers degree which the King grants" (*Pyrard, loc. cit.* p. 214).

Influential men, of respectable social standing, might hold lesser minor offices, mostly honorary. Among these "*Kangati nam*" (*Kangati* titles) were in former days several which have seemingly quite died out, *e.g., Dánná, Fenná, Kánná, Kaulanná, Ménú, Oliginá, Hirahamádi, Aruvatchi, Wata Baḍéri*, &c. A few still survive, such as *Gaḍahamádi, Ranahamádi*, &c.

15. Kinage.—This term has now been superceded by the form *Kilége* with *fánu* (Sin. *vahanse*) honorific attached, *i.e., Kilége-fánu*.

Pyrard supports Ibn Baṭúṭa in attributing special importance to the title:—"The *Quilague*, whom we might call the King's Lieutenant-General; because next to the King, and in his absence, he is the most powerful in the Government of the State, and without his authority nothing is done. So, if the King wills to do, observe, or execute anything, he is the first to be deputed and receive his commands" (*Pyrard, l. c.* pp. 209-11).

In the course of the Nineteenth Century the title "*Kilégefánu*," once held by the highest Minister only, has been extended gradually to six possible recipients—if all be in office at one time—of whom the *Doriméná Kilégefánu* ranks highest at the present day.

These half dozen *Kilégefànu* Chiefs are :—

1. *Doriméná Kilégefánu*
2. *Ranna Baḍéri Kilégefánu*
3. *Fáriná Kilégefánu*
4. *Fámudéri* (or *Fámuladéri*) *Kilégefánu*
5. *Máfat Kilégefánu*
6. *Daharú* (or *Daharada*) *Kilégefánu*.

Until quite recently they, with the *Qázi*, formed *Is Majilis*, or Chief Council of State (*Raskamuge*) of the Máldive Kingdom.

To the fact that in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries *Fáriná Kilége* stood first in rank, next below the Sulṭán himself, Máldivian history would appear to point. Thus the following Princes, among others, are specifically styled "*Fáriná*" in the State Chronicle ("*Táríkh*"), and other documents :—Sulṭán 'Ali V (*Dombulá Fáriná*); Sulṭán Ibráhím III, son of Sulṭán Muḥammad Bodu Takurufánu; Ḥasan Fáriná, half brother of Sulṭán Ibráhím Iskandar I; 'Ali Fáriná, afterwards Sulṭán Muḥammad Mukarram 'Imád-ud-dín III; and Sulṭán Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín II.

16. Fadiyáru.—The Máldivian term (pronounced *Faṇḍiyáru*) for the Arabic *Qázi*.

If *Lómáfánu* No. 1 belongs rightly to Sulṭána Rehendi Khadíjah, and to the years A.H. 743-44, the particular "learned *Faḍiyáru*" mentioned therein must have been either (*a*) Qázi Ísá of Yemen (*Ísá al Yamaní*), or (*b*) Ibn Baṭúṭa himself; who—if he is to be believed—was "constrained" to supplant that Qázi (to whom the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* also alludes), on account of his judicial venality (*Journal C.A.S.*, Extra No., 1872).

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17. Má-fánu.—See Note 2 *supra*.

18. Fetánbara.—*Paighámbar* (Persian); which covers both *Rasúl* and *Nabí* (Arabic).

19. Sariatu.—Arabic. *Shari'at.*—"The Laws of Islám."

20. Imprecation.—Two hundred years earlier (A.C. 1133) in an Island Kingdom, separated from the Máldives by thousands of miles, a Christian Sovereign had "granted and confirmed" a "Charter" to "the Church of St. Bartholamew, and to the poor of the Hospital," akin, in its closing adjuration, to that recorded on *Lómáfánu* issued by an Oriental Ruler professing the creed of Islám.

Here are the stirring words of the English document:—"And let all the people of the whole Kingdom know, that I (Henry I, King of the English) will maintain and defend this place even as my Crown; and if any one shall presume in anything to contradict this Our Royal privilege, he, and all and everything that belongs to him, shall come into the King's power. All these things I have granted for ever, for the love of God and the welfare of myself and my heirs, and for the souls of my ancestors.

"Therefore, I adjure all my heirs and successors in the name of the Holy Trinity, that they maintain and defend this Sacred Place by Royal authority and that they grant and confirm the liberties by me granted to it."

But most striking it is to find the Máldivian Muslim objurgation virtually reproduced (save for the more vivid Buddhist penalties in substitution) in a Sinhalese *Sannasa* (Hendeniya) emanating from a Kandyan King in the Sixteenth Century (A. C. 1509-10):—"*Raja Yuva Raja Siṭu Senevirat Ẹpá Mápá Paňcha Pradháni kenekungen wat obakiṅ wat avulak uḍaranayak kala ki kenek ẹt nam, &c., ...*"

(2) LÓMÁFÁNU: NO. 2.

(*Plate II.*)

This single leaf of a Copper-Plate Grant (now as a whole, it is feared, irretrievably lost), is in safe custody at Mále. Weathering has marred a photograph doing full justice.

It was discovered by the writer strung on the same ring as the six surviving Plates (covers excluded) of *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*; and, from its less perfect finish, automatically dubbed itself an interloper.

As with *Lómáfánu* No. 1, no fellow to this Plate is known.

In dimensions it measures 10 1/3 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.: it is, therefore, slightly shorter than *Lómáfánu* No. 1, but half

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an inch wider. The ring-hole is on the right side of the Plate; which is exceptional.

The Obverse has six lines, as against but five on the Reverse. The script falls short of the clear cut perfection of characters noticeable on *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1 and 3.

Date of Issue.

Neither its date, nor the name of the Sulṭán by whose order *Lómáfánu* No. 2 was issued, appear on the Plate; which seems to bear, as Máldivian Numbers, *S* (8) and *D* (9) for its front and back.[1] It may be placed provisionally in chronological order between *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1 and 3.

Contents.

The object of the Document was manifestly the bestowal of a Grant on a Mosque, under *Waqf* conditions, as in the case of *Lómáfánu* No. 1.

What is lost, regrettable as it is, in entire absence of knowledge, or even hint, regarding the identity of the particular Ruler on the throne at the date of its execution, or that of any of his Ministers—in contrast to the suggestive information to be gleaned from *Lómáfánu* No. 1—is, however, in no small measure, compensated by two other prominent points in the Text of this unique Plate.

These are centered in :—

(i) The appellation "*Lakká*" (*Lanká*)—still in dispute by Orientalists as far as relates to Ceylon—applied to the Máldives.

(ii) The claim to "*Janman*," or proprietary birth-right, in Landed property on the Islands, asserted almost unequivocally by the Sulṭán reigning at the time of the issue of *Lómáfánu* No. 2, and apparently acquiesced in without demur by his State Officers and subjects;—such vital right, both in regard to Land Produce and Treasury Funds, being now-a-days absolutely denied *de jure* to the Sulṭáns by the *Lex Inscripta* of the Máldive Islands.

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(i) "Lakká," (*Laṇká*)

In his closely reasoned Paper ("The Indian Historical Quarterly," Vol. II, No. 2, 1926) Mr. V. H. Vader deals concisely with the situation of "The *Laṇká* of Rávaṇa described in Válmiki's *Rámáyaṇa*."

Tacitly dismissing the unwisely proposed (*a*) Amarakaṇṭaka mountain, (*b*) Assam, and (*c*) Central India, sites, as all quite unsustainable, he proceeds to tilt vigorously at (*d*) "the almost axiomatic theory that Ceylon was *Laṇká* and *Laṇká* is Ceylon," so persistently urged by many Oriental Scholars.

Upon "more weighty and reliable evidence collected from ancient Sanskrit literature," Mr. Vader propounds this theory :— "*Laṇká* was the Capital of the big Island known as *Rákshasa Dvípa*, in the midst of the Southern Ocean, and on the Equator or middle part of the Earth."

The question is discussed fully, authorities being quoted to show that "*Siṇhala Dvípa*," or Ceylon, and "*Laṇká*" were separate kingdoms ; for several reasons clearly set out.

Mr. Vader finally sums up the case for his thesis thus :—

"The present Máldives cover up the same position which once was covered by the *Rákshasa Dvípa*. It extended from 6° North latitude down to 1° South of the Equator lengthwise, while its breadth was from 73½° to 76° West longitude.

"Even the geologists maintain that before the Fourth Millennium B.C. there existed a big Continent in the Indian Ocean. Its extent lay, from the South of Africa, Eastward towards the South of America, to the South of India. In course of time the big Continent became immersed in the waters, and what portions we have now—such as *Malaya Dvípa*, Sychelles, Rodrigues, Chagos, Mauritius, Madagascar, Jáva, Sumátra, Borneo, Ascension, Falkland, Graham, West Antarctica, etc.—are nothing but the mountain tops or plateaus of the old big Continent.

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"The *Malaya Dvípa*, or Máldives, is the site of the *Rákshasa Dvípa* of Rávaṇa with its capital *Laṇká Puri*."

Leaving aside the moot point whether Ceylon was, or was not, rightly known as "*Laṇká*" among other names, *e.g.*, *Siṇhala Dvípa*, *Támpraparṇa* (*Taprobane*), the existence of an alternative "*Lakká*," or "*Laṇká*," situated to the South-West of Ceylon, is startlingly supported by intrinsic evidence contained in surviving Máldivian *Lómáfánu*.

The employment in *Lómáfanu* No. 2 of the term "*Lakká*," as synonymous with "*Divehi Rájje*" of a later period, to denominate "the Maldive Realm," finds valuable collateral support in the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* (Plate T, No. 3, Obverse, line 3); in which distinct reference is made to more than one "*Lakká*"—"*Aahi Lakká Mahi Lakká, Laṇká* the "Far" (*lit.* "There") and the "Near" (*lit.* "Here").

These terms may cover the Lakkadive, and Máldive, Island Groups—unless (not impossibly) "*Aahi Lakká*" denoted Ceylon itself.

A further curious point—may be purely accidental, but nathless not to be ignored even if a strange coincidence only—in connection with "*Laṇká Puri*" as the presumed Capital of Rávaṇa's "*Rakshasa Dvípa*," is the actual existence of an island at the present day (humble, and uninhabited, but dedicated in *Waqf* to a Mosque), now written and pronounced "*Lankan-fuṛi*," which lies on the Eastern reef of North Mále Atol.

(ii) Sulṭáns' "Janman" Right.

"For many centuries past, and possibly from early days, the form of Government which has ruled at the Máldives has been, to a considerable degree, that of a Constitutional Monarchy.

'Broad based upon (the) people's will,
And compassed by the inviolate sea.'

"The Sulṭáns of the Máldive Islands (from the date of the Muḥammadan Conversion in mid-Twelfth Century,

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A.C. 1153) would seem to have held the throne virtually at the will of the Chieftains and people; who have not failed to enforce their power at times by effective Revolution—brought about of late years peaceably, but not infrequently in former days by measures more or less violent and tragic.[2]

"Tenure of land at the Máldives conforms in some points to the Málayáli Fiscal system in vogue for centuries in Malabar, as well as on the Islands off the West coast of India, viz., the Lakkadive Group, including Minicoy (*Maliku*); which latter Island belonged to the Máldive Rulers up to the Sixteenth Century *circa*.

"The "*Janman*," or proprietary birth-right, claim to *Paṇḍáram* lands and monopoly of all produce, so long maintained over the Lakkadives by the Rájas, and Bíbís, of Kaṇṇanúr, was finally inhibited (with certain concessions to meet all prescriptive allegations) by the British Government of India.

"*Per contra*, for their part, the Sulṭáns of the Máldive Islands have never, *as of right*, established exclusive "*Janman*" claims of possession to land, or produce, of any Islands in their Dominion as distinct from, and independent of, the *Baṇḍára* or Government right.

"The soil of *Divehi Rájje*, ('The Island Kingdom,') is vested in the Government (M. *Baṇḍára*) inalienably. Land can neither be seized *de jure* by the Sulṭáns, under pretence of "*Janman*" right; nor conveyed by them *suâ sponte*, either to Máldivian subjects (Mále Island furnishing the sole partial exception) or to Foreigners.

"The Máldive Sulṭáns, in short, were never absolute personal owners of either the soil, or the produce, whether in (*a*) the whole, or (*b*) certain Islands, or (*c*) parts of Islands, of the Máldive Archipelago.

"Despite, however, the well-established Máldivian Unwritten Law, viz., that the Sulṭáns are not unconditioned

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proprietors of the land, Máldivian history discloses, beyond question, that taking advantage of the weakness of their Governments, or of the flexible disposition of their subjects, Sulṭáns have, on occasions, acting with high-handed and unjustifiable assertion of "*Janman*" right, alienated Islands for their own interests or that of favourities, besides reserving Islands in their names for *Waqf* benefit of Mosques.

"Islands thus irregularly transferred by one Sulṭán were generally allowed to remain uninterruptedly *in statu quo* by his successors, on grounds of expediency, or as convenient precedent for justifying plausible similar action at will to their personal advantage." [3]

LÓMÁFÁNU : NO. 2

TRANSCRIPT : WORD FOR WORD TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

1. BÁRA RAṚ NAGAI DEMAVE : MI
Twelve Islands selected given this

BAHÁI MI EMME VERI-TAKUN HITAṚA DURO-
saying these all Officials to the mind rich

2. AKAI HAMA BÁRA RAṚ BÁRA
sufficient twelve Islands from twelve

ATOḶUN NU-FENI MUḶI LAKKÁIN BÁRA
Atols not finding from the whole of Lakka twelve

RAṚ DE-
Islands

3. MÁVE BUṆEGEN : UTTARAIN NEKURANDU-AI :
given saying from the North Nekurendú and

KALAIDU-AI : LANDUV-A-
Kalaidú and Landú

4. I : IGURAIDU-AI : KÁṚIDU-AI : HUḶULE-AI : ELA-AI :
and Iguraidú and Káṛidú and Huḷule and Ela and

KAṆI-
Kaṇi-

5. (MÍ)DU-AI : FOṆADU DE TUḌI-AI : MADIRI
Mídú and of Fonadú two portions and Madiri

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VILIGILLI-(A)I : NELENDU-AI
Viligili and Nelendú and

6. . . . . MÁI RASGE TUḌI AVAHÁRA
ma and Royal portion private

TUḌI MI DE TUḌIAR VANAHAI HI-
portion to these two portions what exists Hi-

Reverse.

1. TADU MÁMENDU GAḌAI MI BÁRA NAGARU
tadu Mámendú reservation these twelve (Island) villages

DA(NÁ)RU MACHCHAR VANNA EMME TA-
Mosque upon being all things

2. KETAI : MI RADUNGE AMILLA UKAS MATÍN
this King's own property out of

SIRI SÁSTRA FAṆA MI HAṆE FÁ-
glorious sciences plate this narrow notification

3. ḶA KOṚU MI BÁRA NAGARU HINNA
having made these twelve (Island) villages Hinna

KURAVVAI-GENFI KAMÁI : MI BÁRA RAṚA
caused to make the fact These twelve Islands

RAS BO-
Royal Cowries

4. LI RAHURÁ : GOI-MAS : *QALAM* GOVI-BAI :
Toddy Tax Fish Tax *Qalam* Cultivators Tax

FÁLABBA MI VERÍ-NAR ME TIBIMAR MI
Tree Tax to these people this belonging These

5. NAGARUKU SAMUDDURE FURI HIKUNAS MI
(Island) villages in the sea islet dried up this

RAR MACHCHAR ME TIBENA HURI KAMÁI
Island upon this belongs is the fact

TRANSLATION.

. . . . . should be selected and given.

Upon this statement, as the twelve Islands from the (above specified) Atols did not appear to be sufficiently productive in the opinion of all these (State) Officials, (they)

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declared that twelve Islands should be given from the whole Máldive Kingdom (*Muḷi Lakká*).

(Accordingly) the following Islands were selected from Northwards,[4] (viz.):—Nekurendú (Tiladummatí Atol), Kalaidú (South Miladummaḍulu Atol), Landú (South Miladummaḍulu Atol), Iguraidú (North Máḷosmaḍulu Atol), Káṛidú, Huḷule (North Mále Atol), Ela (Koḷumaḍulu Atol), Kaṇi Mídu (Nilande Atol), two portions of Fonadú (North Mále Atol), Madiri Viligili[5] (North Mále Atol), Nelandú (North Nilande Atol),.....(including) the Royal portion, and private portion, with what (produce) exists (therein), as well as, (in Haddummati Atol), a reserved portion of Hitadú and Mamendú Islands—everything in these (above) twelve Islands (*lit.* villages) being (bestowed in *Waqf*) upon the Mosque.

(His Majesty), having caused these twelve Islands, (drawn) from the King's own property, to be constituted a *Hinna*, proclaimed the fact by this glorious, scholarly *Málófánu* (*lit.* narrow Plate).[6]

From these twelve Islands (the taxes)[7] *Ras-boli*, *Rahurà*, *Goi-mas*, *Qalam*, *Govi-bai*, *Fálabba*, were allotted to these persons (as custodians for the upkeep of the Mosque).

(Further), it is decreed (*lit.* is the fact) that an eyot (*fuṛi*) which has emerged (*lit.* dried up) from the sea[8] at any one of these Islands (*lit.* at this village)—this (too) belongs to this Island.

NOTES.

1. Máldivian Numeration. In old Documents this ran thus :— *M* (1), *F* (2), *D* (3), *T* (4), *L* (5), *G* (6), *N* (7), *S* (8), *D* (9).

2. The Máldive Islands : *Sessional Paper XV, 1921.*

3. The Máldive Islands : *Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy.*

4. Islands. The sequence of the Islands starts from the Northernmost Atol (Tiladummatí), but at once becomes irregular.

5. Madiri Viligili. "Rowed across from Mále to Viligili Island. It is occupied by *Rá-veri* (Toddy Drawers), under their own Headman. The houses are poor and few, surrounded by coconut and breadfruit

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trees. Most of the Island is under dense sea-board jungle, interspersed with sporadic coconuts .....

"The Mosque, about a quarter of a mile from the dwellings, is a building of no merit, covered by galvanized sheeting, half walled, half wooden-barred, having but one doorway. There are stepping-stones from the square ablution-tank (*hauz*) to the Mosque entrance to save feet pollution.

"With men and boys, the women here came out to be photographed, near their houses. In Mále, the latter 'run like hares,' if approached camera in hand.

"This Island lives well up to its name *Madiri Viligili*." Mosquitoes (M. *madiri*) abominably aggressive: by contrast, Mále is very free of these pests." (*Diary, May 2, 1922*).

6. Sultáns' "Janman" Right. By Mále authorities the sentence from *Má Radunge amilla* (Reverse: line 2) to *fála koru* (line 3) in the Text, is considered "very complicated, and its meaning not at all clear." They, however, frankly admit that "either the Sulṭán of the day must have proclaimed that he reserved these Islands for the Mosque as of indefeasible right; or that he asserted forcibly and wrongfully such personal claim, and autocratically proclaimed the fact."

7. Taxes: *Rasboli*. Royal Cowries, *i.e.*, Cowries paid as Poll-Tax (*Váru*); *Rahurá*: Toddy (unfermented) Tax; *Goi-Mas*: Fish Tax; *Qalam*: Tax Collector's Fee (*lit.* "pen-fee"); *Govi-Bai*: Cultivation Tax; *Fálabba*: Tree Tax. For *Fálabba* see *Journal C.A.S.*, XXXI, 82, 1929, pp. 414-15.

8. Island Erosion. "They (the natives) observe the Atols to be washing away: in some, coconut trees are standing in the sea; elsewhere, the black soil of the Island is discernible thirty feet from the beach at low-water. The South-East side of an Island in Fádiffulu Atol is entirely gone, and marked only by a tree in the water. Some Islands are said to have disappeared entirely, *e.g.*, Wádú in Miladummaḍulu Atol, now a rocky shoal but once an Island.

"It is, however, acknowledged that reefs have risen from the water, and gradually formed Islands. The inhabitants of Mále remember the outer edge of a circular reef in their harbour which had two fathoms in the shoalest part, but is now dry at low water" (*Moresby*, "*Report on the Maldives*," 1835, *circa*).

LÓMÁFÁNU: NO. 3.

(*Plates III, IV.*)

The left half of a broken Copper-Plate, which must once have formed portion of an important *Lómáfánu*, was presented to the writer in 1922 by Hoḷudú-nevige Ḥáji Ismá'il Didi,[1] for many years past, the *Míru Baharu* (Arabic, *Amír-al-Baḥr*), or Harbour Master at Mále. It has no claimant, and is said to have been found *perdu* somewhere at Mále among other "unconsidered trifles."

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The fragmentary Plate measures roughly about 7 in. horizontally by 3 in. in regular breadth.

As most customary, the Plate is pierced near the left side, and bears the first portion of five lines on Obverse and Reverse face alike.

Its script is beautifully engraved, the characters being boldly incised, and clear beyond poss bility of confusion.

Contents.

By extraordinary good luck, though but half of the Plate is available—the Máldivian numbering, *N* (7) and *S* (8) on Obverse and Reverse respectively, fixing this as the fourth in order of the original set—so much of the Text as is forthcoming contains definite historical particulars, (besides veiled suggestions, partly divulged, partly shadowed). which enable the period of the *Lómáfánu's* execution, and the identity of the Royal Grantor, to be deduced with virtual certainty.

Succinctly stated these clues (i), (ii), (iii) are as follows :—

(i) Al-Gházi Ibráhīm Fáriná.

"The Great King Íbráhím Fáriṇá, the Ghází," (at the present day spoken of at Mále by tradition, and in song, as "*Íbráhím Kaláfánu*)," is styled precisely, as on this half Plate, "*Al-Ghází Íbráhím Fáriṇá*" in an old *Fat-koḷu* (Paper Grant) in which Haññа Mídú Island of Ari Atol figures conspicuously.

This *Fat-koḷu* opens with a reference to the circumstances attending the tragic death, by spear thrust, of Al-Gházi Sulṭán Íbráhím (III) son of Al-Gházi Muḥammad Boḍu Takura martyred (*shahid vejje*) on Wednesday, the 28th of Shawwàl, A. H. 1017, when fighting against the evil-minded Malabars (*Hóḷín*) who had descended upon Mále in fourteen vessels (*Gurábu*) ; the Muslim burial, and the erection of a stone-built tomb (*Ziyárat*) to the slain Sulṭán at Haññа Mídu; and the appointment of its care-

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takers; together with mention of the names of the two wives, 'Aishá Bíbí Kamaná and Nazarat Kamaná, who had accompanied the Sulṭán on his flight.[2]

(ii) Length of Reign.

The "*Táríkh*" and "*Rádavali*" Chronicles agree with the *Lómáfánu* in allotting a period of twenty-four (24) years and two (2) months to the reign of Sulṭán Íbráhím (III, A.C. 1585–1609), son of Sulṭán Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu (A.C. 1573–85).

(iii) Succession to the Throne.

From the same Histories is gained the further information that, after one intervening reign—that of Sulṭán Ḥusain (II) Fámudéri Kilégefánu (A.C. 1609–20)—the throne passed to Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín (I), A.C. 1620–48, whose parentage is given. [3]

This Ruler, the nearest living relative to the deceased Sulṭán Íbráhim (III), was his great-nephew, in as much as Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín's great-grandfather 'Ali Khaṭíb—"*Al-Ghází* Ali Katíbu Takura" of *Lómáfánu* No. 3—and Sulṭán M. Boḍu Takurufánu were half-brothers.

Enough is left on the broken Plate (albeit but the last syllable "*ná*") to identify "Áminá Mává Kilage" as the mother of the "male child" (*furaddináda*) "Muḥammad Kalaminjá"[3] of the "*Rádavali*" history; besides affording the strongest presumption that her own mother's name Mariyam Kabádi Kilage, (as occurring in the "*Táríkh*"), filled the missing part of line 4 (Obverse); and that the latter lady was a daughter (*dí*) of "Ali Katíbu Takura" mentioned in the first part of the same line.

Date of Issue.

The issue of *Lómáfánu* No. 3 (to which the partial Plate belonged) may, therefore, fairly be assigned to Sulṭán Muḥammad Shuj'ai 'Imád-ud-dín (I), commonly known as "*Boḍu Rasgefánu*," who reigned from A.C. 1620–1648.

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By collation with existing *Fat-koḷu* of Sulṭān Iskandar Íbráhím I (A.C. 1648–87), son of Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imad-ud-dín I, gaps in the text have been partially filled with confidence ; in addition to other *lacunae* closed up by the supplementary information drawn from the Chronicles.

(3) LÓMÁFÁNU : NO. 3

TRANSCRIPT : WORD FOR WORD TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

1. MAHÁ RADUNE VANA *AL-GHÁZÍ* ÍBRÁHÍMU
Great King being the Ghází Íbráhím

FÁṚINÁI [. . . . . SA]
Fáṛiná

2. -UVÍS AVERUDU DVI MÁSÁIN REDALI
twenty-four years two months reigned
[. . . . . .]

KURAV [VAI . . . . SHAHID VEJJE SATÁRA AVERUDU]
having martyr become seventeen years

3. DAHA MÁSÁIN MI LÓKA MEDUN
ten months this world from midst

BAIBAA[. . . . . .]
departed

4. EB-BAFAI *AL-GHÁZÍ* ALI KATÍBU TAKURAGE
one-father the Ghází 'Ali Khaṭíb Takura's

DÍ : [MARIAN KABÁDI KILAGE DÍ
daughter Mariyam Kabádi Kilége's daughter

KABÁ ÁMI-]
Kabá

5. NÁ MÁVÁ KILAGE KIHUNU : FURADINNÁDA
Áminá Mává Kilége born to male child

[. . . . . SVA].

Reverse.

1. -STI SRÍMATA MAHÁ SRÍ
Hail! Endowed with beauty great glorious

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KULA SUNDURA SÁIKA SÁSTURA [AUDÁNA . . . .
race pure all sciences [accomplished . . . . .]
. . . . . .]

2. FURA UTTARA KATTIRI BUVANA MAHÁ
pre-eminent noble Kahatriya Universe Great

RADUN[4] EKU RÁJJE FURAGAḶA [UDDAḶA KOṚU
King (as) one Kingdom all the Islands embellishing

KELA AḌḌÚ MI DE-]
Kéla (Island) Aḍḍú (Atol) these two

3. MEDU[5] EKAṆU ONNAMI KOṚU : ANEKANER
between one together having made (to) any other

NETÍ KOṚU[. . . . . MI DEHAIN BAA]
denying this country fear

4. NIRUBÁ KOṚU : BARI KUSHA MI
without fear having made weight wisdom this

AMATTAVI KOṚU : FURA MÁ[6] [LE . . . . . .
exclusive having made Ancient Male
. . . . . .]

5. MI DARUṆI MATÍ SARUMÁṆA BINÁ
this fertile area upon cleared ground

KURAVVAIGEN SAVÁLA [. . . . . .]
getting worked famed

TRANSLATION.

When the Great King Íbráhím Fáṛiná, the Ghází,..... had reigned for four and twenty years and two months, [and after seventeen years and] ten months [had elapsed since, as a martyr, he had] departed from this world, (there succeeded to the throne) a male child [begotten by 'Umar Máfat Kilége, and born to Kabá Ámi]ná Mává Kilége [daughter of Mariyam Kabádi Kilége, who was a] daughter of 'Ali Khaṭíb Takura, the Ghází, half-brother [of the Sulṭán Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu, the Ghází].

Hail ! the Great Ruler of the Universe—a pre-eminent noble Kshatriya.....(learned in) all sciences, (descended from) the great glorious pure race, endowed with beauty—

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having embellished as one Kingdom all the Islands [between Kéla and Aḍḍú Atol] making it his own domain, and that of no other (Ruler), banished fear from this country, freeing it from alarm.

Having (thus), with weighty wisdom, established exclusive (Sovereignty), (His Majesty) caused ground, cleared in a fertile area, to be cultivated at Ancient Mále,.....the famed.....

NOTES.

1. H. Ismá'il Dídí. The erstwhile sprightly young Ambassador to Ceylon in the Eighties of last Century. He has gone on the *Hajj* Pilgrimage, thrice since; and is one of the State Officials most trusted at this day.

His all-round efficiency, and knowledge of Siṇhalese, coupled with a happy temperament, rendered his services invaluable as cicerone to the Archaeological Commission of 1922.

2. Haññá Mídu Fat-koḷu. The full passage in the Text runs:—

Hijrain eku sástura satára vana averudu *Shawwál* máhu Buda aráyis duvahu *Al-Ghází Muḥammad Boḍu Takurar* fut *Al-Ghází Ibráhím* Fáriná Kilage faivánái *hasad* verikamu Hóḷinge dolos-de Gurábu ais mi Kinage faivánái mi uren haguráma koru mi uren elli lónsiakun mi Kinage gaikoḷu gehi *shahíd* vejje hídu mi Kinage Ziyárat aigen Haññá Míduvar gos Ziyárat mi raru Miskit dorun Binkor kiavvai mi Kinage Ziyáratu gau-gassavai mi kankama kemi míhen kuravvaifá tibe mi Kinage faiván daru de Abi-Kabalun kamu tibi *'Aishá* Bibí Kamanái *Nasarat* Kamanái.

Pyrard (who was held prisoner at Mále at the time) has left interesting details of the tragic, but justly deserved, death of Sulṭán Ibráhím of evil memory, and its sequel. The following is an extract:—

"The eight Galleys that were bidden to go after the King came up with him and to close quarters; whereupon the King, attempting to defend himself, was slain by a pike-thrust, followed by sword-cuts; his wives were taken prisoners, and his nephew was drowned.

"No harm, however, was done to the wives, save that they lost all their trinkets, which were seized by the soldiers and mariners, these being the most dangerous fellows at pillage: these mariners are called *Maucois* (Mukkavar).

"The cause of the taking and death of the King was that there was no wind, but the greatest calm possible; and that the enemy's Galleys were better for rowing than those of the King, which were only good for sailing, and of no use for oars. Had there been but a little wind they could not have caught him; but his ill-fortune cast him into this fate, which he fully merited for the great cruelties he had used. His hour was come, and for my part I hold that it was by the mercy of God he was thus slain." (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, Vol. I, page 314).

3. "Rádavali." The account in the "*Rádavali*," short as it is, of the reigns of the four successive Sulṭáns, Muḥammad Boḍu Takuru-

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fánu (A. C. 1573-85), Ibráhím (III) (A. C. 1585-1609), Ḥusain (II) Fámudéri Kilégefánu (A. C. 1609-20), and Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín (I) (A. C. 1620-48), makes matters clearer :—

8. *Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu.*

Text.

Mi Radunge (*'Ali* Kalaminjá) Kafirunái toḷi *shahid* vejje fahu MG aharu MM mas foir Utímu *Ḥusain Khaṭib* Kalogeṛ diafurasútáve *Áminá* Dio kihunufan *Al-Ghází Muḥammad* Boḍu Takuraṛ : Suvastì Sirí Kavunsarádítta Buvana Mahá Radunever. Mi Kalá raskan kuḷa aharu MM mas G.

Translation.

"When MG (16) years and MM (11) months had elapsed since this King (S. 'Ali VI) was slain by the Infidels, and became a martyr, Muḥammad Boḍu Takura, the Ghází, begotten by Ḥusain Khaṭíb of Utímu (Island) and born to Áminá Devi, (was elected Ruler).

"(His title, as proclaimed, was) :—Suvastí Sirí Kavunsarádítta Buvana Mahá Radun.

This King (lit. Personage) reigned MM (11) years G (6) months.

8. *Ibráhim (III).*

Text.

Mi Radunaṛ me (*Al-Ghází Muḥammad Boḍu Takura*) diafurasútáve Bauraru *Fáṭumá* Dio kihunufan *Al-Ghází Ibráhím* Kalaminjáṛ : Sirí Sandu Suvaru-gai Loka Mahá Radunever. Mi Radunge raskan kula aharu FT mas F. Mi Radunge *shahid* vi *Hijrain* 1017 vana aharu.

Translation.

"(Then succeeded) Ibráhím Kalaminjá, the Ghází, begotten by this last King (Muḥammad Boḍu Takura), and born to Fáṭumá Devi of Bára Island (Tiladummati Atol).

"(His title, as proclaimed, was :—Sirí Sandu Suvaru-gai Lóka Mahá Radun.

"This King reigned FT (24) years F (2) months, and became a martyr in A.H. 1017 (A.C. 1609)."

8. *Ḥusain (II) Fámudéri Kllégefánu.*

Text.

Mi fahu Fámudéri Kilagefánu niyauvi *Hijurain* 1029 vana aharu.

Translation.

"After this, Ḥusain Fámudéri Kilégefánu (reigned, and) died in the *Hijra* year 1029 (A.C. 1620).

8. *Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín (I).*

Text.

Mi Radunge (*Al-Ghází Ibráhim*) *shahid* vejje MṆ aharu MO diha mas vejje imaṛ fahu furaddináda *'Umar* Máfahaṛ Kinagoṛ dia-

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furasútáve nufan *Kabá Áminá* Mává Kinage kihunufan Muḥammad Kalamiṉjár: Suvastí Sirí Kula Sundura Audána Kíriti Kattiri Buvana Mahá Radunever. Mi Kalá raskan kula aharu FD mas F.

Mi Boḍu Rasgefánu avahára ví aharu *Hijrain* 1058.

Translation.

"When MṆ (17) years and MO (10) months had expired since this King (Íbráhím III) was slain by the Malabars, and became a martyr, Muḥammad Kalaminjá, male child, begotten by 'Umar Máfat Kilége, and born to Kabá Áminá Mává Kilége (came to the Throne).

"(He was proclaimed as):—Suvastí Sirí Kula Sundura Audána Kíriti Kattiri Buvana Mahá Radun. This King reigned FD (23) years F (2) months.

This (King styled) Boḍu Rasgefánu expired in A.H. 1058 (A.C. 1648)."

4. S. Muhammad 'Imád-ud-dín (I). His epithets are limited by the "*Tárikh*" to :—Sirí Kula Sundura Kattiri Buvana Mahá Radun.

To distinguish them, Sulṭans M. 'Imád-ud-din I, M. 'Imád-ud-dín II, and M. 'Imád-ud-dín III are conveniently styled by the respective epithets Shuj'ai, Muzaffar and Mukarram.

Sultans' *birudas* are given full rein in *Lómáfánu*, *Fat-koḷu*, and State Missives to Dutch Governors of Ceylon.

5. Kéla : Addu. In *Fat-koḷu* granted in A.H. 1063 (Gan Island, Aḍḍú Atol) and A.H. 1074 by Sulṭán Iskandar Íbráhím (A.C. 1648-87), son of Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I, the Máldivian Ruler asserts right to exclusive sway from Kela Island in Tiladummatí Atol, the Northernmost of the Máldive Group. to Aḍḍú Atol, at the extreme South.

But in another *Fat-koḷu* of Hitadú Island (Haddummatí Atol) dated A.H. 1074 (A.C. 1665-66) the claim boldly and bombastically runs from Maliku (Minicoy) Island—raided by the Máldivians in this reign, but not held long—to Aḍḍú Atol (*Eku Rájje furagala uddala koṛu Malik-Aḍḍu mi de medu ekuṇu onnavi koṛu anekaku nan neti koṛu*).

Minicoy (originally Máldivian) had long been added to their Lakkadive Islands acquisition by the Rájas of Kaṇṇanúr.

6. Mále. Several important structural improvements at Mále are attributed by the "*Tárikh*" to Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I.

He constructed the Fort (still standing, and repaired in great part) with bastions (*Buruzu*), joined up by curtain-walls, and many embrasures and convenient gateways; besides mounting extra guns obtained from Achin.

Further, he built a Breakwater to shelter Máldivian craft : this Inner Harbour is in existence and kept dredged at the present day.

Previously, the same Sulṭán had rebuilt the Palace Enclosure, (*Etere-koḷu*) and surrounded it with a Moat; which was not completely filled in until the close of the Nineteenth Century.

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APPENDIX.

Origin of the "Dives Akuru."

The obvious affinity of the "*Divehi Akuru*" or "*Dives Akuru*" writing—a kinship disclosed *a fortiori* in its older form, dubbed for the nonce "*Evéla Akuru*" "Ancient Letters" —to the mediaeval Siṇhalese of Ceylon, combined with a like element of Tuḷu, or, possibly, of an older Grantha type, *Árya Eḻuttu* (Tuḷu-Malayálam) prevalent in the Malabar Districts of Southern India, indicate convincingly its almost certain origin; and strongly suggests the former inclusion in the Alphabet of a fuller list of characters covering aspirates.

So far as it survives at the present day, the "*Dives Akuru*" alphabet has been manifestly made to fall into line, as far as practicable with the simpler modern Syllabary based on Persi-Arabic characters, known as the *Tána* Alphabet.

Evidence is still not, and perhaps may never be, forthcoming as to the full original extent of the "*Evéla-Dives Akuru*" as compared with Sanskṛit and other Indian alphabets; but the existence, to this day, at the Máldives of Grants on Copper-Plates, styled "*Lómáfánu*," of a date as early as the Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries, has at least proved that the complement of letters still retained then, in addition to its aspirate form DH, the dental D side, together with the regular use of the palatal sibilant Ṣ,—both almost abandoned by the Fourteenth Century.

Syllabary.

A duplicate syllabary, in two parallel lines, of the "*Dives Akuru*" Alphabet, as formerly current at (1) Mále (Central Atol) and (2) Aḍḍu (Southernmost Atol) of the Máldive Islands, was supplied by the writer to Journal, Ceylon Asiatic Society: Vol. XXVII, Extra No. 1919.

On two Plates (VI, VII) are there set out, as Type 1 (Mále) and Type 2 (Aḍḍu) :—

(*a*) Basic form of *aksharas* (consonants with inherent vowel A)—twenty-five (25) in all—, besides the *sukun*

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symbol; (*b*) some variants; (*c*) a few compound letters; (*d*) the five (5) vowels, short and long; and (*e*) the respective vowel-signs.

To the above was added tentatively, summarised explanation of the Alphabet's general usage.

The opportunity afforded in 1922 of studying at Mále itself lithic Inscriptions, and *Fat-koḷu* (Royal Grants on Paper) issued by Máldive Sulṭáns in "*Dives Akuru*" characters, has necessitated certain desirable amendments (doubtless still capable of further improvement) to that preliminary sketch.

These appear in the statement given below :—

Alphabet.

The Consonants and Vowels which constituted the full "*Dives Akuru*" Alphabet, (now in usage but rarely) may be, grouped, broadly, according to phonotic values, as follows :—

CONSONANTS								VOWELS	
Divisions	Surd		Sonant					Sonant	
	Tenues (Hard)	Sibilant	Mediae (Soft)	Nasals.	Liquids.	Sibilant.	Aspirate.	Short	Long
1. Gutturals ..	K	—	G		—	—	H	A	Á
2. Palatals ..	C	Ṣ	J	Ñ	Y	—	—	I	Í
3. Cerebrals ..	Ṭ	SH	Ḍ	Ṇ	ṚḶ	—	—	—	—
4 Dentals ..	T	S	D	N	RL	Z	—	—	—
5. Labials ..	P	—	B	M	—	—	—	U	Ú
6. Gutturo-Palatals ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	E	É
7. Gutturo-Labials ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	Ó
8. Dento-Labials ..	F	—	V	—	—	—	—	—	—

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Consonants.

"*Dives Akuru*" consonants, like those of Sanskṛit, Siṇhalese, and other Indian cognate alphabets, are in reality "vowel-consonants," *i.e.*, each basal *akshara* includes the short vowel A, unless superceded by insertion of other vowel-signs, or the vowel-eliminating *sukun*.

As with Siṇhalese, etc., the addition of these symbols in no way affects the shape of Máldivian *aksharas*, beyond the modification due to such inflexions.

Vowels.

In "Type 1" (Mále), distinct forms are used, both as Initials and Medials, for the vowels A, I, U, E, O, in accordance with the Sanskṛit-Siṇhalese canon; whilst those of "Type 2" (Southern Atols) are merely derivatives, sign-modified, of the Máldive consonant transcribed as A.

Dipthongs AI, AU, EU, OU, are made up from the vowel-consonant with the respective additional vowel attached.

In "*Evéla Akuru*" (older form of "*Dives Akuru*") the doubled *Kombuva* symbol—as in Siṇhalese—stood for AI.

Vowel-Signs.

A. Á.

Short A, as stated, is inherent in every *akshara*, or "vowel-consonant"; unless the latter be bereft of its vowel by the *sukun* eliminator.

For long Á, the Máldive sign exactly resembles the Siṇhalese *Ẹlapilla* symbol; written detached to right of the consonant.

I. Í.

Short I has three symbolic forms:—

(i) Placed above consonants, like Siṇhalese *Ispilla*.

(ii) Modified *Ispilla*; differing only from Siṇhalese *Ẹlapilla* (long Á symbol) in being united to the consonant on its right.

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In form (i) long Í is differentiated by a knot ; in form (ii) by curl, or kink.

(iii) I, Í, signs are, in the third form carried almost round the consonant from right to left, in combination with R symbol—conforming exactly to the Siṇhalese complex known as *Uttara rakáráṇṣaya*.

U. Ú.

Four symbols are utilised for U :—

In the first two forms short U follows the Siṇhalese *Pápilla* usage, *i.e.*, Form (i), long narrow loop to left ; Form (ii), curl to right ; both written below the consonant ;

Form (iii) shows a small loop united to the consonant's right arm inside ;

Form (iv) closely resembles the *sukun* symbol.

Long Ú, in form (ii) adopts a small stroke cutting the curling *Pápilla*.

E. É.

E is represented :—

(i) Earlier, by a small helix, like the Siṇhalese *Kombuwa* symbol, preceding its appropriate consonant.

(ii) Later, by tiny circle, or oval, bisected horizontally in lieu of the helix—a slovenly devolution.

O. Ó.

For O the above derivative E symbols of the Siṇhalese *Kombuwa* serve, when followed by consonants inflected with the *Ẹlapilla* sign.

Sukun.

The *Sukun*—an undulating stroke drawn diagonally upwards to right above the *akshara*—has three uses :—

(i) Medial : Reduplicator of succeeding cosonant.

(ii) Final : Equivalent of certain silent *aksharas*.

(iii) Final : Vowel-eliminator, or "stop," to consonants —possibly an attempted combination of the two kinds of Siṇhalese *al* mark.

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LÓMAFÁNU NOS. 1, 2, 3: EPIGRAPHY.

It remains to offer some comments on an epigraphical analysis of the three *Lómáfánu* under review.

Consonants.

A.

The Siṇhalese medieval type of A is noticeable in "*Evéla Akuru*" *Lómáfánu* (Mále; Haddummatí) as existing side by side with the later Máldivian "*Dives Akuru*" form found in *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1, 2, 3.

A solitary spreading variant of this older type occurs (See C.A.S. Journal, Extra No., 1919, Plate VI) in *Lómáfánu* No. 1 (Obverse, line 1, *anyá*); in this respect assimilating to the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*, which furnishes four or five examples.

D.

The Siṇhalese DH, or aspirated form of dental D, had virtually ousted the unaspirated letter by mid-Fourteenth Century.

Once only is the unaspirated D found in this trio of Plates, and that in *Lómáfánu* No. 1 (Obverse, line 5, *Fradáni*): in its congener, the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*, the simple D is equally scarce, occurring but thrice on the six surviving Plates.

In Copper-Plate Grants engraved in the "*Evéla Akuru*" of the Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries, both the aspirated and unaspirated forms of dental D are employed at will (*e.g.*, *Dabudu*, *Dabudhu*, *Dhabudu*), for the modernised *Da*(*m̃*)*bidú* Island, Haddummatí Atol; proving the steady "passing" of ordinary D.

K.

Though not figuring either in the "*Evéla Akuru*" Plates, or in "*Dives Akuru*" *Lómáfánu* even up to the first half of the Seventeenth Century, it may not be inapposite to note the sudden introduction of a freak form of the

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letter K resembling a bold figure "3" (See C.A.S. Journal *l.c.*, Plate VI) into an Inscription and *Fat-koḷu* of the latter part of the same Century.

M.

Two types of M are to be seen in *Lómáfánu* Nos. 2, 3 :—

(i) Large : (*hama*, L. 2 ; *máhá*, L. 3); descendant of the medieval Siṇhalese M.

(ii) Small : (*mi*, L. 2 ; *Ibráhímu*, L. 3) ; more frequently used than the large (i) type.

Lómáfánu No. 1, and *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* use a medium size of type (i).

N.

Regarding Nasals four points stand out :—

(i) Dental N is occasionally given duplicated value, in monogrammatic form,—as, indeed, are Ṭ (*vaṭṭai*, L. 1); T (*bau-hattai*, L. 1 ; *uttura*, L. 3) ;—by a small curl at its bottom (*vanna*, L. 2 ; *onnami*, L. 3).

Full dental N, appears as terminal, with the *sukun*.

(ii) The form of "stop," rising from single looped back of the letter, is employed in *Lómáfánu* No. 1 alone (*merumun*, *ehen*).

(iii) This florid modification of the vertical Siṇhalese *al* symbol will be noticed to have degenerated further in the later *Lómáfánu* Nos. 2, 3, by the entire letter N being transmogrified into two loops attached to the *sukun* (*verí-takun*, L. 2 ; *kihun*, L. 3).

(iv) A diminutive vermiform symbol, somewhat like tiny F of the modern Máldivian *Tána* Alphabet,—a tailed evolution seemingly of the Siṇhalese *anusváraya*, or *binduva*, attached to the head of the consonent—is freely used ; as :—

(*a*) Half, or full, nasal medial (*Kangati*, L. 1 ; *passim*, L. 2).

(*b*) Final full N (*uttarain*, L. 2 ; *másain*, L. 3).

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The same symbol may also be employed to duplicate consonants, with no nasal influence, (*Lakká, samuddre*, L. 2 ; *Rájje*, L. 3).

Ṭ. Ṛ.

Cerebrals Ṭ and Ṛ are both manifest derivatives of the Siṇhalese lingual surd Ṭ.

This Ṛ is met with frequently single, (*koṛu*, L. 1, 2 ; *raṛa*, L. 2 ; *Fáṛinai*, L. 3) ; and once double (*fuṛṛurai*, L. 1).

Ṭ. appears in a few words, both singly (*Faṭamá*, L. 1) and doubled (*vaṭṭai, siṭṭákala*, L. 1).

R.

The ordinary R is at times replaced by two symbols, each clearly of Siṇhalese birth, and largely utilised in that script.

(i) *Réphaya* : (*Darmma*, L.1)

(ii) *Uttara rakáráṇṣaya* : (*passim*, L. 1, 2, 3).

Ṣ.

By the Sixteenth Century palatal Ṣ, found twice (Obverse, line 5, *faṇṣa* ; Reverse, line 5, *ṣariatu*) in *Lómáfánu* No. 1, had seemingly quite dropped out of employment.

In "*Evéla Akuru*" *Lómáfánu* it already appears linked up at choice with dental S (*e.g.*, *fassima, faṣṣima*).

Y.

The Siṇhalese *Yaṇṣaya* symbol, as adopted, is resorted to in *Lómáfánu* 1 (*tibya* ; *Valya*).

Conjunct Consonants.

(i) *Entire Letters.*

BV, *b(u)vana*, L. 3.
CHCH, *machcha*, L. 2.
DV. *dvi*, L. 3.
KL, *k(u)la*, L. 3.
KSH, *k(u)sha*, L. 3.
MM, *komme*, L. 1.
NB, *Fetánbrage*, L. 1.
ṚṚ, *fuṛṛurai*, L. 1.
SD, *fasdáku*, L. 1.
SG, *Rasge*, L. 1.
SK, *Ras Kiṇage*, L. 1.
SL, *Muslimán*, L. 1.
SS, *vassaidin*, L. 3.
ST, *Svasti*, L. 3.

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NN, *hinna*, L. 1.
NR, *Rahakun Ráda*, L. 1.
STR, *sástra*, L. 3.
SV, *Svasti*, L. 3.
TT, *uttarain*, L. 2 ; *amattavi*, L. 3.

(2) *Entire Letter and Symbol.*

BB, *fálabba*, L. 2.
BR, *Fetánbrage*, L. 1 ; *Ibráhimu*, L. 3.
DD, *samudd(u)re*, L. 2.
FR, *f(u)ragala*, L. 2 ; *f(u)radinnáda*, L. 3.
JJ, *Rájje*, L. 3.
KR, *Tak(u)rage*, L. 3.
LL, *Viligilli*, L. 2.
MM, Muhammad, L. 1.
MM, amme, L. 1.
NB, medun baibai, L. 3.
NDR, sund(u)ra, L. 3.
NE, *Radun eku*, L.
NF, *genfi*, L. 2.
NG, *Kangati*, L. 1 ; *Radunge*, L. 2.
NM, *másainmi*, L. 3.
NN, *hinna*, L. 1 ; *vanna*, L. 2.
NR, *Muslimán Rahaku*, L.1; *másain Redali*, L. 3.
NṢ, *fanṣa*, L. 1.
NS, *matin siri*, L. 2 ; *kuravvaigen savála*, L. 3.
ṬṬ, vaṭṭai, L. 1.
TT, bauhattai, L. 1 ; uttura, L. 3.
TTR, Kat(ti)ri

Vowels.

A.

Types 1, 2.—(i) Initial : *anyá* (spreading variant), *ahuva*, L. 1 ; *akai*, L. 2 ; *averudu*, L. 3 ; (ii) Medial : *Kiṇage-ai*, L. 1 ; *nagai*, L. 2 ; *Fáṛinai*, L. 3.

Á.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

I.

Type 1.—(i) Initial : *nil* ; (ii) Medial : *vaṭṭai*, L. 1.
Type 2.—(i) Initial : *Iguraidu*, L. 2 ; *Iburáhímu*, L. 3 ; (ii) Medial : *nagai*, L. 2 ; *Fáṛinai*, L. 3.

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Í.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

U.

Type 1.—(i) Initial : *uvai*, L. 1 ; (ii) Medial : *nil.*

Type 2.—(i) Initial : *uttara*, L. 3 ; (ii) Medial : *budauludu*, L. 1 ; *sauvís*, L. 3.

Ú.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

E.

Type 1.—(i) Initial : *ehen*, L. 1 ; Medial : *lie*, L. 1.

Type 2.—(i) Initial : *emme*, L. 1, 2 ; *ela*, L. 2; *eb-bafai*, L. 3 ; (ii) Medial : *passim.*

É.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

O.

Type 1.—(i) Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

Type 2.—(i) Initial : *onnami*, L. 3 ; Medial : *nil.*

Ó.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil*

Vowel-Signs.

A.

Inherent in every basic consonant, forming one syllable.

Á.

Like Siṇhalese *Ḷlapilla* symbol; following *akshara* to right detached (*passim*).

I. Í.

Form 1.—Like Siṇhalese *Ḷspilla* symbol ; above letter :—(*a*) Short : *passim* (L. 1) ; *nil* (L. 2, 3) ; (*b*) Long : *Rasgeví*, (L. 1).

Form 2.—Like Siṇhalese *Ḷlapilla* symbol ; but attached to side of letter :—(*a*) Short : *vihai* (L. 1) ; *mi* (L. 2) ; *Iburáhímu*, (L. 3) ; (*b*) Long : *Iburáhímu* (L. 3).

U.

Form 1.—Like Siṇhalese *Pápilla* ; loop to left at bottom of letter : (*koṛu*, L. 1).

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Form 2.—Like Siṇhalese *Pápilla*; right curl at bottom of letter: (*Ráhaku*, L. 1); *nufeni*, L. 2).

Form 3.—Small loop inside right limb of letter: (*buṇeṣen*, L. 2; *Iburáhímu*, L. 3).

Form 4.—*Sukun*-shaped up-stroke to right above letter: *míhaku* (L. 1); *verí-takun* (L. 2); *Radunai* (L. 3).

Ú.

Forms 1, 2, 3, 4.—*Nil.*

E.

Form 1.—Like Siṇhalese *Kombuwa* symbol, but diminutive: precedes *akshara* (*passim*, L. 1).

Form 2.—Small round, or oval, symbol, bisected horizontally; similarly placed (*passim*, L. 2, 3).

É.

Forms 1, 2.—*Nil.*

O.

Forms 1, 2.—*Kombuwa*-shaped like E, but with the addition of *Ḷlapilla* symbol attached to the following *akshara*.

Ó.

Forms 1, 2.—*Nil.*

Sukun.

The *sukun* possesses triple power:—

(i) Medial: Reduplicator doubling succeeding consonant (*amme*, L. 1).

(ii) Final: Equivalent of silent *akshara* Ṛ (*míhunar*, *daṛaṛ*, *magaṛ*, L 1).

(iii) Final: Vowel-eliminator to consonant (*lánat*, *Ras*, *merumun*, L. 1).

Calligraphy.

A final word regarding the execution of these *Lómáfánu*.

Lómáfánu No. 1.—It would not be easy for an engraver to improve generally on the finish of this Plate—its horizontal regularity of line, and the perfect delieation of the neatly incised writing, whether *Arabic* or "*Dives Akuru*."

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Save for the omission, and subsequent insertion, of three letters, the graphology of this Plate is up to the standard of the best examples of Siṇhalese Copper *Sannas*.

Lómáfánu No. 3.—This half-plate *Lómáfánu* displays equal precision in the work of the engraver's tool, and the sharpness of the bold script. It is quite free of any carver's errors.

Lómáfánu No. 2.—Obviously *Lómáfánu* No. 2 falls somewhat behind the skilled execution, so strikingly displayed in *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1, 3.

The crowding of a sixth line on to the Obverse, the omission of an *akshara* in *Midu* and *Danáru*, the hardly parallel lineal spacing, added to more shallowly engraved writing, stamp it as the handiwork of a less efficient worker.

The two short vertical lines (reminiscent of Sanskrit and other Indian inscriptions), found in *Lómáfánu* Nos. 2, 3, and represented by *colons* in the transcript, would seem intended to serve the same purpose as the horizontal Siṇhalese *Kuṇḍali*, or pause symbol.

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A

B

Lómáfánu No: 1.
Scale: Half size, *circa*.

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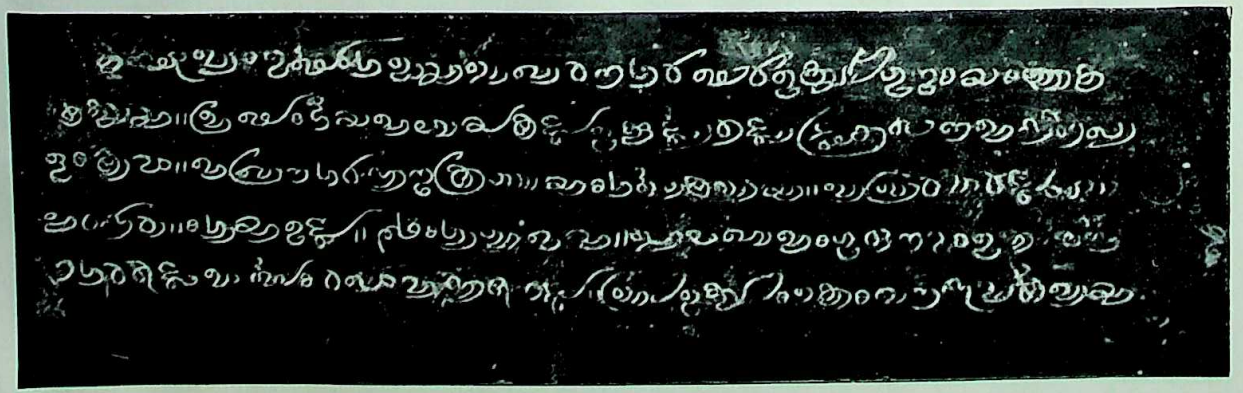
A

B



Lómáfánu No: 2.

Scale :- Half size virca

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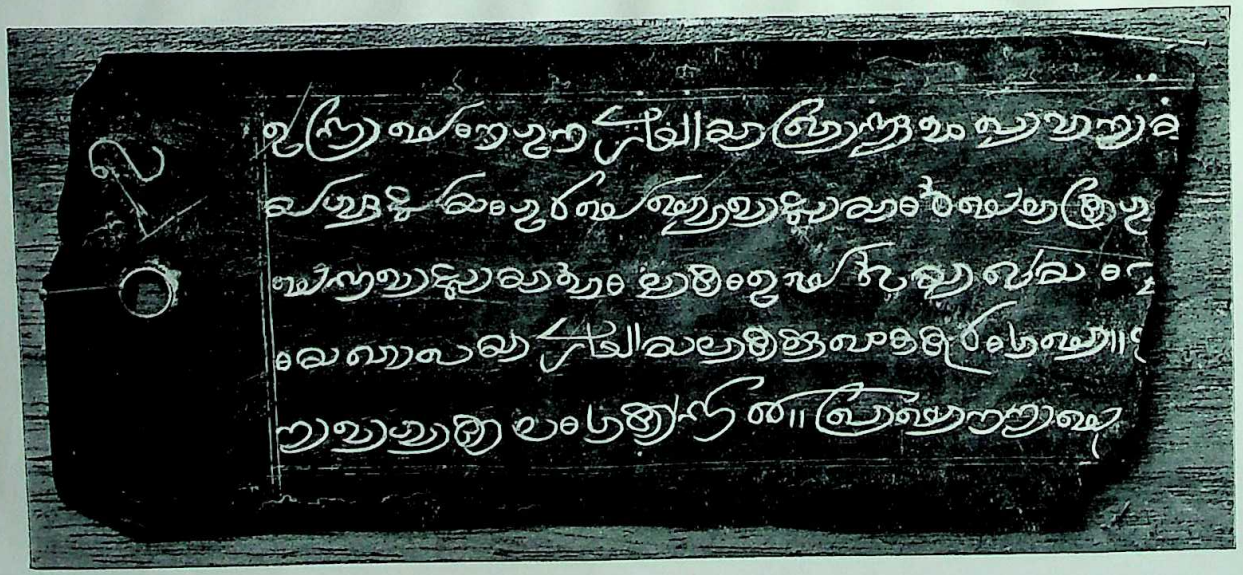
A



Lómáfánu No: 3.
Scale : Five-sixths.

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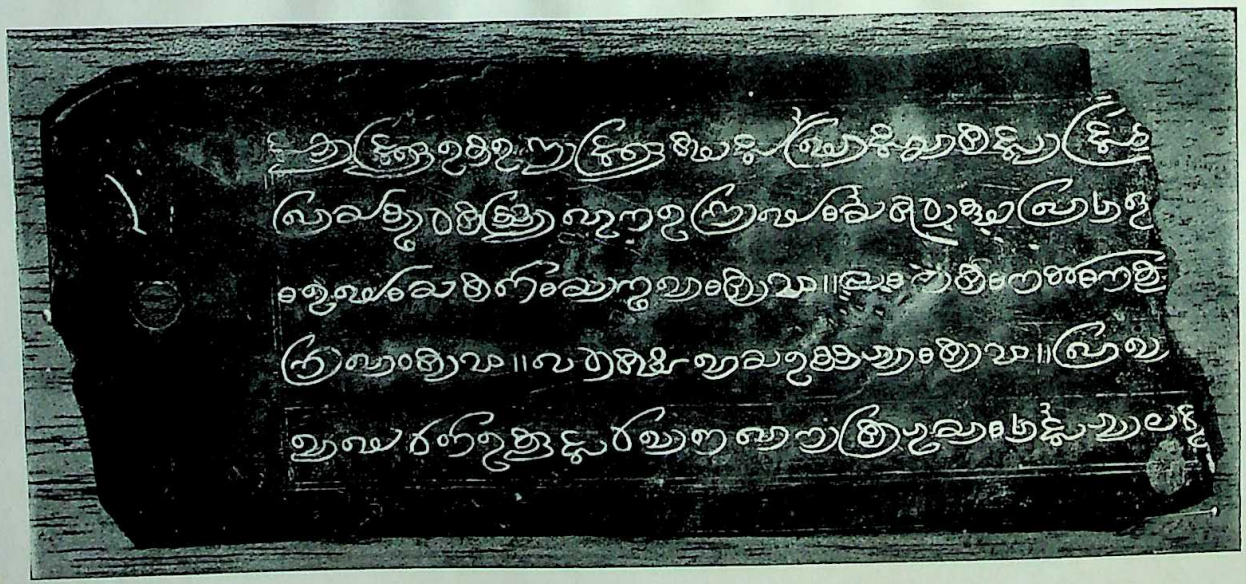
B



Lómáfánu No: 3.
Scale : Five-sixths.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

Kirtti Sri Meghavarna II.

By

Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana.

The first research-worker in the field of Ceylon History in modern times was the Honourable George Turnour of the Ceylon Civil Service who, in addition to his other labours in this field, compiled a Chronological Table of the Kings of Ceylon. In that Table, King Kirtti Sri Meghavarna II appears as having reigned nineteen years. This had been accepted as correct chronology, until in the Seventies of the last century, during the administration of the Island by Sir William Gregory, a collated and revised edition of the Mahawansa in its original Pali was made at the instance of the Government by the joint labour of the two most outstanding oriental scholars of the day—the Venerable High Priest H. Sri Sumangala and Pandit Batuwantudawe. Their recension appeared in 1877, and in that recension the nineteen years' duration of this King's reign had taken the shape of nineteen days, thus making a complete disturbance in Turnour's chronology from that point onward. Since its appearance, this emendation has been accepted without question.

Recently that part of the Mahawansa in which this reign appears, has been again collated and revised, also at the instance of the Ceylon Government, and been published by the Pali Text Society. In this edition too, the reading is nineteen days. And very recently, a new Chronological Table of the Kings of Ceylon, prepared by a celebrated scholar, Dr. D. M. De Z. Wickramasinha, appeared in the Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. III, Part I. In that Table too,

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the period of nineteen days has been preferred to the other, after consideration.

So it would seem that if numbers counted on the two sides of the question—for heads do count now-a-days—the solitary opinion of Turnour ought to go over-board, and the combined opinion of the later scholars ought to stand. But I venture to think that to pin our faith in numbers in a matter of science is not a correct attitude. Moreover, Turnour was himself not an ordinary light, but a majestic beacon in his day. It therefore seems proper and in the interest of science that men who can bring an independent judgment to bear on such questions should examine this case for themselves and try to find on which side of this yawning gulf the truth lies. And this note is intended to rouse interest in that direction.

As admitted history we find that Meghavarna II was the grandson of Silākāla, in whose reign a desparado by the name of Mahānāga had betaken himself to the forest as a robber. During a time of famine he gave a square meal to a famishing magician, who, reading his future, foretold that in his old age he will be King of Ceylon and reign for three years before returning to mother earth and to dust. As a preliminary step, he was told to quit his life of free-booter and to take service under the King of the day—Silākāla. Following the advice he became the King's tax-collector in the Province of Ruhuṇa; and so exceedingly well did he do his work, and showed such a large increase in the revenue that the King was highly pleased, and promoted him to be General Commandant of this Province at the head of a force of foreign levies of Wadugas. But the man had his eye fixed on his own goal, and seducing the force under him from its loyalty to the King, he soon made himself master of his Province. The King died sometime after, and his second son usurping the throne to the exclusion of his elder brother, was able to hold it only six months,

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when defeated in single combat, he committed suicide. The rightful heir, Moggallāna then ascended the throne, and died after a reign of twenty years. He was succeeded by his son Meghavarna II, and it is with his reign that the present question is concerned.

Meghavarna was apparently young when he came to the throne, with a queen-mother who took the reigns of government into her hands and began to mismanage everything. Favouritism began to shew itself, good and able ministers had to give way to sycophants, and soon matters began to drift towards chaos. The court became a centre of corruption, and from the court, the evil began to spread to the Provinces. And gradually the government became so unsettled that it became practically synonymous with the stronger preying upon the weaker. And then the country was ripe for general revolt and revolution. This climax, it is plain, could not have been reached within a few days, weeks, or months, but must have taken several years. But when it did come, Mahānāga, always watchful for his chance, saw that his time for action had come, too. So he marched forth, probably with his Wadugas behind him, on the capital, and putting the King to death, himself sat on the throne Dr. Wickramasinha is disposed to think that this could not have happened in the 19th year of the King's reign, because, says he, Mahānāge (the bandit) had already outlived three sovereigns, and presumably could not have lived eighteen (or nineteen) years longer, to strike. I cannot see the force of his reasoning. Whether the magician's prophesy was a fact, or, as is more probable, a later invention after a fact, its appearance in the story goes to shew that the bandit was really old when he took on the purple, and this is further borne out by the fact that he was able to survive the strain of its duties only three years. And what was the total length of reign of the three predecessors of his victim ? Silākāla 13 years ; Dāpulu 6 months, Moggallāna 20 years—in all 33½ years. Now supposing Mahānāga was, say, thirty

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years old when he was having his free license as a bandit, will it be too long for him to survive 33½ years from thence, and then again, say, 18½ years more before getting to be a very old man, to occupy a throne with but only three years more to his grave? For then he would have been 82 years old, which could scarcely be too much longevity for a man who had led the hardy life of a robber.

Thus then Dr. Wickramasinha's difficulty vanishes on examination, and no valid reason remains for his considered opinion in favour of the nineteen days. On the other hand, the examination discloses that nineteen years, as given by Turnour, should be accepted as the correct date. But how stands the case on the other side of the question. If nineteen days is spurious reading, how did it come about? To answer this question, we have to look into the original manuscripts. The passage relevant to the question, is, according to the recensions, as follows :—

"Rajjaṃ gahētuṃ kālōti—sīgham āgamma Rōhānā Ekūna vīsē divasē—mārayitvā mahīpatiṃ"
(Saying to himself "It is time to take the kingdom, he hurried from Ruhuṇa, and on the nineteenth day, having caused the King to be slain," &c.)

Here the material words are "ēkūna vīsē divasē," "on the nineteenth day"; and of those the one word of importance in the question is "divasē" "on the day." The manuscripts are far from unanimous in favour of this word. One manuscript in my possession has "dissē," a word without a meaning, and obviously a copyists' blunder for some other word with a meaning—a some other word having two "S'S" at the end quickened by the vowel 'ē'. Such a word would be vassē ("in the year"); but unfortunately some other copyist in times later, who saw that "dissē" had no meaning and should be corrected, applied the correction, according to the best of his judgment, to the end of the word, so that the word may read divasē, which has the merit at any rate

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of not being gibberish. So that his emendation now runs in one line of manuscripts. But there is a third line of manuscripts with yet another lection which definitely confirms the conclusion I have already indicated as being on the side of reason and common sense, from a reading of history. That lection is "Ekūna vīsē vassaṃhī" (see footnote in Geiger's edition), which means "in the nineteenth year."

Yet the reading of "nineteen days" has been given out to the world by several eminent savants both European and local. It seems time that a caveat should be entered; and this note is intended to be that caveat. The correct reading clearly seems to be "ēkūna vīsē vassē" "in the nineteenth year."

The Invasion of Ceylon by Muslims.

BY

MUDALIYAR R. C. PROCTOR.

The disputed succession to the throne of Maravarmen Kulasekera provided the occasion for Malik Kafur for the invasion of the Pandya country. He swept the country down to Rameswaram and, on his return, took the King of Madura as captive leaving behind his garrison at Madura. Epigraphical evidence, in the opinion of Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastrical, establishes that the date of this invasion was 1326-27 A.D. [1]

Hoysala Vira Balala III, according to an inscription, claims to have turned out the Muhamadans from Madura about the year 1342 and he erected a pillar of victory at the beginning of the bridge at Rameswaram (*Setu Mulai Jayastamba*).

In his book "The Portuguese of Ceylon," Vol. I, page 447, note 15, Dr. Pieris refers to the tradition gathered by

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1. Epi. Report for 1916, §33, Inscription No. 18 of 1899 at Tirupputkuli.

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Queiroz that in the reign of Buveneka Bahu I, a body of Muhamadans, led by one Cader Shah, invaded Ceylon and waged war. The invaders were "defeated" but a number of them were allowed to settle down in Ceylon and perform the duties and enjoy the privileges and rights which appertained to the Karava community.

On the basis of the date given in *Sarasothimalai*, the invasion took place in 1341 A.D.

About two years after, Ariya Chakravarti invaded Yapahu and carried away the sacred tooth relic and treasures found there. Probably there were Muslims in his army. We find today the country comprised in the mediaeval principality of Yapahu dotted with Muslim Colonies.

In 1344 A.D. Ibn Batuta meets Ariya Chakravarti, who tells him that he (Ariya) was an ally of a Muhamadan power in South India.

The coins of the Ariya Chakravartis exhibit on the obverse in addition to their own ensign—the bull—the crescent also, suggestive of the alliance.

A palm leaf manuscript in the Canarese language, entitled *Paradara Sodera Ramane Kathe*, now in the Oriental Library at Bangalore, describes a defeat of the armies of *Suratan of Delhi* (Sultan of Delhi) who, the author says, "had established custom houses in *Singala* and had fearlessly planned a campaign against Lanka."

Alampundi plate (its date is 1383 A.D.) records that Virapaksa, son of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara royalty, having conquered Tundiri (Jingi) Chola, Pandya and the *Sihalays* (Ceylon) presented precious stones and other jewels to his father.

During the short period the Muhamadans exercised authority in the maritime parts of Ceylon, they appear to have lent themselves as soldiers to the princes of Ceylon and also to have paid some attention to the propagation of their faith.

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On the arrival of the Portuguese, the influence of the Muslims on the coast towns began to decline.

An examination of some of the *gé* names of families inhabiting the port-towns on the west coast should lead to interesting results.

A native of Panadure who appeared before the Assize Court held at Kalutara in 1928 bore the name *Yonmerenne* Simanhewage *Assan* Silva.

Antiquities discovered in a Culvert on the Kandy Road.

BY

J. Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E.

The "Ceylon Daily News" of 23rd May, 1930, contained a paragraph recording the discovery, by a reporter of that paper, of some old stone pillars in a culvert near the sixth mile post on the Colombo-Kandy road. I visited the spot accompanied by Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant, and later Mr. Paranavitana revisited the place, and made a careful examination of the pillars. He has furnished me with the following note.

"The culvert in question consists of three piers in the construction of which these ancient stones had been utilized. Some of the stones were embedded in the masonry and no accurate description of the antiquities is possible in their present condition. However, as far as could be observed, there were 32 pillars and 10 slabs besides various architectural fragments, such as mouldings, steps, etc. Of the pillars, 13 were plain square ones; eleven belonged to a type which is square at the base, octagonal in the middle and square again at the top, with no ornamentation. A third type, of which eight examples were found, was ornamented and was on the whole of a more elegant workmanship than the second type.

A Tamil inscription was found on one of the pillars. It consisted of nine lines, of which the last one was com-

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pletely, and the 6th and 7th partly, worn. My reading of this inscription is as follows :—

1. Śrī Viśayavāhu
2. dēvarku ā [ṇ] ḍu 11
3. vadukku edirāvadu
4. Vaigāśi 10 teydi
5. Kandaśśuvāmi kō-
6. -vilukku Ā .. ..
7. śu ta .. .. .. rā
8. yaṇ kal tūṇ
9. . . . . .

Translation :—The 10th day of the month of Vaigāsi in the year opposite the 11th year of Śrī Viśayavāhudevar. The stone pillar [given] to the temple of Kandaśśuvāmi by Ā .. suta .. .. rāyaṇ.

The Vijayabāhu of this inscription may be identified, on palaeographical grounds, with the seventh of that name whose reign, according to Codrington, extended from 1509 to 1521. The regnal year as well as the day of the month are doubtful ; the figures in both cases being not very distinctly visible. The name of the person who gave this pillar to the temple is not completely preserved ; all that we can say is that it ended in *rāyaṇ*. He was probably a South Indian. As this inscription proves, these pillars and probably the other stones, too, belonged to a temple dedicated to Kandasvāmy, the most popular of the deities worshipped by the Tamils of Ceylon.

The inscription does not help us in the location of the temple. Nor do the villagers have any authentic tradition about the place from which these stones were removed by the builders of the Kandy road. However, one villager stated that they were brought from a place named Galēdaṇḍa about two miles from Dippiṭigoḍa and that ancient remains can still be seen at that place. In order to find out whether this tradition is reliable, the place was visited and remains

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were found of what appears to have been an ancient stone bridge. The name *Galēdaṇḍa* itself means "stone bridge" and the villagers say that traces of an ancient road can be found in the villages of Pamuṇuvila and Mākola to the north-east of Galēdaṇḍa. Interesting as this discovery is, there is hardly any proof to show that the carved pillars which we are concerned with at present were brought from Galēdaṇḍa."

Iron and Chank Rings on New-born Babes.

BY

Rev. Father S. Gnana Prakasar, o.m.i.

There is a wide-spread custom, among the Tamils of north Ceylon, of tying to the wrist of new-born babes an iron and a chank ring, or in some cases, an iron ring alone. Christians do not conform to this superstition, although occasionally a Minister finds a child bearing these rings and has to get them removed before baptism. When questioned as to the meaning of this custom, intelligent parents say that the iron ring is meant for warding off the assaults of evil spirits which hover round the lying-in chamber. No satisfactory reason is given for the use of the chank ring.

The traditional abhorrence for iron manifested by all preternatural beings, is found depicted in the myths of every country in the world. The much-dreaded Jinn are believed to travel in the whirlwind of sand and the Arabs shout Iron, Iron, as they pass. The old European practice of employing knives, tongs, sickles or scissors as a protection against the mischievous fairies is alluded to by Herrick thus :

Let the superstitious wife
Near the child's heart lay a knife :
Point be up and haft be down,
(While she gossips in the towne) ;
This 'mong other mystic charms
Keeps the sleeping child from harms. [1]

1. See *The Month* for June, 1929, from which many of the above details are drawn.

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Fire is another effective protection against evil spirits. It is the usual practice in the Tamil land to keep a lamp, filled with margosa oil, burning all night before the child, till the day on which the midwife performs certain ceremonies for propitiating Kotti, the dwarf demon who is believed always to be bent on harming it. It is said that the margosa oil is preferred for the coolness of the light it gives. But I am inclined to think that this particular oil was originally used as an additional charm against demons, which are supposed to be averse to the margosa tree. "The use of fire as a protection against the raids of the trolls is widespread. In the Western Islands fire is carried round the lying-in women before they are churched, and in Mecklenburg a naked light burning in the room is deemed sufficient protection for the child. To simulate fire, in Sweden, the swaddling-wrap is often bright red in colour, and in Scotland a seven-knotted cord, suspended round the child's neck, is of a vivid scarlet.....The dragons and cacodemons that threatened Zoroaster at his birth were repelled by fire."

Corresponding to the ancient European belief that children were liable to be stolen by the fairies, we also find, among the illiterate folk, the fear that their little ones might be abducted by the malignant spirits. Recently I met a young mother who, in the midst of a conversation, avowed that her one year old babe was once carried away and left in a palmyra grove. When questioned as to the manner in which this was done, she replied : The child had crawled to where I found it, no doubt led by the demon !

Going back to the rings attached as amulets, it would be interesting to learn the origin of the one made out of chank. Is there any connexion, again, between the word *fay*, the original form of fairie and the Tamil *pey*, the name for demon ? The supposed origin of fay from the Latin *fata* is not very convincing.

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Jaffna Coins.

BY

Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, c.c.s. (Retd.)

Of the coins issued by the Ariya kings of Jaffna, only a few copper coins have yet been found and among them about 20 different issues have been identified by Rev. S. Gnanapragasar, O.M.I. Generally, on the obverse is delineated a grotesque human figure with a head, two arms, bare body, a flowing robe and two legs. One hand holds a flower in the posture of smelling it and the other hand holds some sort of a weapon. A *trisula* or a lamp is also depicted under the left arm. A similar representation is also found in the Chōḷa and Polonnaruwa coins. There is no doubt that it is a symbolical representation but its meaning has not yet been correctly or even sufficiently explained.

On the reverse are a couchant bull in the centre, the crescent moon with a dot above it, three dots in a triangular form on a side, and other dots below the bull, all enclosed in a semicircular line in certain issues, and the legend Sētu in Tamil characters below the base of the semicircular design. This symbolical representation has both a religious and a philosophical meaning.

The couchant bull is the representation of Siva and Sakti, a combination of Purusha and Prakriti—and the resultant Universe or Cosmos which is sometimes represented by the Swan (Hangsah) in North India. This is yet another representation of the mantric sound Aum. Over the Aum is the sign of Chandra Bindu or Nāda and Bindu shown as a crescent moon with a dot or a point over it. In some of the old pictorial representations of Aum or Ōngkāra, Nāda and Bindu are represented by a crescent and dot. Nāda and Bindu are found in all Bīja mantras which are shown with Bindu above and Nāda below, for this is the form of Chandra Bindu. Nāda and Bindu are states of Sakti, "in

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which the germ of action (Kriya Sakti), so to speak, increasingly sprouts with a view to manifestation producing a state of compactness of energy and readiness to create." Nāda and Bindu are two of the many aspects of THAT which in India is called the Mother or Great Power (Mahā Sakti). This is both the efficient and material cause of the Cosmos which is its body. Nāda is the mantric name of that Power which gathers itself together as Bindu to create the universe and which Bindu, in so creating, differentiates into a trinity of Energies which are symbolised by A.U.M. Nāda and Bindu thus represent the *Turiya* state immediately before the manifestation of the Universe in which animate life exists in the three conditions of dreamless sleep, dream and waking.

The three dots or *Tribindu* constitute the great triangle of World-Desire. They are the three Saktis, Ichchā, Gnāna and Kriya from which the three *guṇas* Sattva, Rajas and Tamas develop. They are also sometimes made to represent the Sun, Moon and Fire. From them the Trimurtis Rudra, Brahma and Vishnu and the three dēvis Raudri, Sarasvati and Vāma issued.

Thus Paramēswara assumes for the created, successively, the triple aspects of Sakti, Nāda Bindu and Tribindu, thereby completing by this differentiation of Sakti the sevenfold causal sound forms of the Praṇava or the Ōngkāra.

Sētu is the holy shrine of Rāmēswaram.

The symbol on the reverse of the Jaffna coin is, therefore, the anthropomorphic representation of the creation of the Universe and Paramēswara, the creator, whose holy shrine is at Rāmēswaram which was then within the kingdom of Jaffna.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

TAMIL LEXICON.

Published under the authority of the University of Madras—Vol. IV., Part II.

As many as ten *nigaṇḍus* or metrical word-books have been in existence, since long, for the Tamil language. But the credit of compiling the first Tamil Dictionary in alphabetical order belongs to the famous Italian missionary, Father Joseph Constantius Beschi, S.J. (1680-1747), who worked in the equally famous "Madura Mission" in the 18th century. The *Caturakarāti*, or fourfold Dictionary of Beschi was printed, for the first time, in 1824, and was soon followed by what is known as the Jaffna Dictionary published by the American Mission of Jaffna in 1842, furnishing a larger collection of words than the first attempt of Beschi. Since then there have been issued nearly a dozen other large Tamil Dictionaries, among which C. W. Cathiravelpillai's Tamil-Tamil dictionary, Winslow's Tamil-English dictionary and the Tamil-French dictionary by two missionary Fathers of Pondichery rank as the best, each in its own way. The late Mr. Cathiravelpillai of Jaffna, a foremost Tamil scholar in his day, was the first lexicographer to cite classical quotations for all the senses of Tamil words. Winslow's dictionary is noted for its methodic treatment of words and its many illustrations from the ordinary speech of the Tamil people, while the Tamil-French dictionary contains a greater variety of examples drawn especially from the literary dialect, though in the matter of orderly arrangement of words it is inferior to Winslow.

The Lexicon now before us evidently proposes to combine the qualities of all its three scholarly predecessors, adding not a few new words that have come to light by the recent publication of a number of old classical works of the *Sangam* period. It is of the Tamil-English variety, and abounds with very apt quotations on the whole. A special feature is the juxtaposition of Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tulu forms of Tamil words where they exist. Copious illustrations for almost all the senses of words are given. Diacritical marks in printing make the reading of transliterated Sanskrit and other words extremely easy and the types and get-up of the book are excellent. Nothing less was expected from an enterprise lavishly subsidised by the Indian Government and put in charge of an eminent body of men.

I said nothing less was expected, but I should, in fairness to a work of this kind, add, that certainly something *more* was expected from the labours of so many scholars extending over a decade. The scientific value of a dictionary, as now understood, is gauged by its etymological treatment. But the Lexicon under review can in no way be qualified as an etymological dictionary of the Tamil language. The compilers do not profess to have studied the principles of Tamil etymology. They confine their attention, broadly speaking, to the tracing of Tamil words to Sanskrit and other Indian languages—and this often with a vengeance; for I am afraid they hold the view that when a Tamil form resembles a Sanskrit form, the latter is necessarily

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the original for the former. Thus, the Tamil word *tōṇi*, a boat, is derived by them from the Sanskrit *droṇi*, doubtless on the erroneous principle just referred to. The Tamil word is regularly derived from a secondary root *tōḷ* "to hollow out" and stands as a member of a cluster of derivatives such as *tōṇḍi*, an earthen pot, *toḷḷam*, a raft, etc. On the other hand, the Sanskrit *droṇi* has no convincing etymology to show. A knowledge of the principle of an adventitious trill under certain circumstances will incline one to think that, in this case, the Sanskrit, rather, was derived from the Tamil. To give only one more instance, among scores, of the sanskritising obsession of the compilers, the word *tōḷ*, the shoulder, is derived by them from the Sanskrit *dos*, the forearm. Now the Tamil word is known to come from the secondary *toḍu*, to connect, and hangs together with at least a dozen other derivatives among which *toḍai*, another connecting limb, the thigh, is one. The Sanskrit *dos*, becoming *dor* in compounds, on the other hand, stands alone and without an etymology. We have rather to go to Tamil for its explanation. By the side of this sanskritising tendency everywhere displayed, it is amusing to see that the compilers have given a number of truly foreign words as Tamil. *Tompu*, for example, is not a Tamil word in the sense of "public register" but, of course, represents the Portuguese Tombo.

No attempt has been made, I repeat, to trace Tamil words to their roots because a study of the principles of Tamil etymology—its phonology and semantics—was not included in the programme of our lexicographers. They do indeed make a show, occasionally, of deriving one word from another, but this is of the most obvious kind, *e.g.*, saying that *nakai*, laughter, is from *naku*, to laugh. But how *naku* comes to mean "to laugh" we are not told. The root-meaning was not ascertained ; hence the illogical order in which the following senses of this word are given (1) to laugh, smile ; (2) to rejoice; (3) to bloom as a flower ; (4) to open or expand, etc. As a matter of fact, the last sense, here given, of *naku*, happens to be its first one. This word is a secondary root (originally *nakku*, to touch lightly) and is derived from the primitive *ahhu*, to contract. It acquired the opposite sense of "expanding" by a well-known semantic process. From "expanding" came, in due order, the senses of opening, blooming, smiling, laughing and rejoicing. This case is typical of hundreds of words whose senses the Lexicon scatters about pell-mell to the confusion of the student, who wonders how a word can have so many senses utterly unconnected with one another.

One more observation to be made is with regard to the presenting of compounds as separate words, whereby the volume is made unnecessarily bulky and unwieldy. For example, over seventy-five words having *naḍu*, middle, as their first member are printed like separate words in the same bold type as the chief word. They take nearly five pages, whereas, had they been arranged alphabetically, and in smaller type, under the word *naḍu* as Winslow does, the space would have been reduced at least by half.

These remarks are by no means intended to detract from the general usefulness of an excellent work which I heartily commend to all students of Tamil.

S. G. P.

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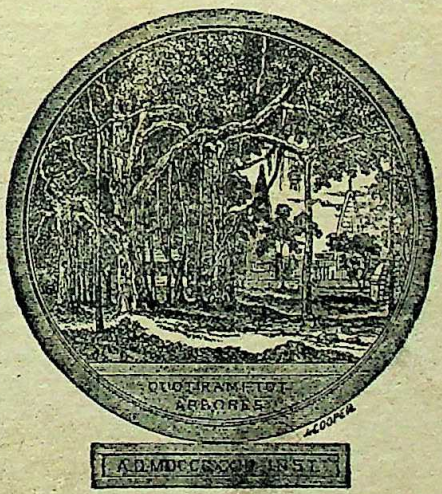

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PART I.—JANUARY

The Chronology of the Sena Kings of Bengal

BY P. C. BARAT, B.A.

SINCE the beginning of the present century students of Indian history have been making strenuous efforts to collect such materials as would help them to reconstruct the early history of Bengal. But so far they have not succeeded in ascertaining definitely even the dates of those kings of the Sena Dynasty who governed dominions of large extent and took rank among the great powers. The discovery of the era with which is associated the name of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva induced several well-known archæologists [1] to bring its initial date to bear on the history of Bengal. From the scanty data which were then available the late Professor Kielhorn after much laborious calculation definitely settled that the Lakṣmaṇa Samvat or La-Sam began in A.D. 1119–20. According to him the La-Sam was an ordinary Southern (*Kārttikādi*) year with *Amānta* scheme of lunar fortnights; and the first date of the era was October 7, A.D. 1119.[2] As this date has not been made use of in reconstructing the chronology of the Sena kings, it may be accepted for the present; and time will show whether the conclusion of the learned doctor is right or wrong. But the assertion of the historians that the initial date of the Lakṣmaṇa

[1] Vide *Archæological Survey of India, Reports*, vol. xv, pp. 157–9.

[2] Vide *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xix (1890), p. 6; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, p. 306, n. 6.

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Sena era synchronizes with the commencement of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's reign is quite untenable and can never be accepted as true. In Indian history there is no era which does not commemorate some epoch-making event which affected the people of the country in general. And ordinary succession to the throne in its normal course, as was the case with Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, does not justify the inauguration of an era in place of the usual regnal years to which the people in those days were accustomed. Moreover, the historians have never explained why this new era, which bears the name of Lakṣmaṇa Deva, took such a firm root not in his own country, but in the country of Mithilā outside his territory.

Ballāla Sena Deva, who is credited with having reformed the practice of Kulinism amongst the higher castes in Bengal, is also reputed to have been the author of two valuable books, the *Dāna-sāgara* and the *Adbhuta-sāgara*. In both these books there are passages which throw some light on the dates of Ballāla Sena. In the extracts which the authorities have made from the MSS. of the *Dāna-sāgara* [1] there is a statement ("*Śaśi-nava-daśa-mite sāke varṣe (1091) Dānasāgaro racitaḥ*") that the *Dāna-sāgara* was completed by the author in Saka 1091 (A.D. 1169). If this date is accepted as genuine, then the date which modern historians have put down for Ballāla Sena Deva, viz. A.D. 1108–19, must be wrong. Reject the date of the *Dāna-sāgara* as interpolation, deny its authorship to Ballāla Sena, even then the dates as given in standard histories of India are untenable. There are unmistakable proofs in the other book, *Adbhuta-sāgara*, that Ballāla Sena Deva was not dead, nor had vacated the throne for the succession of his son, Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, in A.D. 1119, which has been put down as the initial date of the La-Sam era. For all the information contained in the book no one need depend upon that brief extract made from the one known

[1] Extracts from three MSS. are available: Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, i, p. 151; Eggeling's *Catalogue of India Office MSS.*, p. 545; and M.M. Haraprasād Śāstrī's *Notices*, vol. i, p. 170.

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and said to be historically important manuscript:[1] we can get it from the printed book published in A.D. 1905. Pandit Muralīdhar Jhā of the Sanskrit College, Benares, in obedience to the wishes of M.M. Sudhākar Dvivedi, collected as many as seven MSS. from different places and edited the book with wonderful patience and ability. But, unfortunately, the publication of the book did not attract the least attention even of those who had been doing research work in the field of history. If any one of them had cared to go through it, even cursorily, when discussing the dates of Ballāla Sena, he would have at once been convinced that the passage, "*Kha-nava-khendv-abda ārebhe Adbhutasāgaram*" (in Saka 1090 the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun), in the extract[1] of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Report could never have been an interpolation. The mere fact that this very passage has been found in all the manuscripts known at present[2] and also in the book published in Benares is sufficient proof of its genuineness; even so it is better to quote from the book a few more passages, every one of which mentions Saka 1090 as the date when the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun.

1. In the chapter on Rāhu's *Adbhuta-sāgara* :—

"*Athādbhutasāgarārambha-śakābdāt parveśa-gaṇanā*" "Next the method for calculating the Parveśa from the Saka era in which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun."

"*Kha-nava-daśo (1090) na-śakābdā* . . ."—Saka era 1090. . .

[1] Vide Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency*, 1897, pp. 83–5.

[2] Besides the MSS. mentioned above there are three more, one (incomplete) in the possession of the writer of this article, and two others which have been secured by the Manuscript Committee of the Dacca University. Their report on the latter manuscript is as follows :—

"JYOTISH.—The most valued additions to this section are two manuscripts of *Adbhuta-sāgara* by Ballāla Sena Deva, one (incomplete) from Nadia District and the other (complete) in Devanagari script from Ahar in Bulandshahr District in the U.P. The latter is a particularly valuable MS., dated Saka 1658 and thus about 200 years old. Both of them give the year in which the work was begun. Hailing from widely distant places, they should help to set at rest all controversy regarding the dates of Ballāla Sena Deva and Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva."

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2. In the chapter on Bhārgava's *Adbhutāvarta* :—

" *Athādbhutasāgarambha-śakābdāt ṣaṣṭy-abda-yuga-gaṇanam* " " Next the method for calculating the *ṣaṣty-abda-yuga* from the Saka era in which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun."

" *Kha-nava-daśo (1090) na-śakābdā. . .*"—Saka era 1090. . .

3. In the chapter on *Ravy-ādi-varṣādbhutāvarta* :—

" *Atha tanmatenaitad-granthārambha-śakābda-varṣādhipa-gaṇanam* " " Now by the same method the calculation of the *varṣādhipa* from the Saka era in which this *grantha* was begun."

" *Kha-nava-daśa(1090)-śeṣa-śāke. . .*"—Saka era 1090. . .

4. In the chapter on *Saṃvatsarādy-adbhutāvarta* :—

" *Kha-nava-viyad-indu (1090)-hīnā. . .*"—Saka 1090. . .

It is evident from the above extracts that " *Kha-nava-khendv-abda* (1090) " was taken as the initial date for all the different astronomical calculations, and in every case this initial date is mentioned as the date on which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun. The presence of these passages in the book must at once dispel from every unbiassed mind all doubts about the genuineness of the date, *Sake kha-nava-khendv-abda ārebhe Adbhutasāgaram.*

The evidence in the preceding paragraph proves conclusively that Ballāla Sena Deva was not dead in Saka 1090 (A.D. 1168), and consequently the dates which the historians have put down for him (A.D. 1108–1119) have to be rejected as incorrect. In this book *Adbhuta-sāgara* there is no reference from which can be ascertained the exact date of his death or of his raising his son to the throne. But reasonable inferences can be made about these dates from the following verse, when read with the dates as given in the *Dāna-sāgara* and the *Adbhuta-sāgara* :—

Granthe 'sminn asamāpta eva tanayaṃ sāmrājyarakṣāmahā-
dīkṣāparvaṇi dakṣiṇāṃ nijakṛter niṣpattim abhyarthya saḥ
nānādānatilāmbusambalanabhaḥsūryātmajāsaṅgamam
Gaṅgāyāṃ viracayya nirjarapuram bhāryānuyāto gataḥ.

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The purport of the above verse is: "Before his (Ballāla Sena's) death he asked his son to complete his book (*Adbhuta-sāgara*), which was not finished; and performed various acts of charity on the banks of the Ganges. His request to his son (Lakṣmaṇa Sena) was in lieu of the *dakṣiṇā* for installing him on the throne. His charitable acts were so varied and so numerous that the *tila* necessary for the purpose rendered the surface of the Ganges dark and made it look like its confluence with the Jumna."

It is nothing to be wondered at if Ballāla Sena Deva had found out some auspicious day for performing the necessary initial ceremony for writing his new book on Jyotisha before he completed his *Dāna-sāgara*. His request to his son for the completion of this newly begun book, and not of the other, shows that he lived long enough to finish the latter book himself. It is probable that, when he began his *Adbhuta-sāgara* in Saka 1090, he made up his mind to instal his son on the throne according to the ancient customs of the Hindu kings and pass the rest of his days in literary and religious activities. That he did not live long after the completion of the *Dāna-sāgara* in Saka 1091 is certain; otherwise he could have finished the *Adbhuta-sāgara* too. It will not be far wrong if this very year Saka 1090 be taken as the date of Ballāla Sena's abdication. It is very significant that none of the copper-plate grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva so far discovered gives a date earlier than his third regnal year. Does this not suggest modesty in not issuing any grant in his own name during the first two years of his reign, when his father was alive and living a retired life?

It appears that Ballāla Sena Deva succeeded his father at a very advanced age and had a short reign of about eleven years. Only one copper-plate grant [1] of Ballāla Sena Deva has

[1] Vide *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Patrikā*, pt. xvii, pp. 237–8; and *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xiv, pp. 156–63, as quoted in Mr. R. D. Banerji's *History of Bengal*, pt. i, p. 322.

Note.—The grant was made by Ballāla Sena on behalf of his mother, Vilāsa-Devī, when she performed the *Mahā-śva-dāna* ceremony on the occasion of a solar eclipse. This may have been an occasion for Ballāla Sena also to make the various grants referred to in the verse quoted above.

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been known till now, and it is dated in the eleventh year of his reign. Taking 1090 as the fixed date when Ballāla Sena Deva handed over the reins of kingship to his son, his accession to the throne falls in Saka 1080 (A.D. 1158). This has the support of the passage "*Bhuja-vasu-daśa-mite śāke Ballāla-Sena-rājyādau*, etc.",[1] "in 1082 Saka (A.D. 1160) at the beginning of Ballāla Sena's reign, etc." These dates, viz. Saka 1080–1090, are very nearly the same as those put down by Babu Monmohan Chakravarti in his chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal.[2]

With the dates for Ballāla Sena Deva fixed it is possible to readjust those of his father, Vijaya Sena Deva. He appears to have been the first of his dynasty who raised himself to the rank of an independent king and wrested from his neighbours the territories of Kāmarūpa, Gauḍa, and Kaliṅga. After the conquest of Kāmarūpa and Kaliṅga he made captive four other kings, of whom Nānya Deva was one.[3] The defeat of this last king must have been a crushing one. Being dispossessed of his kingdom of Mithilā, Nānya Deva, probably when released, took refuge in the valley of Nepal, where he is said to have founded Simraun in A.D. 1097 and afterwards to have established the Karnatic dynasty there. Now from A.D. 1097, in or about which Vijaya Sena Deva met his adversary, Nānya Deva, to A.D. 1158, the date of his death, he must have had a long reign of at least 61 years. It must have been even longer; and the date, the sixty-second regnal year, given in his copper-plate,[4] lends support to this. If we accept 63 years as the length of his reign, his date of accession comes to 1158–63, i.e. to A.D. 1095. The bold and aggressive policy which was the principal feature of the

[1] *Adbhuta-sāgara, Dhruvādy-adbhutāvarta.*

[2] Vide the appendix to the notes by B. Monmohan Chakravarti, M.A., M.R.A.S., on the *Pavana-dūta* by Dhōyī Kavirāja, one of the court poets of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.

[3] Vide *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, p. 309, *ślokas* 20 and 21.

[4] Ibid., vol. xv, p. 278, and the monthly Bengali magazine, *Sāhitya*, pt. xxxi, pp. 81–97, as quoted by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *History of Bengal*, i, p. 319, footnote.

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commencement of his reign could not have been the guiding principle of one not old enough to chalk out his own line of action. If 26 years be taken as the age when he ascended the throne, then 1095 – 26, i.e. A.D. 1069, should be approximately the date of his birth. Then, assuming the average difference between the age of father and son as 25, the date of Ballāla Sena's birth can be put down at A.D. 1094 and that of his son, Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, at A.D. 1119.[1]

Several archæologists and historians, discussing the chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal, have, without convincing argument, made the initial date of the Lakṣmaṇa era to synchronize with the commencement of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's reign. This assumption has landed them in a ridiculous position, which necessitated the appearance of a second Lakṣmaṇa Sena, or at least a Lakṣmaṇeya, to reconcile their dates with the statement of Minhāj-ibn-Sirāj in his *Ṭabakāt-i-nāṣirī*.[2] Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra, whose reputation as an archæologist was very great, went so far as to identify king Aśoka Chandra Deva with Lakṣmaṇeya by the bold manœuvre of changing the king's name to Aśoka Sena. It is very unfortunate that such a ridiculous hypothesis should be reasserted with greater force, as a "matter no longer in dispute", even in Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* in its fourth and revised edition.[3]

In one of the preceding paragraphs we have asserted on the authority of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* that Lakṣmaṇa Sena was installed on the throne by his father in or about Saka 1090 (A.D. 1168). Professor Muralīdhar Jhā, of the Sanskrit College, Benares, on the authority of Vidyāpati Thakkur's

[1] This is the date which the historians have put down as the commencement of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's reign.

[2] Minhāj was informed that the name of the king whom Muhammad, son of Bakhtiār, surprised in Nadiyā, was Rai Lakhminya and that he had been on the throne for then eighty years.

[3] Vide Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 432, para. 2, ed. by S. M. Edwardes.

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Puruṣa-parīkṣā, has said "*Sake* 1090*tame Gaura-deśa-Lakṣmaṇa-puryāṃ Lakṣmaṇa-Sena-Devaḥ svarājyam alañcakāra*" "that in Saka 1090 in Lakṣmaṇa-purī of Gauṛa Deśa Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva adorned the throne of his kingdom". This fact explodes the theory that the La-Sam era was started by Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva when he succeeded his father in A.D. 1119. It is very natural to infer that Ballāla Sena Deva before his succession to the throne fought several battles against his father's enemies and added new feathers to his cap. His title "*Mithilā-mahī-mahendra*" surely refers to some very important victory which he must have won against a formidable aggressor upon his father's territory. This decisive victory, on which depended the future possession and prosperity of Mithilā, must have been sufficient justification for Vijaya Sena Deva to start a new era in the country of Mithilā. But it needed to bear a distinctive name to distinguish it from other current eras and regnal years. And an appropriate name, too, was not wanting. When Ballāla Sena Deva was fighting the fiercest battle in Mithilā, in which he was given out as killed, a son with all good signs of future greatness was born. This child was named Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, and it was probably thought fit to join his name to this new era to commemorate not only the victory won by his father, but also the birth of this auspicious child. The following tradition, recorded in the *Laghu-Bhārata*, supports this view :—

Pravādaḥ śrūyate cātra pārampārīṇavārttayā
Mithile yuddhayātrāyām Ballāle 'bhūn mṛitadhvaniḥ
Tadānīṃ Vikramapure Lakṣmaṇo jātavān asau.

"It has been learnt from tradition that in Vikrama-pura was born Lakṣmaṇa Sena when it was given out that Ballāla Sena was killed in the battle in Mithila."

Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva was in his younger days a great help to his grandfather and later on to his father in looking after their state affairs. He is said to have fought battles in Kaliṅga and carried his victorious arms as far as Benares and Prayāga.

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But he was a man with a religious bent of mind and of literary habits. Even in the lifetime of his grandfather he held his own court, in which there were renowned poets, of whom Umāpatidhara was one. This very poet was the composer of the verses for the stone inscription of the Pradyumneśvara temple built by Vijaya Sena Deva. Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva must have been about fifty years of age when he was installed on the throne by his father. It is very likely that in the fourteen years of his reign he got sick of his state and worldly affairs and, after raising one of his sons to the throne, renounced the world and led an ascetic life on the banks of the Ganges near Nadiyā.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SENA KINGS, AS READJUSTED

Name.	*Date of Birth.*	*Date of Accession.*	*Date of Death or Retirement.*
Vijaya Sena Deva .	A.D. 1069	A.D. 1095	A.D. 1158
Ballāla Sena Deva .	A.D. 1094	A.D. 1158	A.D. 1168
Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.	A.D. 1119	A.D. 1168	A.D. 1182

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Iranica

By H. W. BAILEY

1. Pahlavi [illegible]. Avestan *afīθyō*

1. An important difference between the North-Western and South-Western Middle Iranian dialects consists in the correspondence of North-Western *-ḥ-* to South-Western *-d-* (that is -δ-), beside *-y-*.

In two words of the M.P. inscriptions, in the Pārsīk dialect, is found a *-d-* which is unjustified by the etymology—

nyd'k	Old Pers.	*apanyāka-* " ancestor "
		[*nyā*]*ka-* " grandfather "
	Y. Aw.	*nyāka-*
	N. Pers.	*niyā*, pl. *niyāgān*
xvt'dyḥy	M. Sogd.	*γwt'w* " lord "
	N. Pers.	*xudāy*
	Phl.	*xvt'y*
	Pahlavīk (of the inscription)	*xvt'vypy*

Herzfeld (Paikuli s.v. *xvatádíhe*) suggested that the *-d-* was due to " learned " spelling, in place of the *-y-* expected.

A like *-d-* is found in the Pahlavi Psalter :—

gvk'dyḥy " witness "	M.P.T. *gvg'yy*, Arm. L.W.	վկայ.
st'd- " praise "	M.P.T. (north-west)	*st'v-*
	(south-west)	*st'y-*
	N. Pers.	*sit'y-*

The North-Western dialect has *-ḥ-* in—

dḥynd " they give "	South-West	*dyy-'nd*
	N. Pers.	*dih-and*
'bxš'ḥ-yd " forgive "	South-West	*'bxš'yd-vš*
	Phl. Psalter	*'pxš'dšny*

Note.—In the transcription of Avestan I follow the system of the *Grund. d. Iran. Phil.* and Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (*AIW.*) except that ^{h} is employed for Avestan 3 in agreement with the results of Junker's researches on the Avestan alphabet (*Caucasica*, 1925), thus *fya^{h}hum*, Bartholomae *fyarɔhum*, and *ā^{h}* for Avestan [illegible] Bartholomae *å*. In the rendering of the Semitic "masks" of the Pahlavi I follow Bartholomae, adopting his dash ′ before the Iranian word as [illegible] *'bavēt*.

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But Balūčī and Afghānī do not insert a consonant—

Bal. *dēag* " to give "

Afgh. *lal* 3rd Sing. Pres. *lī* " he gives "

Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, Monde Oriental xv, sec. 6, 25, connected this *ḥ–d* with the development of original Iranian *-d-* where the North-Western dialect had *-d-* over against the South-Western *-y-* ; cf. N.W. *'vvd ōδ* beside S.W. *'vy* (*'ōy*) " there ". The correspondence of *ḥ* to *d* was, therefore, irregular.

The true explanation of the divergent forms North-West *-ḥ-*, South-West *-y-*, Pahlavi Psalter *-d-*, N. Pers. *-y-*, Pārsīk of Inscriptions *-d-* is the insertion of a sound *h*, δ, or *y* in hiatus. Junker, *Caucasica*, i, 2, p. 56, had recognized a similar intention in the *ḥ* of Turfan Pahlavi *pryḥyn* " beloved ", which he proposed to read *frīyēn* or *frīēn*. Pahlavi of the Books does not, of course, distinguish *d* and *y* in writing, but forms with *d/y* and with *ḥ* are found.

The South-Western *-d-*, N. Pers. *-y-*, it will be seen, is inserted also in cases where the North-Western has preserved original *-v-*, as in S.W. *st'd-* (Phl. Psalt.), N. Pers. *s'tāy-*, N.W. *st'v-*. In one case at least N. Pers. preserved the *-v* : بساوذ " he touches " (Qurān Comm., *JRAS*. 1894, p. 448).

2. The recognition that *-ḥ-*, *-d-*, *-y-* are inserted to avoid the hiatus between two vowels, supplies an explanation of the Pahlavi word [illegible] and [illegible], and of the hitherto misunderstood [illegible] and [illegible].

Both words occur in the gloss in the Frahang i Oīm (ed. Reichelt, *WZKM*. 14, p. 190).

Avestan : *bvaṯ vispō aʰhuš astvāʰ azarəsō amaršą afīθyō apayą* (read *apuyą*) *darəγəm yaṯ yave vispāi.*

Pahlavi gloss : *'bavēt harvisp axᵛ i astōmand azarmān u amark u* [illegible] *u* [illegible] *darγ hamāk 'tāk 'ō visp.*

In the Mēnōkē Xrat, 8, 9, is a similar passage—

[illegible]

Zurvān i akanārak u azarmān u amark u adart u —— u —— u apityārak.

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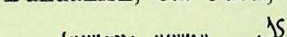
Zurvān (Time) which is unlimited and ageless and deathless and without pain and —— and —— and unassailed.

The words occur in a similar collocation in the Indian Bundahišn, ed. Justi, p. 3, l. 12—

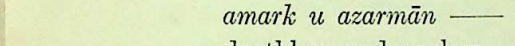


amark u azarmān —— u ——

deathless and ageless, —— and ——

where Justi translated "nicht hungernd und nicht stinkend" and West, *SBE.* v, p. 6, "hungerless and thirstless."

In the Greater Bundahišn (Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch d. Pehlevi*, p. 65, l. 18) is a more correct text—



stāyišn 'daḥ 'tāk 'pat 'ān pātdahišn amark azarmān —— —— bavē

Give praise that thou mayest at that recompense be deathless ageless —— ——

In Hübschmann (*Pers. Stud.*, p. 109), with Justi, recognized the word *apūišn* "not rotting", corresponding to the Avestan *apuyą*, *AIW.* 86, with the allied words Ossetic (West) *ämbuyun* "to rot" = **ham- pūy-* and Sanskrit *pūyati*. But remained unexplained.

The Pāzand of the Mēnōkē Xrat, 8, 9, gives: *ašōišn u apōišn*. In those words the Sanskrit translator saw derivatives of the words for "hunger" and "drink", and accordingly rendered them by *akṣudhāvān atṛṣāvān* "hungerless and thirstless". But while rejecting the second, "thirstless," for the word , Bartholomae, *AIW.* 102, and Reichelt, loc. cit., read the Pahlavi *ašōδišn* and translated "hungerless", against the certain (= *s*) of the Pahlavi.

The right reading of is, however, *asūyišn*, and of *asūḥišn*. The *-y-* and *-h-* are marks of hiatus. The root *-sū-* is found in Ossetic (West) *räsuyun*

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"to swell" (*rä-* = Iranian *fra-*), cognate with Sanskrit *śvayati*, *śūna* "swell". The same root can be traced in Avestan *sispimnō*, *sispəmna*, *sispata*, *AIW*. 1617. *Asūḥišn*, *asūyišn* are, therefore, "not swelling up," "not corrupting."

Read therefore: . . . *u asūhišn u apūyišn* . . . "and not swelling and not decaying." . . .

Against the Pāzand *ō* (*ašōišn*, *apōišn*) are the Ossetic *u* (*räsuyun*, *ämbuyun*) and the *u* in Sanskrit *pū́yati* and derivatives, and *u* in Avestan *puyeti*, *apuyant-*. Nyberg (*Hilfsbuch*) reads *asōḥisn* and *apōḥišn* with *ō*.

3. By establishing this meaning and etymology of [illegible] *asūyišn*, it is possible to explain also the Phl. [illegible] which is found in the Indian Bundahišn (ed. Justi, p. 10, l. 6):—

[illegible]

āž niyāž dart sūy

Justi translated "Begierde, Noth, Schmerz, Hunger", but he quoted a Gujarātī gloss "pheçâd d.i. فساد Emporhebung". Here, however, فساد will mean "corruption", which fits *sūy* "swelling" from the same root as *asūyišn*. For the form *sūy* compare Sanskrit *pūya-* "pus".

4. The Pahlavi word [illegible] *asūyišn* "not swelling", "without corruption" can be put to further use. In the passage of the Frahang i Oīm quoted above the word *asūyišn* is a gloss to the Avestan word *afīθyō*, of which the form and etymology have hitherto not been understood. Bartholomae assumed a root *fraēθ-*, *AIW*. 974, to explain the Avestan forms:

friθyeitiča, Vd. 6, 28.
afriθyantəm, Yt. 19, 11.

**afriθyō*, MSS. *afīθyō*, Frah. i Oīm, 3*h*.

Between *fr-* and *f-* the MSS. are not decisive, as is evident also from the variations *fy-* and *fry-* in the word *fyaʰhva-*, *AIW*. 973. Geldner's edition has *fryaʰhvaityāʰ* beside *fyaʰhum*.

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But the word *asūyišn* from the root **sū* "to swell" suggests at once the correct explanation. The word should be read, without *r*, *afīθyō* and be connected with a root **fyāy-*, Sanskrit *pyāy-* "swell", a derivative of the root Av. *pay-* "swell". The verb **fiθya-* is then a denominative from an adjective **fiθa* "swollen"; cf. *friβa-* "beloved" from *frāy-*, Sanskrit *prāy-* "to love", and for the denominative *ātarə.friθita-* "beloved by the Fire", and Sanskrit forms of the type *meghitá-*.

The *-fī-* of *afīθyō* is derived from **fyi-*, reduced grade of **fyāy-*, whence *-yi-* was contracted to *ī* possibly first owing to its graphic form—two (Semitic) *yods*.

The meaning thus obtained "to corrupt by swelling up" suits the Avestan passages, as for instance in Vd. 6, 28, *yeziča aēte nasāvō *friθyeitiča puyetiča* "and when these corpses swell and putrefy", and in the description of the reformed world in the *Frašōkərəti*.

Yt. 19, 11 (Geldner's edition):—

yaŋ kərənavąn frašəm ahūm
azarəšəntəm amarəšəntəm
afriθyantəm apuyantəm.

that they may make the world wonderful, ageless, undying, not corrupting (not swelling), not decaying.

It was, indeed, possible from the context to guess the meaning of **afriθyantəm*. Hence Bartholomae gave "verfaulen, verwesen" and Darmesteter "decaying" as the meaning of the root.

2. Pahlavi 𐭠𐭯𐭧𐭱𐭩𐭱𐭭 and 𐭠𐭯𐭧𐭱𐭩𐭱𐭩𐭭

1. Pahlavi 𐭠𐭯𐭧𐭱𐭩𐭱𐭭 *apaxšāyišn* or 𐭠𐭯𐭥𐭱𐭩𐭱𐭭 *apuxšāyišn* "forgiveness" corresponds to the forms in the Pahlavi Psalter (quoted by Lentz, *ZII.* iv, 27):—

'pxš'd'y
'pxš'dšny
'pxš'dyḥy

in which the *-d-*, i.e. *-δ-*, was discussed above, and to Turfan

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Pahlavi (South-West) *'bxš'yd-vš* (North-West) *'bxš'ḥyd* with the dialectic difference of *-d-* and *-ḥ-*, and to N. Pers. *baxšūdan*.

The etymology seems to have been overlooked. It is clearly to be connected with G.Av. *xšąnmənē* (*Y.* 29, 9) "to put up with", which probably represents *xšą̄-man-ē*, a dative of a *-man-* suffix employed as an infinitive, from the root **xšam-*, Sanskrit *kṣámate*. (*-ąn-* is a device to indicate a nasalized vowel, *ą̄*, and cannot be used, as Brugmann, i, 2, 350, does, to prove a change of *m* to *n* before *m*.) Pahlavi *apaxšāy-* is, therefore, **upa-xšā*. The uncompounded verb seems to occur in the Pahlavi gloss to *xšąnmənē* (*Y.* 29, 9; Spiegel's text), [illegible] *xšāyīt*. Bartholomae, *AIW*. 554, altered to [illegible] *ašāt* "not glad" in agreement with the Sanskrit translation.

For the form of the root *xšāy-*, compare *zātan*, N. Pers. *zādan* "be born" (to the Avestan root *zan-*), Pres. *zāyēt*, N. Pers. *zāyad*. Owing to the Iranian loss of the *ə* in the second syllable of (Indo-European) disyllabic roots, *-ami- -am-*, *-ani- -an-* were subject to the same treatment. Compare also Phl. *vātak* "vomited" with Phl. *vāmēt* "he vomits".

2. A similar treatment of Iranian *-am-* provides a more satisfactory explanation of Phl. *āsāyēt* ([illegible] Mēnōkē Xrat, ed. Andreas, p. 14, l. 15, "he rests") and N. Pers. *āsāyad*. Hübschmann (*Pers. Stud.* 7) and after him Horn (*Grund. d. Iran. Phil.*, 1*b*, 43) connected the word with the Sanskrit causative *śāyáyati* "make to lie down". It is better to refer it to Sanskrit *śā́myati* "be quiet". Then *-sāy-* is related to **sam-* as *-xšāy-* to **xšam-*. The causative meaning of Sanskrit *śāyayati* seems to exclude that etymology. Phl. and N. Pers. *āsān* "easy" is from the same root **sam-*.

Note.—Andreas' connection of Pahlavi Psalter *'pxš'd-* "forgive" with the Arm. loan-word ապաշխարել "repent" (apud Lentz, *ZII*. iv) is mistaken both as to the meaning and the root.

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3. Pahlavi 𐭮𐭲𐭩. Greek στατήρ.

It has been customary to vocalize Phl. 𐭮𐭲𐭩 *styr* as *stīr* (Bartholomae, West) without taking into consideration the Armenian loan-word սատեր *sater* (Hübsch., *Arm. Gr.* 377), and Georgian სატირი *satiri*. The Sogdian has *st'yr* (Gauthiot, *Gram. Sogd.*, p. 159), which permits of the same vocalization. That the Pahlavi should also be read *satēr* is confirmed both by the forms *sadera*, *satera* of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Central Asia as pointed out by Professor F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1924, p. 671; *JRAS.* 1926, p. 507; and by the Arabic loan-word اِسْتَارٌ (Kazimirski) "poids contenant six درهم et deux دانك". The Arabs used *alif* to represent Persian -*ē*- (cf. Nöldeke, *ZII.* ii, 317, who refers to the writings داوداذ beside ديوداذ and داودست: "Pers. *ē* . . . nicht selten durch ا"). استار therefore proves a N. Pers. *istēr*. N. Pers. اَستير (Vullers) is accordingly *astēr*, later *astīr*.

4. Armenian կամայ ակամայ աշխարայ

The form of these three Iranian loan-words, կամայ *kamai* "willingly"; ակամայ *akamai* "unwillingly"; աշխարայ *aškarai* "openly", has not hitherto been explained. Hübschmann (*Arm. Gr.*, pp. 102, 164) supposed that the form came from the Pāzand. Salemann, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, i, 281, could only suggest "vll. -*īhā*?".

Another explanation can now be attempted. Tedesco (*ZII.* 4, 163) called attention to the Armenian words Տրէ *Trē* "name of the fourth month" and մարգարէ *margarē* "prophet", in which he recognized an Iranian Nom. ending -*ē* parallel to the Nom. -*ÿ* (= *ē*) of the Christian Sogdian texts. To this Chr. Sogd. -*ÿ* corresponds a Buddh. Sogd. -*'k* or *'y*.

The Chr. Sogd. -*ÿ* from -**akĭ* represents not only the Nom. but also Gen. Acc. and Abl., and with this it is possible to

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connect the Armenian ending *-ai*. For the form *-ai* beside *-ē* compare the alternative forms բաշխ and բաշայ *bažē, bazai*, ἰέραξ (Hübsch., *Arm. Gr.* 114).

Armenian *kamai, akamai, aškarai* are accordingly oblique cases of *-aka-* stems from a dialect (Armeno-Iranian) closely connected with Sogdian.

Whether the *-ai* of the declension of Armenian proper names, as in Trdatai, gen. sing. of Trdat, can also be brought into this connection, remains uncertain.

5. Armenian *երկ*

In the discussions of the Pahlavi word 𐭠𐭫𐭪 *'rk* "work, toil" the Armenian word *երկ erk* "work" has been overlooked. The word *erk* occurs in the instr. pl. *երկովք erkovk'* in the fifth century version of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, § 121. Bartholomae (*Zur Kenntnis der mitteliran. Mundarten*, i, 10, 1916) showed that the Iranian form was **arka-*, not as had been supposed a metathesis of Middle Iranian *kār*, in itself most improbable, though Rosenberg still held it in *Bull. Acad. Sc. Pet.*, 1918. It is a word common to Western and Eastern Iranian dialects.

Minjānī *arkíṛim* "ouvrage".
Yidgha *'orkun* "ouvrage" (Gauthiot, *MSL.* 19, 144).
Yaghnobi *œrk* (Junker, *Sitzb. Heid. Akad.*, 1914, *Zweite Erz.* 10).

The form of the Armenian *երկ erk* has the vocalization of the older loan-words:

դերձակ derjak "shoemaker".
հանդերձ handerj "clothes".
աշակերտ ašakert "disciple" (Hübsch., *Arm. Gr.*).
Դեր Der "Ctesiphon" (cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, s.v. *bb'*).
-կերտ -kert at the end of place-names.

This *-er-* before a consonant is found in the first century B.C. in *Τιγρανόκερτα* and is attested for Middle Iranian (Turfan Pahlavi) by the spelling *-yr-*, as in *kyrd* "made", *kyrdn* "to make"; cf. Bartholomae, *zAIW.* 38.

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6. Armenian -*i*

It is now possible to explain the unusual form of the Armenian loan-word պատասխանի (cf. Bartholomæ, *zAIW*. 183), and the -*i* of the words արժանի *aržani* "worthy" and Ասորի *Asori* "Syrian" by comparison with the Sogdian. The word կարի *kari* "very" has been explained by Meillet as the Buddh. Sogd. *k'δy* "very".

The final -*i* of the Armenian words corresponds to the Christian Sogd. Nom.-Acc. ending -*ỳ* (= -*ī*). To պատասխանի *patasxani* "answer" corresponds Chr. Sogd. *p'čγnỳ* Acc. Sing. (*ZII*. 4, 119) "answer". With արժանի *aržani* "worthy" (suffix -*ān*-) is to be compared *Ramaqânî* (in F. W. K. Müller's transcription) in *nîsṭ č^{a}xûd 'aṭ nî Ramaqânî* rendering the Greek οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην of Gal. iii, 28. Here -*î* is Nom. Sing.

Similarly for the -*i* of Ասորի *Asori* the Chr. Sogd. Nom. Acc. Sing. -*ỳ* supplies an explanation. The vocalization with -*o*- proves that the word did not reach Armenia through the Greek Ἀσσύριοι.

The Armenian երանի *erani*, as in երանի սգաւորաց *erani sgavoraç* "μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες", Mt. 5, 4, appears to have the same -*i* but remains obscure.

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The Semitic Goddess of Fate, Fortuna-Tyche

By S. LANGDON

ASSYRIOLOGISTS have neglected the fundamental meaning of the common Semitic verb מנה, מנו,[1] to test, assign, allot. From this verb the name of the Arabic goddess of fate is derived. Curiously enough the earliest known Arabic name of *Manât* is written מנאת in the Thamudic (Minæan) n. pr. *Ta'bad- Manât*.[2] In Nabatæan the ordinary form is מנות, which Wellhausen *Reste des Arabischen Heidentums*, p. 24, takes as a plural, defending this etymology by the Arabic derivative *maniyyat*, fate, death, and broken plural *manāya*, in same sense. Goldziher, *Archæologische epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Œsterreich* vi (1882), 109, also takes the Nabatæan name as a plural, defending it from the Latin inscription from Aquileia, which has *Manawat*. Lidsbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 313. reads *Manāwatu*. G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 79, 5 *et p.* reads *Manūthu*, as singular; the writing in the Coran[3] is *Manātun*. Arabic derivatives of this verb are *maniyyatun*, fate, *māni(n)*, one who determines, assigns, *manā(n)*, death, fate, number, size. Hebrew derivatives are,

[1] Arabic has both forms of this root, with corresponding imperfects *iamnu*, *iamni*. Hebrew had probably *m-n-i* in the early period, but the root is treated as a ל"ה *passim*. The name of the goddess *Menî*, the place names *Menî* and *Menîth* seem to prove this. The original Arabic is clearly *m-n-i*. Note the Nabatæan noun מנין "counting", G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 250. The Aramaic and Syriac verb is ordinarily מנא, where the secondary meaning "to count" has entirely superseded the original "to allot". The Assyrian verb *manû* has *m-n-u*, as the preterite *imnu*, imp. *munu* (v. Raw, 50, B 64) prove.

[2] Littmann, *MVAG.*, 1904, i, p. 34.

[3] Sura, 53, 20, مناة. I think that the reading is *Manawatu* in Nabatæan, and is plural. Cf. Arabic *manawiyyun*, that which has reference to *Manât*. There is authority for the reading مَنُوة in the Coran, i.e. *Manātun*. *Manūtu* for the Nabatæan seems to me undefendable. Professor D. S. Margoliouth gives me another reading مَنَاىَ, i.e. *Manātun*. See Wright, *Arabic Grammar*,[3] i, 12 A, Rem. d.

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mānā, portion, *menāth*, pl. *mĕnayōth*, portion, share. Aramaic *mĕnāthā*, portion, part. Syriac *mĕnātha*, part, portion; *mĕnyānā*, number, and *qal* participle *māne kaukebe*, one who determines by stars, astrologer.

The Arabian goddess of fate was only an aspect of the great mother goddess *Allat* (*al-alat*), mother of Dusares, the Nabatæan Dionysus. That is proved by the habitual representation of Allat as Tychē, identified on coins of the Roman period throughout the Nabatæan kingdom by her mural crown.[1] Undoubtedly the mythological conception of Fortuna as a protectress of cities is Semitic, and the various representations of her in sculpture, painting, and on coins which have been preserved from the Greek and Roman period are based upon Semitic mythology, although the execution is Greek. Dusares the principal male deity of the Nabatæans is identified by Hesychius with Dionysus,[2] not because he was a god of wine, but because both are originally types of the great Oriental myth of Tammuz and Ishtar, i.e. of the young god who dies yearly and of his virgin mother the earth goddess. Dusares is described as the son of Chaabu by Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, who wrote in the fourth century. A Palestinian by birth and education, belonging to a religious order of his native land, Epiphanius' statements concerning Nabatæan religion must be authoritative. He identifies Chaabu[3] with the Greek earth goddess Corē,

[1] This type of the Oriental Tychē, Fortuna, is the creation of the Greek sculptor Eutychides, who produced the beautiful Tychē of Antioch in the third century B.C. See Percy Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ix; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europus*, p. 98; G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia*, pp. xxiii, xxix.

[2] On Dionysus and *basillina* (who represents Corē, Persephonē), see Jules Girard in Daremburg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, article "Dionysia", p. 233.

[3] *Chaabu*, Χααβοῦ, is the Arabic *ka'bu*, square stone, symbol of Dusares and Allat. Kazwîni Athar el-Bilad says that a four-sided stone was worshipped as Allat, and he calls her "mother of the gods". See Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, i, 189. For the Greek text of Epiphanius, see Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, 29, 99–101.

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and describes her as a virgin. The birth of Dusares was celebrated on 25th December, with games, *actia dusaria*, similar to some aspects of the carnival of Marduk at the *akîtu* or spring festival at Babylon. But Herodotus, iii, 8, says that the Arabian *'Orotalt* is Dionysus. This name is probably a corruption of *walad-allat*, "child of Allat," as may be inferred from Epiphanius' account of these deities.[1] If, therefore, Dusares is portrayed as Bacchus-Dionysus by the statue found in the Hauran,[2] and on coins with cornucopia and patera, it is Greek mythology, and does not represent the original conception of this Arabian deity.

The Babylonian verb *manû* has also the same original meaning as the Arabic, Aramaic, and Hebrew cognate. Its ordinary connotation is to count, number, as in Aramaic, but the meaning "to allot, determine" survives here also. So when the protagonist of the Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer says *itti balṭuti ammani*, he means, "I have been allotted with the living," received a favourable decree from the gods to be among the living.[3] A nefast omen ends *itti amēlē la immannu*, "he shall not be counted among men," i.e. not be fated to remain among men.[4] As the Arabic verb means "to test, requite, punish", a sense derived from "to assign, allot, determine, apportion to", so do the II [1] and II [2] in Assyrian. In the Epic of Gilgamish, vi, 85–6, *undennâ pišāti-ia, pišāti-ia u irrêti-ia*, the verb certainly means "to bring home to", "requite", whether P. Dhorme, *Choix de Textes religieux*, 250, be right or wrong in rendering the nouns by "shames and maledictions". So also in vi, 90, *umannâ*, etc. See also A. T. Clay, *Old Babylonian Gilgamish Epic*, ll. 142–3 :—

[1] Cf. *Alulu* = *Alorus*, a case of dissimilation of two *l*'s as here.

[2] *Syria*, v, pl. xx, 2; Rostovtzev, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pl. xxxvii, 1; see also *Dusares* in Daremberg et Saglio, and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopædie*, by Lenormant and Cumont.

[3] S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, p. 64, 8.

[4] A. Boissier, *Choix de Textes divinitoires*, ii, 31, 10.

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awelûtumma manû ûmū-ša
mimma ša itenipušu šâru-ma.
" The days of mankind are allotted,
Whatsoever they do is wind." [1]

The original meaning reveals itself more obviously in the derivatives; *minûtu*, number, size, proportions, but also, " what is fated, decreed by the gods," what is desired, wished for, corresponding to the Arabic *munuwwatun*, *munyatun*, *minyatun*, " res optata." So in *Ungnad, Altbabylonische Briefe aus dem Museum zu Philadelphia*, 123, 6, *šumma mi-na-a-tu-ka la ṭa-ba*, " If thy circumstances are not good." Cf. Aramaic *mĕnātha*, in the phrases *biměnāth kēn*, *'al měnāth kēn*, " in the event that," or in the Philadelphia text perhaps simply " portions ", " what has befallen you." The common astronomical expression, *Sin ina la mi-na-ti-šu biblum ubil*, means " the moon passed into eclipse out of its fixed time ".[2] For *mināti*, " fixed period," parallel to Arabic *munwatun*, period, time,[3] see *minât arḫi ûm* 30-*kam ušallam* (the moon) " completes the fixed period of a month in thirty days ".[4]

[1] Ebeling, in Gressman's *Altorientalische Texte*, 190, has the transcription right, and uses *gezählt* " numbered ", for " allotted ".

[2] R. C. Thompson, *Reports*, 85, 2, parallel to *ina simāni innammir*, 119, 1.

[3] In Arabic apparently in special sense, *quo incertum est num conceperit camela nec ne.*

[4] Thompson, ibid., 11, 3; 5, 3; Chas. Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chaldéenne, Adad*, 33, 26–7. In King, *Magic*, 19, 23, *mi-ni-ta BAL-ma* has a variant [. . .] *šu* (?)-*nu-ta*. Myhrman, PBS. i, 17, 22, and variant Ebeling, KAR. 68, Obv. 23, omits the word, and also the lines preceding, 20–21, in my edition, PSBA. 1912, 154. Hence *minîta BAL-ma* followed upon *šimti balaṭi-ia šîm* " fix thou the fate of my life ". *minîtu*, then, is apparently a word for " desire " or " fate ", " fortune," here. KAR. 68, 23 has [*BAL-*]*ma ḫegalla karabâ* for *minîta Bal-ma ḫegalla šurka*, hence *minîtu* syn. *ḫegallu*, wealth, abundance, " desire ", fortune " (good) fate, seems to be the meaning here. For *BAL*, I read *tabāku*, pour out, but a verb *bâlu*, " to decree, fix," appears to be certain in Accadian. So in K. 9955, Obv. ii, 1 = AKF. i 21, Anu Enlil Ea *u-ba-'-lu-ši*, " fated " her, fixed her fate; cf. RA. 11, 149, 37–9; 12, 83, 54. *ilu ul-ṣi u ri-ša-a-ti lu-bil ûmi-ia* " May God decree me joy and gladness (all) my days ", King, *Magic*, 6, 121 = 10, 20 = Myhrman, PBS. 12, 31. Hence read *minîta bal-ma* " decree (me)

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manîtu, *mannîtu*, fate, decree of the gods, oracle, is well established by the following passages: *izîḳamma šûtu ma-nit* ^{d}*E-a šâru ša ana epiš šarrûte zâḳ-šu ṭâbu uk-ki-an-nim-ma idat dumḳi ina šamame u ḳaḳḳari*, "The South Wind, the 'fate' of Ea, whose blowing is propitious for reigning, blew and omens of good fortune in heaven and earth awaited me."[1] *ina ḳi-bit* ^{ilu}*Marduk šar ilâni izîḳamma iltanu ma-nit bêl ilâni ṭâbu*, "By the command of Marduk, king of the gods, the North Wind blew, the 'fate' of the lord of the gods, the propitious (wind)."[2] *iltanu ṭên-ga manit nišê ṭâbu*,[3] "The North Wind is thy counsel, the 'fate' of peoples, propitious (wind)." Since the winds were observed for omens, *šâru*, "wind," came to mean "omen", "fate", and is explained by *ma-ni-tu*, VAT. 10613, cited by Meissner, *Studien zur assyrischen Lexicographie*, MAG. i, 2, 38.

minîtu, portion, what is desired, fate (as determined by p. 24, n. 4), corresponds to Arabic *minyatun*, res optata. This word has also the usual meaning "mass", and is used in Thompson, *Reports*, 268, 8, in *mi-ni-tu atāli*, for "extent" of an eclipse, see Kugler, *Sternkunde*, ii, 61. It occurs in R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, No. 467,

desire", *bal-ma ḫegalla karabâ* "decree me abundance as my favour". *ûmu ub-til-la-an-ni ši-ma-ti*, "When fate curses me," i.e. when I die, Jensen, KB. vi, 64, 20; var. KAR. 169, Rev. iii 10 = Ebeling, *Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung*, ii, 1, p. 30, 20, *ûmu šîmāti ub-til-la-an-ni*; also *Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung*, ii, 1, p. 30, 20, *ûmu šîmāti ub-til-la an-ni*; *Berliner Beiträge* i, 1, p. 6. The root seems to be Arabic *bahal*, Imp. *yabhal*, whose original meaning "to permit one to have his desire", also "to curse"; it also means to be dumb, and in forms v, viii "to beseech". The meaning "dumb" appears perhaps in PSBA. 1895, 139, 7, *kima maḫḫê ša la idû u-ba-al* "Like one possessed, who knows not I am dumb (?)". Apparently Arabic *bahal* conceals various unconnected roots. In any case, Babylonian *balû*, to beseech, is the ל"ה form of this verb.

[1] Scheil, *Assarhaddon*, 8, 9–10.

[2] Winckler, *Forschungen*, ii, 32, 5, corrected by Scheil, ibid., p. 32.

[3] Zimmern, ZA. 10, 6, 67. So read and restore after the passages above. Ebeling's transcription and translation, *Berliner Beiträge*, i, 1, pp. 8–9, are false. Since the North Wind belongs to Marduk (cf. *Epic Creat.*, ed. Langdon, p. 192, 21), the god addressed in the acrostic ZA. 10, 1–16, is Marduk. Meissner, MAG. i, 2, 38–9, misunderstood all the passages cited above.

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Rev. 10, in the sense of "jurisdiction", a connotation derived from "to allot", "portion," "appointment." So in late Hebrew, *pi'el* of מנה, to appoint, elect, also *hithpa'el*. *ina eli mi-ni-ti ša amel ša pan māti laddin-šina*, "I will give them into the jurisdiction of the chief official of the land."

The noun *minû*, *menu*, "fate," occurs in the titles of the Babylonian mother goddess Ishtar, *ilat Me-nu-ul-lim*, *ilat Me-nu-an-nim*, "Goddess of the fate of refusal," "Goddess of the fate of consent," i.e. she who decrees yes or no to the petitions of mankind.[1] Professor H. Zimmern in his able article on Ishtar as *šimtu* "fate", which he connected with the Syrian *Simi*, *Simia*, *Semia*, and the *Sēmēon* of Lucian,[2] proved that this mythology concerning the Babylonian mother goddess and Fortuna, Tychē, Fate, is common to the Semitic religions of all Western Asia. The Babylonian title *Menû* occurs as Mēnî in Canaanitish religion and is mentioned with Gad (a male deity) in the post-Exilic passage, Isaiah, lxv, 11. Obviously the worship of the mother goddess of Canaan, Ashtoreth, as a goddess of fate, is borrowed from Babylonian, or ultimately connected with North Semitic religion; for the form *Mēnî* is North Semitic and not Arabic. In Babylonia the mother goddess is strictly *fatum*, Moira, Parca, and not good fate, alone, i.e. Tychē, as she appears in Nabatæan and Syrian religions, and in art characterized by the mural crown, protectress of cities. This Tychē of the mural crown, supposed to be the creation of Eutychides at Antioch, is also of Assyrian origin. She appears on a bas relief of a plaque of blue frit from Nimroud.[3] The type which appears in sculpture, on coins and mural paintings throughout Western Asia, is obviously the product of Greek art based upon Babylonian traditions. Here only

[1] CT. 24, 41, 81–2. Ishtar is addressed as *ilatMi-nu-ú-an-ni*, *ilatMi-nu-ú-ul-la*, in K. 9955, Obv. ii, 6–7. See Langdon in E. Weidner's *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, i, 21.

[2] *Islamica*, ii, 577, 582.

[3] Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 233.

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the mural crown of Babylonian and Assyrian tradition remains. The execution and mythological treatment are entirely Greek. She has no cornucopia, nor does she sit on a rock from which the genius of the river or fountain of her city springs, as at Antioch, Doura, and Palmyra. The Assyrian plaque in blue frit may be as early as the sixteenth century, and certainly not later than the end of the seventh. The high mural crown on this monument does not have the two bull horns, typical of the crowns of deities in Sumero-Babylonian mythology.[1] It represents a minor and special abstract type of the mother goddess, and is identified with Ishtar by the quiver with arrows, slung from her left shoulder. The plaque is broken away at the right shoulder, but another quiver is surely to be restored there.[2] The Tychē type of the Assyrian Ishtar seems to be connected with the Ishtar of battle,[3] connected ultimately with the astral Ishtar and the queen of heaven, Anunit. Ishtar as goddess of fate, *Minû*, is precisely described in the hymn cited above as "mistress of habitations, lover of peoples".[4]

Whether this mythology belongs to the older Sumerian religion must remain doubtful until the Sumerian words for *manû*, *minûtu* can be definitely proved in passages which describe the Sumerian Innini. The common Sumerian word is *šitim*, *šiti*, *šit*, *šid*, *šita*. In Gudea, Cyl. A 19, 21, *šag-šid zu-am*, probably describes the goddess Nidaba, a mother goddess by, "knowing the secrets of fate."[5] The goddess Ninegal is called *šid-dū sag-gig* (*pāḳidat ṣalmat ḳaḳkadi*), "controller of the black-headed peoples," *JRAS.*, 1926, 681, 4. Or perhaps, *māniat ṣalmat kaḳkadi*, she who decides

[1] See *Babyloniaca*, ii, p. 144, pl. v, No. 11. Here the decoration of the top is a survival of the branches of the date palm. Cf. L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Accad*, p. 51.

[2] See Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pl. i, No. 1.

[3] Ibid., 79, n. 1; 100, 105, 108.

[4] *bêlit dadmê ra-i-mat niši*, AKF. i, 21, 5.

[5] Cf. Nidaba *me-gal-ninnû šu-dú-a*, who holds the fifty great decrees RA. 7, 108, ii 2. and *me* = *mēnât*, below.

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the fates of the dark-headed people. Compare the title of *bêlit ilāni*, the Sumerian ^{d}*Mag*', *nunus-egi-me-a* in II Raw 59 A 39 + L. W. King, *Catalogue*, Suppl. 51, 10, explained by *me-nat Emaḫ*, " she who decrees fate in Emah," and the same title of *bêlit ilāni* = Ninhursag, in RA. 11, 177, 10, *nunus egi-me é-mag'-a*. Here *mēnât* is the I_1 particle for *mānât*, and corresponds to Sumerian *me-a*. In Sumerian *me* is a common word for *parṣu*, decree, law, also for " oracle ", *tertu*.

In AJSL. 36, 159, 37 ŠID (ut-tu) = *minûtum*, in a list of ideograms for the deity TAG + TUG, one of which is ^{d}*ŠID*(ut-tu). Since *ŠID* = *maḫāṣu ša ṣubatu*, or to weave cloth, l. 30, this *uttu* I take to be a formation from *tug*, *tuk*, *tuku*, to weave garments,[1] and *uttuku* = *māḫiṣatu*, the " female weaver ". Now *ilat* TAG-TUG is called *marat Anim*, and her symbol is " wool of many colours ",[2] and *marat Anim*, " daughter of Anu," is a title of Ishtar.[3] Hence *uttu*, is a name of Ishtar as a spinster, and a bas relief has a seated figure of a woman on a stool before a deity, whose figure is broken away. This woman is engaged in spinning, and between her and the deity is a table or altar.[4] Hence Ishtar as spinster may be *Mēnât*, *Menû*, goddess of fate, and for this reason *uttu*, " spinster, weaver " is explained by *menûtu*, " fate." Zimmern could find in Babylonian mythology no reference to *Ishtar-Šimtu*, as she who spins and cuts the thread of life, obviously referred to in the Arabic expression *zawwa-al-maniyyat*, " the shears of fate."[5] It is, however, extremely probable that Ishtar, the spinster, is directly connected with, and the origin of, this mythology of the Greek Moiræ, the spinning fates. I cannot defend this thesis by textual references at present, but *nox nocti indicat scientiam*.

[1] RA. 22, 32.

[2] RA. 22, 35, after Weidner's correction of my reading, PBS. x, 339, 8.

[3] RA. 22, 32.

[4] *Dél Perse*, i, pl. xi. See RA. 22, 38.

[5] Wellhausen, ZDMG. 76, 698; Fischer, ibid., 77, 120; Dalman, *Petra*, 52.

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Addendum.

Re the Arabic verb *bahal*, discussed above, p. 24, n. 4, "to curse," is regarded by Professor Margoliouth as a different word from *bahal*, "to permit one to have his desire, to be dumb." *bahal*, to curse, he connects with Ethiopic *behel* to speak, call, name, command, reply, ask for, contradict, oppose. The Babylonian *bâlu*, in certain passages cited above may be rendered by "command", and the meaning "decree", assigned by me to this word is very near to the South Arabic and original Accadian sense. In any case Syriac *bĕhél*, be quiet, Arabic *bahal*, be dumb, is another root, and Assyrian has (1) *bâlu*, *balû*, command, beseech, order, decree; (2) be dumb. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Lexicon*, 482, identifies *behel* with Ethiopic *maḥala*, adjure.

The bas-relief of Ishtar discussed on pp. 26–7 does not have a type of mural crown which closely resembles the mural crown of Tychē on coins of the west Asiatic cities. Objections may be raised that this head-dress on the monument of the war-goddess in the British Museum is not a mural crown. That the mural crown of Tychē is of Assyrian origin is placed beyond all doubt by the head-dress of Aššuršarrat, queen of Assyria, and wife of Ašurbanipal, Andræ, *Stelenreihen in Assur*, p. 7. For examples of this mural crown at Aradus, see Ernest Babelon, *Les Perses Achémedides*, pl. xxiii, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, *et passim*.

Zimmern (by private communication) corrects King, Magic, 19, 13, to *lum-ni ta-bal* and Myhrman, 17, 22 to [*lu*]*m-nu*, etc. For KAR. 68, 23 he restores [*šur-ḳa-*]*ma*. The photograph of Myhrman, 17, pl. xlvii excludes *lum* absolutely, and King's copy has *MI* clearly.

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Discussion of the Buddhist Doctrines of Momentariness and Subjective Idealism in the Nyaya-sutras

By JWALA PRASAD

THERE is a difference of opinion among scholars as regards the exact significance of such *Nyāya-sūtras* as are supposed to refer to the doctrines of the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools of Buddhism. It has also been suggested that probably some of these *sūtras* have been interpolated later on, possibly by Vātsyāyana—the author of the *Nyāya-bhāṣya*. After making a careful study of the *sūtras* in question, however, I have come to the conclusion that some of them, in any case, do not refer to the Buddhist doctrines at all, and form a natural and quite an integral part of the particular sections in which they occur, and that the theory which regards them as later interpolations is not justifiable.

First I propose to consider one such section of the *Nyāya-sūtras*, viz. iii, 2, 10, to iii, 2, 18, which, according to all the commentators beginning with Vātsyāyana, is supposed to contain a refutation of the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness (*kṣaṇika-vāda*). According to Vidyābhūṣaṇa these *sūtras* refer to the doctrine of momentariness, as found in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, chap. vi ; and he also holds that *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 10, which forms the main basis for holding this view, has probably been interpolated by Vātsyāyana.[1]

Now improbable as it might appear that none of the many distinguished commentators should have been able to see the points which I am going to raise against this time-honoured view, I cannot help thinking that this particular section does not refer to the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness at all, and that the commentators have simply been carried away by the notions suggested by the term "*kṣaṇikatvād*" in *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 10. Some of the modern

[1] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 120, 121. *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 10, being *Sphaṭike 'py aparāparotpatteḥ kṣaṇikatvād vyaktīnām ahetuḥ*.

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scholars have noticed the abruptness and superfluousness of introducing such a topic in the middle of an altogether different discussion, and have, hence, suggested the theory of interpolation. I shall try presently, however, to show that the *Sūtras*, iii, 2, 1, to iii, 2, 17, form one whole section dealing with the transitory nature of cognition (*buddhi*), and that the discussion contained in it refers only to the Sāṃkhya view, according to which the *buddhi* is a permanent and abiding faculty. That these *sūtras* were once looked upon as forming one section and as referring to the topic of the non-permanence of *buddhi* will appear from the concluding section of the *Nyāya-bhāṣya* on *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 17—*iti upapannam anityā buddhir iti* "thus it is proved that *buddhi* is non-eternal". Vardhamāna had noticed this point about the *Bhāṣya*, but he himself regarded these *sūtras* as forming an altogether different section. He says: "Some people have held that this is only a part, and continuation, of the foregoing section, and should not be treated as a separate section; specially because the *Bhāṣya*, at the end of the present section, concludes with the words: 'Thus it is proved that *buddhi* is non-eternal,' from which it is clear that the *Bhāṣya* takes the whole as one section dealing with the non-eternality of *buddhi*. But the fact of the matter is that the subject-matter of the present section is totally different. . ." [1] The *Tātparya* and the *Pariśuddhi* simply explain away this introduction of a discussion of the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness into this section. As has already been pointed out, the chief ground for holding that this section refers to the Buddhist doctrine of *kṣaṇika-vāda* is to be found in the language of *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 10—*sphatike 'py aparāparotpatteḥ kṣaṇikatvād vyaktīnām ahetuḥ*. Now this *sūtra* should normally be regarded as an answer (*uttara-pakṣa*) to one of the preceding *sūtras*, which represent the opponent's view (*pūrva-pakṣa*) from the point of view of the Sāṃkhya, viz. *sphaṭikānyatvā-bhimānavat tadanyatvābhimānaḥ* "there is a false notion

[1] *Indian Thought*, x, p. 313.

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of its being different, like that with regard to the difference pertaining to a rock-crystal" ; that is to say, the Sāṃkhya opponent says that *buddhi*, though really one, appears to be diverse, just like a rock-crystal, which also appears to be different because of the reflections of the different colours upon it. It will appear that the *Nyāya-sūcī-nibandha* and the commentators regard this *sūtra* as the end of the section dealing with the non-eternality of *buddhi* "*iti navabhiḥ sūtrair buddhy-anityatā-prakaraṇam*" ; and, according to them, an altogether new section begins with the *Sūtra sphaṭike 'py*, etc., which, according to all the commentators, contains an objection to the doctrine of permanence of things from the point of view of the Buddhist, who holds the doctrine of momentariness. The *sūtra* has been translated thus : "In the rock-crystal also, one (rock-crystal) being produced after another, since all the individual things are momentary, there is to be found no reason." The following seven *sūtras* are then supposed to contain a discussion of the doctrine of momentariness between the Buddhist and the Nyāya philosopher. Now I cannot help thinking that this view is the most absurd to hold, and it is so for the following reasons :—

1. It is very unusual and unnatural that at the end of a discussion the author of the *Nyāya-sūtras* should stop with a *sūtra* representing the opponent's view (*pūrva-pakṣa*) and not finish with an answer establishing his own view (*uttara-pakṣa*).

2. It would be curious that the author of the *Nyāya-sūtras*, while trying to establish the non-eternality of *buddhi* as against the Sāṃkhya philosopher, should leave him and the subject under discussion alone, and abruptly usher in a Buddhist, apparently against the Sāṃkhya first, make him say something which is distinctly against the Nyāya view, and then begin to measure swords with him.

3. The *Sūtras*, iii, 2, 10 to iii, 2, 18 are evidently a discussion of the Sāṃkhya view of cause and effect rather than of the

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Buddhist doctrine of momentariness. This is clear from the example of the production of curd out of milk, and from the fact that as the *Sūtra* " *na payasaḥ pariṇāmaḥ guṇāntara-prādur-bhāvād* " could not be explained in terms of a discussion between a Nyāya philosopher and the Buddhist, the *Bhāṣya* introduces it with the observation : *atra kaścit parihāram āha* " here someone has offered the following refutation " ; and the *Vṛtti* actually says : *saugata-mate sāṃkhyadūṣaṇam upanyasati* " the author points out a defect in the Buddhist doctrine from the point of view of the Sāṃkhya ". A study of the *sūtras* in question will easily show that the *sūtra* is not an answer to the Buddhist view, which is, in fact, to be found in none of the *sūtras* in this section, but to the Nyāya view that the effect is different from the cause ; for it is said in this *sūtra* that milk, while it becomes curd, is only transformed by the appearance of different qualities. Further, would it not be a curious procedure again that the Nyāya philosopher should introduce a Sāṃkhya, with a view different from his own, to meet his opponent, who, this time, is the Buddhist ?

The fact is that a hopeless confusion has been created by the assumption that the *Sūtra sphaṭike 'py*, etc., has reference to the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness,[1] simply because

[1] For considerations of space it is impossible to consider here every *sūtra* in this section, but the main arguments given above should be sufficient to show that the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness is not the theme of these *sūtras*. It is evident that it is the term *kṣaṇikatvād* in the *sūtra* which has suggested the presence of this doctrine here ; but it is to be noted that *kṣaṇika* and its derivatives are quite normally used to denote simply " momentary " as apart from the technical sense of the term as found in the Buddhist metaphysics. A very happy example of the use of the word, and that, too, in order to express the momentary nature of cognition (*buddhi*), which forms the subject of discussion in the present context also, is to be found in the Śabara-bhāṣya under *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, i, 1, 5, where it is said : *arthaviṣayā hi pratyakṣa-buddhiḥ, buddhy-antara-viṣayā ; kṣaṇikā hi sā, na buddhy-antara-kālam-avasthāsyate*. Another text of the *Śloka-vārttika* under *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, i, 1, 4, and the *Kāśikā* on the same provide another example of the use of this term in the same kind of context. Speaking about *buddhi*, the *Vārttika* says : *na hi sā kṣaṇam-apy-āste jāyate vā pramātmakam* (i, iv, 54) ; and the *Kāṣikā* explains : *kintu nendriyādivaj jātā satī buddhiḥ kṣaṇamātram apy āste*, etc.

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it happens to contain the term *kṣaṇikatvād*. I shall presently offer my own explanation of the *sūtra*, and show that the *Sūtras*, iii, 2, 1, to iii, 2, 17, form one continuous section dealing with the non-eternality of *buddhi*, as against the Sāṃkhya view that it is eternal.

After the Sāṃkhya explanation of the non-simultaneity of cognitions and the non-recognition of an object, as given in the *Sūtras*, iii, 2, 6, and 7, has been refuted by the Nyāya philosopher by means of the assertion contained in the *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 8, *na gatyabhāvāt*, that the explanation given by the Sāṃkhya cannot be true because, according to them, there is no motion in *buddhi*, the follower of the Sāṃkhya says in *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 9 that there is only a semblance of difference (and therefore of diversity) in cognitions like that to be found in the case of a rock-crystal (which, although one, appears to be different according to the reflections on it). After this, I hold that the assertion *hetv-abhāvād*, which has been regarded as a *Nyāya-sūtra* by some, and as only a part of the *Bhāṣya* by others, is really a *Nyāya-sūtra* forming the *uttara-pakṣa* along with the next three *sūtras*, viz. *sphaṭike 'py*, etc. In the *Sūtra*, *na hetv-abhāvād*, it is said that there is no proof that *buddhi* is like a rock-crystal (it is simply an illustration which you give), and in the next *sūtra* then, *sphaṭike 'py aparāparotpatteḥ kṣaṇikatvād vyaktīnām ahetuḥ*, it is further maintained that even the case of a crystal is not in point, since, in it also, because the reflections are produced one after another, the individual reflections are momentary, the main object being to emphasize the fact that the diversity of reflections in a crystal is not a case of semblance, but of real production by the objects reflected into it. The term "*api*" in *sphaṭike 'py* is very significant, and is indicative of the fact that this *sūtra* is a development of an argument begun in a previous *sūtra*, and this we actually find in the *Sūtra*, *na hetv-abhāvād*. The next two *sūtras* also represent the *uttara-pakṣa*: In the *Sūtra*, *niyamahetv-abhāvād yathā-darśanam abhyanujñā* it is

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said that as there is no reason to support a universal rule (with regard to the permanence or transitoriness of objects), we can admit (the truth or falsity of this character about things) only in accordance with our experience; since, according to the *Nyāya-sūtras*, neither are all the objects necessarily permanent, nor are they necessarily transitory.[1] But, it is pointed out in the next *Sūtra*, *notpatti-vināśa-kāraṇopalabdheḥ*, that in this particular case, it is not right to say that *buddhi* is permanent, because the causes of the production and destruction of cognitions can be perceived.[2] This leads to a discussion of the nature of production by means of the example of curd and milk, which discussion also is evidently one between a follower of the Sāṃkhya and a Nyāya philosopher.

It is rather strange that Vidyābhūṣaṇa should see in the *Sūtra sphaṭike 'py*, etc., an echo of the doctrine of momentariness as found in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, chap. vi,[3] when, evidently, the doctrine as defined in this work shows a distinct divergence from the view about the production of individuals contained in the *Nyāya-sūtra* in question. According to Vidyābhūṣaṇa's own quotation and its translation,[4] the author of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* says, "A momentary thing is that which is inactive, distinct in itself, and not liable to cessation. By calling things momentary I mean that they are not produced; I do not, O fools! say that they are destroyed after being produced."[5] This statement clearly shows that the doctrine of momentariness, as explained here, simply means change, and not production and destruction of things every moment; while in the

[1] Cf. *Nyāya-sūtra*, iv, 1, 28.

[2] Cf. *Ns.*, iii, 2, 24: "Inasmuch as cognition is recognized as non-eternal, its destruction proceeds from another cognition, just like sound."

[3] *History of Indian Logic*, p. 121.

[4] *History of Indian Logic*, p. 246.

[5] *Nirvyāpāraṃ kṣaṇikaṃ viviktaṃ kṣayavarjitam,*
Anutpattiṃ ca dharmāṇāṃ kṣaṇikārthaṃ vadāmy-aham,
Utpattyanantaraṃ bhaṅgaṃ na vai deśemi bāliśāḥ.

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Nyāya-sūtra under consideration there is a distinct mention of the production of individuals one after another—*aparāparotpatteḥ*. It will appear that the doctrine that all things are non-eternal, since they have the character of being produced and destroyed, is considered by the author of the *Nyāya-sūtras* in another section beginning with the *Sūtra*, iv, 1, 25, *sarvam anityam utpatti-vināśa-dharmakatvāt*, and that various doctrines relating to eternality, non-eternality and change are dealt with in the Fourth Book of the *Nyāya-sūtras*. Hence the doctrine of momentariness, instead of being introduced in Book III, 2, in the middle of a discussion irrelevant to the subject from the Nyāya point of view, could have been easily introduced in the Fourth Book; and, in fact, the doctrine of non-eternality as found in that Book is not very different from the doctrine of momentariness. Further, it must be remembered that it is the complete destruction and the fresh production of *all* individual things which the author of the *Nyāya-sūtras* objects to. He does admit non-eternality in the case of some kinds of existence, for example, in the case of cognitions themselves.

The other section of the *Nyāya-sūtras* which I propose to consider here is that which consists of *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26, and the following *sūtras*. According to some, it refers to the Buddhist doctrine of subjective idealism (*vijñāna-vāda*), while according to others, it contains a discussion of the philosophy of the Mādhyamika School (*Śūnya-vāda*). Vidyābhūṣaṇa holds that *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26, and the next are later interpolations, and refer to the doctrine of *vijñāna-vāda* as found in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, chaps. ii and xi.[1] The view that these *sūtras* refer to the *vijñāna-vāda* has been questioned and refuted by Jacobi as against Stcherbatsky, who held this view on the authority of Vācaspati Miśra.[2] *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26, which is the most important in this section, is: *buddhyā vivecanāt tu bhāvānāṃ yāthātmyānupalabdhis tantvapakarṣaṇe*

[1] *History of Indian Logic*, p. 120.
[2] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxxi (1911).

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paṭasadbhāvānupalabdhivat tadanupalabdhiḥ, and an examination of the language of the *sūtra* will show that it certainly does not refer to the doctrine that things cannot be conceived to exist apart from the ideas of them. I shall also presently show that the *sūtra* does not refer to the doctrine of *Śūnya-vāda* either, as Jacobi holds. A faithful translation of the *sūtra* will indicate what it actually means. It may be rendered thus: "And by means of an analysis by intellect (*buddhyā vivecanāt tu*), the true nature of existent things is not cognized (*bhāvānāṃ yāthātmyānupalabdhiḥ*); they cannot be cognized, just as the existence of cloth is not cognized after the threads have been separated from one another." It will appear that Vidyābhūṣaṇa's translation of the *sūtra*, viz. "Things, some say, do not possess a reality if they are separated from our thoughts, just as there is no reality in a web separated from its threads,"[1] is evidently not correct. "*buddhyā vivecanāt*" certainly does not mean here "separated *from* our thoughts", and "*bhāvānāṃ yāthātmyānupalabdhiḥ*" only means "the non-cognition of the true nature of things". The example of threads and cloth clearly shows that what is meant to be asserted in the *sūtra* is that the true nature of the whole cannot be known by analyzing it into parts, which is a distinctly Nyāya view about the nature of the whole. Further, the particle *tu* in "*buddhyā vivecanāt tu*" indicates that the assertion in the *sūtra* is a development of some argument that has gone before; and this is to be found in the preceding *sūtra*, *anavasthākāritvād*, etc. Thus it will appear that the *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26, along with iv, 2, 25, instead of representing the Buddhist view, forms the Nyāya answer (*uttara-pakṣa*) to the opponent's view (*pūrva-pakṣa*) contained in *Nyāya-sūtras*, iv, 2, 23 and 24, in which it is said that an atom is not an indivisible whole but an aggregate of infinite parts. In defence of the doctrine of indivisibility of atoms it is said firstly, in iv, 2, 25, that a denial of the doctrine will lead to a regress *ad infinitum*, and secondly, in case it be said that

[1] *Nyāya-sūtras* (*Sacred Books of the Hindus*), p. 133.

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an atom can be understood only as something made of parts, it is asserted in iv, 2, 26, that the nature of the whole cannot be known by analyzing it into its parts.[1] Then the following two *sūtras*, iv, 2, 27, and iv, 2, 28, again form the *pūrva-pakṣa*. In the first of these *vyāhatatvād ahetuḥ*, it is said that what has been asserted about the nature of the whole is no ground, because it is vitiated by contradiction; the meaning being that it is contradictory to say that the whole cannot be known by the cognition of its parts; and in the second of these *tadāśrayatvād apṛthag-grahaṇam*, it is further said that the whole is not known apart from its parts, for its existence depends upon them. Then the next *sūtra*, *pramāṇataś cārthapratipatteḥ*, represents the *uttara-pakṣa*, and asserts that an object is proved to exist, or is known by means of a *pramāṇa*, that is to say, an object as a whole is known by means of the various *pramāṇas*; and this leads to a discussion in the following *sūtras* on the validity and limitations of the *pramāṇas*. It will appear thus that the whole section contains a discussion on the nature of the whole in its relation to the parts, and that *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26 simply emphasizes the Nyāya view that the true nature of the whole is known independently of its parts, and not by an analysis of its parts, or rather by analyzing it away into its parts.

The explanation of such forced interpretations of the *Nyāya-sūtras* as have been discussed above is to be found in the fact that the commentators were too anxious to make use of anything that they could get hold of in the language of the *sūtras* in order to refute the Buddhist doctrines, which were ever pressing upon them, to pause and consider how far they were justified in doing so.

[1] Compare the arguments contained in *Sūtras*, iv, 2, 7, to iv, 2, 15, especially the opponent's view in iv, 2, 14, where it is said that the perception of things would be possible, just like the perception of a mass of hair by a person of dim vision.

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Restoration of a Hymn to Shamash

By CECIL J. MULLO-WEIR

THE well-known hymn to Shamash, edited by Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts*, pp. 9–23 (and more recently by Schollmeyer, *Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, pp. 80 ff. and Jensen, *KB.*, vi², 96 ff.), can be partly restored, as Professor Langdon informs me, from Ebeling, *KAR.* 321 (edited by Ebeling, *Berliner Beiträge*, ii, 1, 8 ff.), where part of the hymn has been inserted into the so-called Girra(or Irra)-Myth. *KAR.* 321, obv. 12–17 = col. iii, 31–42 of Gray, ibid., and the two texts mutually restore each other. Judging from the shape of the tablet (VAT. 10714), one would suspect that a long break exists between the Obverse and the Reverse of *KAR.* 321, and where the text recommences (rev. 1 ff.), we find ourselves in the closing lines of another Shamash hymn.

Below will be found the restored text of col. iii, 31–42. The editions of Schollmeyer, Jensen, and Ebeling are to be amended accordingly. The variant readings are from *KAR.* 321, obv. 12–17, while Gray's texts are K. 3474, rev. iii (unpublished), K. 3182, rev. iii (cf. Gray, pl. ii), and K. 8233, col. iii (cf. Brünnow, *ZA.* iv, p. 35). Conjectural restorations have been printed in roman type.

Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts*, p. 18, col. iii.

31. *mut* [1]*-taḫ-li-lu šar-ra-ḳu mu-ṣal-lu-ú šá* ^{ilu} *Šam-ši* [2]
The burglar, the thief, the enemy of Shamash,

32. *ina su-li-e ṣêri mut-tag-gi-šù i-maḫ-ḫar-ka* [3]
He who assaults on the country-road, they come before thee;

33. *mi-i-tum* [4] *mur-tap-pi-du e-ṭím-mu ḫal-ḳu*
The dead, the wanderer, the ghost, the fugitive one (?),

34. ^{ilu} *Šamaš im-ḫu* [5]*-ru-ka* [*tal-te-me ka-la-ma*]
O Shamash, have come before thee; thou hearest all things;

[1] Var. *muš*. [2] Var. ^{ilu} *Šamši*. [3] Var. *i-maḫ-ḫa-ru*.
[4] Var. *mi-e-tu*; var. K. 3474, $^{am\ l}$ *mîtum*. [5] Var. *-ḫa*.

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35. *ul tak-li šu-ut im-ḫu* [1]-[*ru-ka ḳatê* (?) *ṣab* (?)-*ta-ti* [2]]
Thou hast not held back those who came before thee ;
thou dost grasp their hands ;

36. *a-na i̯a* [3]-*a-ti ilu Šamaš* [*la ta-áš* (?)-*še* (?)-*ši-na-ti*]
For my sake, O Shamash, thou wilt not forget (?) them ;

37. *ana* [3] *i̯*[*a* [3]-*a-ti*] *ilu Šamaš uz*-[ni-*ši-na* [4] *tuš-pat-ti*]
For my sake, O Shamash, thou wilt open their ears ;

38. *maš* [5]-[*ru*]-*ka iz-zu* [3] [*šam*]-*ru* [*ûm-ka at-ta-m*]*a ta*-[*nam-din-ši-na*]
Thy fierce glow (?), thy furious light, thou givest them ;

39. *áš* (?)-*šu* (?) *te-rit* [6]-*ši-na ina ni*-[*k*]*i-i* [7] *aš-ba-ta*
On account of their oracles, thou sittest by the sacrifices ;

40. *a-na šâri* [8] *ir-ba* [9] *ar-kát-si-na ta-pár* [10]-*ra-as*
In (?) the four quarters (of the earth) thou decidest their future ;

41. *kal si-ḫi-ip* [11] *da-ád-me uz-ni-ši-na tuš-pat-ti*
Of the totality of habitations thou openest the ears ;

42. *ma-la kap-pa* [12] *ni-ṭi-íl* [13] *ênê-ka ul im-ṣu-u šá-ma-mu*
The heavens are not so wide as the wings of the vision of thine eyes.

[1] Var. -*ḫa*.

[2] For *ṣab-ta-ta* ? The reading of the text in this line is not quite certain.

[3] Correct Brünnow's copy.

[4] Var. *uznê-ši-na*.

[5] The text has *PA*, but the variant has *maš* ; or should we read *par* ? The reading *giš* is tempting, but the copy is against it ; *ur*, which would give the easiest reading, is manifestly out of the question. Some word parallel to *ûmu* is required, and we must postulate a new word, *mašru* = " light (?) ", or, alternatively, a Sumerian loan-word *parru*, *pāru*, with a similar meaning, unless, indeed, the ideogram *PAR* (= *nûru*) stood in both texts, with -*ru* as phonetic complement, which is improbable.

[6] Var. -*ri-te-*.

[7] Var. *niḳé*.

[8] Var. *šá-a-ri*.

[9] Written *LÍM-ba* ; var. *ir-bit-ti*.

[10] Var. -*pa*.

[11] *siḫpu* = " totality ". Cf. *JRAS.*, 1924, Centenary Volume, 35, 15, and ibid., p. 39, n. 15 ; CT. 37, 6, 24 ; Gray, *Šamaš*, p. 12, l. 20.

[12] Var. -*pi*.

[13] Var. *ni-iṭ-li*.

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Le nom de l'ecriture kharosthi

Par JEAN PRZYLUSKI

PARMI les génies tutélaires des villes du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, la *Mahāmāyurī* cite le *yakṣa* Kharaposta dont le nom est traduit en chinois par "peau d'âne".[1] *Khara* signifie âne en indo-aryen, mais *posta* manque aux lexiques sanskrits. Gauthiot en étudiant le mot voisin *pustaka* [2] a montré qu'on devait en chercher l'origine dans l'iranien *pōst* (avest. *pašta*, pehl. *pōst*, pers. *pūst*) "peau". Skr. *pusta* ou *pustaka* "manuscrit" dérive d'un mot iranien signifiant "peau" parce que le *pustaka* était d'abord un manuscrit sur peau dont l'usage se répandit de l'Iran dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest.

On lit sur le Pilier au Lion de Mathurā le nom du prince royal "Kharaosta yuvaraja" fils de Mahachatrava Rajula et frère de Chatrava Śuḍasa. Le nom du *yakṣa* Kharaposta et celui du *yuvarāja* Kharaosta [3] sont sans doute superposables : le second signifie "Peau d'âne" comme le premier.

Posta étant un mot d'origine iranienne, les composés Kharaposta, Kharaosta ne pouvaient être intelligibles aux Indiens non cultivés. Il était donc tentant de substituer au second élément de Kharaosta un mot indien compris par tous, et ce mot pouvait être *oṣṭha* "lèvre". En fait, la tradition connaît un ṛṣi nommé Kharoṣṭha "Lèvre d'âne", auquel on rapporte l'invention de l'écriture dite kharoṣṭhī.[4] Kharoṣṭha formé de *khara* + *oṣṭha* pourrait bien être la déformation indienne du composé iranien Kharaosta : à un

[1] Cf. Sylvain Lévi, "Le catalogue géographique des *Yakṣa* dans la *Mahāmāyurī*," *JA.*, 1915, vers 33, et pour l'explication du nom, p. 58 du tiré à part. °*postā* du vers 33 doit être évidemment corrigé en °*posto*.

[2] *MSL.*, xix, 1915, p. 130.

[3] Sur la chute de *p* intervocalique en prâkrit, cf. Pischel, *Gr. Prk. Sp.* § 186.

[4] Sylvain Lévi, dans *BEFEO*, 1904, 48–9.

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ancien saint nommé " Peau d'âne ", on aurait substitué, par étymologie populaire, le saint " Lèvre d'âne ".

Ceci admis, la question si controversée de l'origine du nom de l'écriture kharoṣṭhī se présente sous un jour nouveau. Si le nom du saint auquel on rapporte l'invention de cette écriture remonte à un original Kharaposta, la forme *kharoṣṭhī* doit avoir la même origine.

Historiquement, cette induction est pleinement satisfaisante. Les documents en écriture kharoṣṭhī, qui nous viennent d'Asie Centrale, sont souvent écrits sur des peaux de chameau, plus rarement sur des peaux de cheval ou d'âne. Les ânes étant particulièrement nombreux dans l'Inde du Nord, leur peau devait être employée, dans cette région, plus souvent que celle des chevaux ou des chameaux. On conçoit sans peine que kharoṣṭhī ait pu désigner à l'époque ancienne l'écriture sur peau d'âne, sur *kharaposta*.

Dans un mémoire qui souleva d'âpres discussions, M. Sylvain Lévi avait essayé de prouver que kharoṣṭhī dérivait d'un nom géographique Kharoṣṭra, formé lui-même de *khara* + *uṣṭra* " âne et chameau ", et qui serait une désignation ancienne de la ville de Kachgar. Deux ans plus tard, sans renoncer à son hypothèse touchant l'origine du mot kharoṣṭhī M. Sylvain Lévi abandonnait le rapprochement qu'il avait proposé entre Kharoṣṭra et Kachgar et montrait que Khotan, aussi bien que Kachgar, peut faire valoir des droits comme équivalent régulier de Kharoṣṭra. Ce dernier mot désignerait en somme la région mal définie " que la géographie actuelle englobe tant bien que mal sous le nom de Turkestan ".[1]

Je n'ai pas à discuter ici la localisation du Pays-des-ânes-et-des-chameaux (Kharoṣṭra-deśa). Il me suffit de faire observer que l'écriture dite kharoṣṭhī n'a pas été importée du Turkestan dans l'Inde et qu'on ne saurait par conséquent faire dériver son nom d'une expression géographique désignant les régions de Khotan et de Kachgar.

[1] Cf. *BEFEO.*, 1902. "L'écriture kharoṣṭrī et son berceau," ibid., 1904, p. 41.

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Ce n'est pas à dire que les sujets parlants n'aient jamais confondu Kharoṣṭhī et Kharoṣṭra. Les jeux de l'étymologie populaire sont variés. Sous une forme du parler vulgaire telle que *kharoṭṭhī*, équivalent normal de *kharoṣṭhī*, on pouvait aussi bien imaginer *kharoṣṭrī* que *kharoṣṭhī* ; le premier terme suggérait *khara-uṣṭra*. Dans l'ignorance où ils étaient de la réalité historique, certains auteurs chinois ont pu préférer *kharoṣṭrī* qui évoquait le Pays-des-ânes-et-des-chameaux.

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Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. IV: The Khotan Region

By F. W. THOMAS

(PLATE I.)

COMING at length to Khotan,[1] we observe first that it is frequently mentioned in the documents under its name Ḫu-ten or with minor variations, such as *Ḫu-den* (M.T. *a*, iii, 0063), *Ḫu-then* (M.T. *b*, i, 0098). The country and the inhabitants are designated *Li*, as in the other known sources. The material may be grouped under heads as follows:— I: The Khotan district and city, including A, The two rivers; B, The Parishes and streets; C, Temples or Monasteries; D, The citadel of Khotan; E, The Khotan King; F, *Amacas*, a *Naṅ-rje-po* and a *Dmag-pon*. II: Śiṅ-śan. III: Gyu-mo, Ḫo-toṅ Gyu-mo, and Ho-se Gyu-mo. IV: Places with names ending in *rtse*. V: Other places presumably in the Khotan region. VI: Places or states adjacent to, or connected with, the Khotan region. VII: Personal names of Khotanī people. VIII: The Khotan language.

The material found in these, for the most part fragmentary or hardly decipherable records, is naturally discontinuous; but it is abundant and valuable as enabling us to control and extend the information contained in Tibetan, Chinese, and other literary works. In order to place the reader in a position to judge whether the proper names have been correctly elicited, more than one reference, where available, is given, a course which may also serve the purpose of shedding light upon the circumstances of the time (the latter part of the eighth century A.D.) and the manners of the

[1] I take this opportunity of mentioning that of the Stein documents treated in these articles those indicated as M.I. (Mīrān) and most of those indicated as M.T. (Mazār Tāgh)—excluding any from the "Third Expedition"—are among those examined by Professor A. H. Francke for Sir A. Stein's "Reports". The slips containing Professor Francke's accounts of the documents (in their then unimproved condition) are preserved in the India Office Library, where they can, no doubt, with consent, be consulted. The information elicited by him is summarized in his well-known article (*JRAS.* 1914, pp. 37–59) and in his "Appendix G", pp. 1460–6 of Sir A. Stein's *Serindia*.

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people. Some further materials bearing upon the latter topic may be assembled later.

Places mentioned in the Tibetan literary accounts of Khotan or in the Kharoṣṭhī documents have been considered in the two articles published in *Asia Major*, ii (pp. 251–71) and the *Festgabe Jacobi* (pp. 46–73). Unless recurring in the sources now under examination, they will not be referred to in the present connection.

It seems, however, worth while to take note of one case where the Chinese evidence enables us to give with some exactness the geographical position of the place. This is the Poṅge or Siṅga-Poṅge (or Poṅgeya) of the Kharoṣṭhī documents (see Index)), which is clearly the fortress P'ong-houai of the Chinese itinerary (*Serindia*, p. 1331), something over 60 miles from Khotan.

I: The Khotan District and City

A: *The two rivers, Upper (= Eastern, Yurungkash) and Lower (= Western, Karakash)*

1. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0048 (wood, c. 22·5 × 2·5 cm.; rather curved, complete, hole for string at right; two columns separated by a line; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso*—the third in each case inverted—of cursive *dbu-can* script).

I

[1] śel . chab . ḫog . maḫi . tshand . la [2] Li . bcu . gñis . gyi . ded . sna . Li . Smad . la [3] gthad | *inverted* tshard . Śi . ro . ña

II

[1] śel . chab . goṅ . maḫi . tshan . la . Li . bdun . gyi [2] ded . sna . Li . Bun . dar . ma . la . gthad | [3] *inverted* tshar . Has . go . ña . na . mchis.

III

[B 1] śel . chab . dbus . gyi . tshan . la . Li . dguḫi . ded [B 2] sna | Bar . ma . ro . ñaḫi . Li . Śir . de | la . gthad | [B 3] Li .

IV

[B 1] mkhar . pa . drugi . ded . sna | Li . Khom(s ?) . śe . dad | [B 2] la . gthad [B 3] *inverted* sraṅ . Ba . žo . ña . na . mchis

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V. Gu (Gru ?).jo(dze ?).chad o | Li.Sam.rba (ga ?).chad | 000000 . . .

I. " To the company of (the country) below (sc. west of) the rivers, as chief of twelve Khotanīs, the Khotanī Smad was sent. Parish Śi.ro.ña.

II. " To the company of above (sc. east of) the rivers, as chief of seven Khotanīs, the Khotanī Bun-dar-ma was sent. Is in the Parish Has-go-ña.

III. " To the company between the rivers, as chief of nine Khotanīs, the Khotanī Śir-de of Bar-ma-ro-ña was sent.

IV. " As chief of the six city-officers (or men) the Khotanī Khom (Khrom ? Khos ?)-śe-dad was sent. Is in the street Ba-žo-ña.

V. " The Khotanī Gu(Gru ?)-jo(dze ?) was punished (executed), 1 : the Khotanī Sam-rba(ga ?) was (*or* thirty (*sum.cu*) Khotanīs were ?) punished (executed)—*figures*."

Here we have the same discrimination of the lands east of the rivers, west of the rivers, and between the rivers, which, as occurring in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan, has caused trouble to Rockhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 236) and Sir Aurel Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, 161–2). Previously (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 258) I have suggested alternative translations " east of the river " and " of the eastern river ". In view of the correspondence of the three phrases *śel-chab-ḫog-ma*, *śel-chab-goṅ-ma*, and *śel-chab-dbus*, the former rendering, but with the plural " rivers ", seems preferable. The interpretation of " above " and " below " as equivalent to " east " and " west " is in accordance with some Eastern-Asian usages.

The name of the western river is known to have been *Go-ma*. If this meant " lower-river ", in which eventuality the eastern may have been called **Go-ya*, the case for the alternative rendering would be strong.

Concerning the parishes, streets, and personal names see below (pp. 50–63, 292–6). It is likely that the parishes

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belong respectively to the districts with which they are associated, namely Śi-ro-ña to that west of the rivers, Has-go-ña to that east of the rivers, Bar-ma-ro-ña to the district between the two; and the street Ba-zo-ña will be in the actual town of Khotan. The term *tshar* "parish" will now occupy us.

B: *The Parishes* (tshar) *and streets* (sraṅ)

The term *tshar* occurs in some fragmentary and hardly legible documents which usually seem to be lists of soldiers or officials stationed in particular places. Since one of the places mentioned, namely Dro-tir, has been previously ("The Language of Ancient Khotan" in *Asia Major*, vol. ii, p. 262) noted as occurring in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan, where it is styled *ljoṅs* "district", it would seem that the latter term is a Tibetan rendering of *tshar*. That the word may denote a subdivision of a *sde*, or regiment, has been shown above (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 827); but even in that passage we have a *yul-yig* "district list", and in view of the territorial arrangement of the Tibetan armies it is likely that, as in the case of *sde*, so in that of *tshar* the local sense was the *prius*. The term seems to have been originally not Tibetan, but Khotanī, as is evidenced by the fact that the persons named in connection with *tshars* are invariably designated Khotanīs. Possibly the name of the oldest Khotan shrine *Tsar-ma* (see below, p. 63) may mean merely "lower parish", being short for *Tsar-ma-ḫjo* "temple of the lower parish", which in fact occurs. But *ma* may be merely a termination, as in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

2. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0074 (wood, c. 19·5 × 3, cut away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 4 *recto* of clear, regular, cursive, *dbu-can* script—perhaps palimpsest— + ll. 3 *verso*, a different document in a more cursive hand, rather faint).

Verso: [1] ꣓ | ['O . nal . Li . Ḫu . ten .] gi . so . pa . tshar. Ḫdzam . ñaḫi . Li . Gi . chog . gis . Rgya . Legs . khriḫi .

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[2] . . . nas . bre . lṅa . ḫtshal . | pa . daṅ . | 'O . toṅ . Sgo . mo . so . pa . tshar . Ka . to . żi . ña . Li . Śa[n ?] [3] . . . -o . Kva . tsheḫi (choḫi ?) . nas . bre . do . ḫtshal |

"The *'o-nal*, the Khotan Ḫu-ten soldier, the Khotanī Gi-chog, of Parish Ḫdzam-ña, requires five *bre* of barley *belonging to* Rgya (Chinaman ?) Legs-khri; and the 'O-toṅ Sgo-mo soldier, the Khotanī Śan . . . , of Parish Ka-to-żi-ña, requires two *bre* of barley belonging to . . . Kva-tshe (cho ?)."

Notes

l. 1. *'o-nal*, which occurs elsewhere (M.I. ii, 25 and 27; vi, 6; xiv, 58*a*; xxvii, 11), seems to be a military designation (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 564).

Li Ḫu-ten, "Khotan Ḫu-ten," denotes, no doubt, the city Ḫu-ten, to which the name always appertains, of the Li (Khotan) country.

Rgya Legs-khri: If this is a Chinaman (*Rgya*), he is here honoured with a Tibetan name.

l. 2. *'O-toṅ Sgo-mo* is, no doubt, a variant of Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo, concerning which place see *infra* (pp. 90 sqq.).

3. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0096 (paper, fol. no. 6 in vol., a fragment of irregular shape; greatest height, 15 cm.; greatest width, 14 cm.; discoloured; ll. 12 *recto* + 11 *verso* of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script).

[A] [1] . . . | . ya . . .
[2] . . . -u . yaḫi . Li . 'Um : de . . .
[3] . . . śul : du : | Ḫgrom : paḫi . sde : [m] . . .
[4] . . . . -ṅ (?) . l[o] . ñaḫi : Li : Bu : ñon . dag : | tshar . De . . .
[5] . . . . glan . myi . Stag . rton : | tshugs : pond | tshar . Ts . . .
[6] . . . r . mo . roḫi : Li : Sar . żoṅ | ⁰⁄₀ | ḫbaṅs . la . yo . . .
[7] . . . ñaḫi . Li . Ho (Rho ?) : ne (śe ? że ?) . | tshar : Śir . no . ḫi : Li . Ko . [ś]e . . .

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[8] . . . . gcom.baḫi : sde : ra.śaṅs : Gsas. . . .
[9] . . . . : | tshar : Byi.ro.ñe (ḫi ?).Li : Bu.ñon . . . .
[10] . . . . mo.ża.ḫi.Li.Gu.dag : | | . . . .
[11] . . . . Ḫgrom.paḫi.sde | g-i . . . .
[12] . . . drag | tshar : Ha (Rha ?).-o . . . .
[B] [1] . . . nad (?) || . . . Phro.ṅo . . .
[2] . . . . : G-yar.skyaṅ.gi.sde . . . .
[3] . . . . [L]i. | Wi.[d-].[s]a || tshar : Phun.bu.do . . .
[4] . . . tshar.Pan.ro.ñaḫi.Li.Meg (Rmag ?).su[r] . . .
[5] . . . ri : zur . . . [sraṅ] : | Ḫgrom.paḫi.sde : . . . .
[6] . . . [*tsha*]r : Śo.żo.ñaḫi.Li.Cam.po.la : | tshar : Su.dor : . . .
[7] . . . s.tshugs.pond || tshar : Has : lo.ñaḫi . . . .
[8] . . . ḥdzind.byar.sar : lha.mtsho.ḫi.sde . . .
[9] . . . -e.lus. | tshar.Me.żali.ḫi . . . .
[10] . . . -i.ñaḫi.Li : Ko.ḫag (heg ?) || tsh . . . .
[11] . . . . : sde.g-yer [l]o.Khve

[A] [2] "The Khotanī 'Um-de of *Haṅ-g*u-ya.
[3] " . . . In . . . śul, the Ḫgrom-pa regiment
[4] " . . . the Khotanī Bu-ñon-dag of Parish . . . ṅ-lo-ña. Of Parish De . . .
[5] " . . . the *glan-myi* Stag-rton, sergeaunt. Of Parish Ts . . .
[6] " . . . the Khotanī Sar-żoṅ, of Parish . *Bar*-mo-ro. Among the subjects . . .
[7] " . . . the Khotanī Ho-ne (śe ? że ?) : the Khotanī Ko-śe, of Parish Śir-no . . .
[8] " . . . Regiment . . . gcom-pa, the *ra-śaṅs* Gsas . . .
[9] " . . . the Khotanī Bu-ñon . . ., of Parish Byi-ro-ña
[10] " . . . the Khotanī Gu-dag, of . . . mo-ża . . .
[11] " . . . Regiment Ḫgrom-pa . . .
[12] " . . . Parish Ha- -o . . .
[B] [1] " . . . Phro-ṅo . . .
[2] " . . . Regiment G-yar-skyaṅ . . .
[3] " . . . Wi-*de*-sa. Of Parish Phun-bu-do . . .

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[4] " . . . the Khotanī Meg(Rmag ?)-sur, of Parish Pan-ro-ña . . .
[5] " . . . Regiment Ḥgrom-pa . .
[6] " . . . the Khotanī Cam-po-la, of Parish Śo-żo-ña. Of Parish Su-dor . . .
[7] " . . . sergeaunt. Of Parish Has-lo-ña . . .
[8] " . . . Regiment . . ḥdzind-byar-sar-lha-mtsho . . .
[9] " . . . Of Parish Me-żali . . .
[10] " . . . the Khotanī Ko-ḥag (ḥeg ?) of *Parish* . . -i-ña . . .
[11] " . . . Regiment . . . the *g-yer-lo* Khve . . . "

Notes

We have here evidently a schedule of certain selected persons belonging to particular regiments. Of such regiments a list will be supplied later; here it may suffice to note that some are found in several documents, e.g. the above-named *Ḥgrom-pa* regiment is mentioned also in M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0031, and *a*, v, 008. The *G-yar-skyaṅ* regiment is very possibly, as we have suggested (in Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085, for the *Yar-skyeṅ-gi-sde*), " the Yarkand regiment."

Glan-myi, *tshugs-pon*, *ra-śaṅs*, and *g-yer-lo* (?) are military designations (the last-named apparently) which will be considered later. For *tshugs-pon* the translation " sergeaunt " is merely a makeshift. The word *tshugs* occurs usually in connection with small numbers of soldiers, and often there is a *tshugs-pon* " sergeaunt " and his subordinate *ḥog-pon* " corporal ", while sometimes we have a *tshugs-pa* " a member of a *tshugs* ". The military connections exclude the dictionary meaning " caravansarai " for *tshugs*, and it might be convenient if *tshugs* were equivalent to *phyugs* " animal ", so that the *tshugs-pon* would be an officer in charge of horses, camels, etc. But possibly *tshugs* may denote camping arrangements, so that a *tshugs-pon* would be a sort of minor " adjutant " or " quarter-master ". *Ra-saṅs* (*sic*) will be found

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infra, pp. 56, 77, and it recurs in M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00159, *c*, ii, 0017, and elsewhere (Tibetan chronicle, ll. 19 and 22 *ra-saṅ-rje*).

It is natural to inquire as to the purpose of such lists, which must, as will appear, have been numerous. Plainly these are not regimental lists, but notes of soldiers belonging to different regiments, who were stationed, or living, in detached places. Probably they were on duty, employed in espionage or in other special tasks, one of which will have been to form "relays" (*so-res*) for conveyance of correspondence, a function of which we often hear. It is likely in fact that the word *so* "soldier", which in Tibetan means "keeper", "guard", "watchman", "spy", "emissary", originally denoted "one who goes", corresponding to the Sanskrit *cara* (used in the Kharoṣṭhī documents). In our documents we sometimes (e.g. M.T. *a*, ii, 0048) find the phrase *so-rjed*, which should mean "soldier-memorandum" (cf. *rjed-tho* "note-book", *rjed-byaṅ* "invoice", *brjed-tho* "memorandum"); and, as this phrase occurs on the *verso* of one of the lists (*a*, iv, 0074, p. 50 *supra*, a separate document), it is likely that it denotes precisely such a list.

4. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0095 (paper, fol. 36 in vol.; c. 28·5 × 8 cm.; ll. 5 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; on the *recto* ll. 5 in a different hand, containing a complete letter on another subject).

Verso. [1] gyi.rtse.na.B[o]d.gñis.Li.gñ[i]s | Stag.rtse. Khri . skugs . ḫjor . na . Bod . gsum | la | Grom . paḫi [2] sde . my[i] . Tshes . koṅ | Myaṅ . roḫi . sde . lo . nan . Myes . chuṅ | Rtsal . mo . pag . gi . sde . [3] sña . śur . Stag . bzaṅ | | | [4] Bye . ma . ḫdord . gyi . rtse . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gchig : | Yaṅ . rtsaṅ . gi . sde . phur . myi . Rke . tuṅ | Ḫo . tso . pag . gi . sde . sro . [5] Sti (Lti ?) . kro | tshard . Jam . ñaḫi . Li . Ceḫu . ḫdo . | 8 8 | Ho . toṅ . Gy[u] . mo . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gchig | Phod . kar . gyi . . .

"In . . . gyi.rtse two Tibetans, two Khotanīs.

"In Khri-skugs-*ḫjor* of Stag-rtse three Tibetans, [namely],

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the man Tshes-koṅ of the Grom-pa regiment, the *lo-nan* Myes-chuṅ of the Myaṅ-ro regiment, the *sña-śur* Stag-bzaṅ of the Rtsal-mo-pag regiment.

"In Bye-ma-ḥdord-gyi-rtse two Tibetans, one Khotanī, [namely], *phur-myi* Rke-tuṅ of the Yaṅ-rtsaṅ regiment, *sro* Sti[Lti ?]-kro of the Ḥo-tso-pag regiment, the Khotanī Ceḥu-ḥdo of parish Jam-ña.

"In Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo two Tibetans, one Khotanī, namely . . . . . of the Phod-kar regiment."

Notes

Concerning the place-names ending in *-rtse* (*Stag-rtse*, *Bye-ma-hdord-gyi-rtse*), and concerning Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo, see *infra* (pp. 90 sqq., 251 sqq.). As regards the regiments see *supra* (p. 53).

The terms *lo-naṅ* and *phur-myi* will recur *infra* (pp. 253, 258); *sña-śur* is found in M.T. *a*, iii, 0068, etc. *Sro* occurs in M. Tāgh. 0239 in a military connection, also M.I. vii (viii), 33, xiv, 41; but its precise meaning is not apparent.

5. M. Tāgh. *a*, i, 0031 (paper fragment, of irregular shape; fol. no. 3 in vol.; greatest width and height, c. 16 × 21 cm.; ll. 16, fragmentary, of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . tshard . Ha (?) . ban . gyi . . .
[2] . . sde . ra : saṅs . Li (?) . . .
[3] sraṅ (?) . tshar . Dro . tir : gi : Li | Phu (Ha ?) . sgra . . .
[4] . . bu . [*rtsa*]ṅ . gi : sde : Rlo . sag . myi | . . .
[5] . . cun . de | ○ | Drugu . [c]or . na . Śaṅ : sde . Ḥa . ża . . .
[6] sdeḥi . Li : Yeye : tshar : Ṅos . go : ñaḥi : Li . Chu (Mu ?) . . .
[7] . . po . tshar . Bar . mo . ro . ñaḥi : Li : Byi . de . tshard . . .
[8] . . Peḥu . mar : na : Ḥbrom . gi : sde . Co . ze . Lha . . .
[9] . . dir . śi (gi ?) : Li : Ku . żu . sraṅ . Byi . nom (chom ?) . naḥi

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[10] . . tshar : Las . ro . ña<u>h</u>i . Seṅ . ge . l . . .
[11] . . r . ne : | ⁰₀ | snaṅ . Gsal | legs
[12] . . śa<u>h</u>i . . . r . tshar : Dar (ṅ ?) . ci
[13] . . że . . . bgyi . . n : khri . pa
[14] . . | tshar . Ha[s] . *ro* . ña<u>h</u>i | Li . Byi
[15] . . . . . na . . . . gi
[16] . . Li . Śi . nir | tshar

[1] " Parish Ha (?)-ban . . . . .
[2] " . . . regiment, *ra-saṅs* the Khotanī . . .
[3] " . . . the Khotanī Phu-sgra, of Parish Dro-tir . . .
[4] " . . . Rlo-sag-myi of the . . bu . . . ṅ regiment.
[5–7] " . . . . cun-de.

" . . . In the Dru-gu *cor* the <u>H</u>a-ża . . . , of the Śaṅ regiment ; the Khotanī Ye-ye, of the . . . regiment ; . . . the Khotanī Chu (Mu ?) . . , of parish Ños-go-ña ; the Khotanī Byi-de, of Parish Bar-mo-ro-ña ; . . . of parish . . . .

[8–16] " . . . In Pe<u>h</u>u-mar the *co-ze* Lha . . . of the <u>H</u>brom regiment ; the Khotanī Ku-żu, of Parish Dro-tir ; . . . . . of street Byi-nom (chom ?)-na . . ; the Khotanī Seṅ-ge, of Parish Las-ro-ña ; the Khotanī -r-ne of . . . . . ; . . . . *snaṅ* Gsal-legs ; . . . . , of Parish Dar(Daṅ ?)-ci . . . . . ; the Khotanī Byi . . . , of Parish Has-ro-ña ; the Khotanī Śi-nir, of . . . . ; . . . . . of parish . . . . "

Notes

Concerning the <u>H</u>a-ża, the Dru-gu, and the word *cor* see *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 51 sqq., 68, 80, 85, 808 ; 1928, pp. 559–60 ; and *infra* (p. 85) ; concerning *ra-saṅs* see *supra* (pp. 53–4). Pe<u>h</u>u-mar will recur below (pp. 276–8). The Parish Dro-tir, which will recur in the next document, is evidently the *ljoṅs* (" district ") Dro-tir of the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 262).

6. M. Tāgh. 0492 (paper fragment, discoloured ; c. 9 × 9 cm. ; parts of ll. 8 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

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[1] . . . -u . . .
[2] . . . [r . ḫi . śu (bu ?) . na .] r[i] | [sraṅ] . . . .
[3] [tsh]ar . . la . ro . ñaḫi . Li . Phu . de | lhag . . . .
[4] -ḫi . sde . su . tu . Lha . lod | sraṅ . No . ña . Li . . .
[5] . . . n . | Byaṅ . slaṅs . stod . paḫi . ḫcaṅ . . . .
[6] . . . [s]u . mo . no . ḫi . Sku (Rku ?) . . . .
[7] . . . . s : lo . no . ña . Li . Saṅ . ga . ḫ (l ?) . . .
[8] . . . te (de ?) . sa . | tshar . [Dr]o . tir . Wi (?) . . .

" . . . . . street . . . the Khotanī Phu-de of Parish . . la-ro-ña ; the *su-tu* Lha-lod of the Lhag . . . . regiment ; the Khotanī . . . . , of street No-ña ; the . . . . of the Byaṅ-slaṅs-stod-pa [regiment] ; Sku . . . . , of Parish -su-mo-no ; the Khotanī Saṅ-ga-, of -s-lo-no-ña ; . . . . *te*-sa ; Wi . . . , of Parish Dro-tir."

Notes

Concerning the Parish Dro-tir see *supra* (p. 50). The expression *su-tu* seems not to be found elsewhere.

7. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0074 (fol. no. 15 in vol., paper fragment, much lost at left : ll. 7 of ordinary cursive, rather neat, *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . gy- . st- (gyi-sde ?) . m[ya]ṅ . Khu.ḫphan
[2] . . . myi . sde . Gce . ḫu (?) . gtshes
[3] . . . thu (?) . rgyal . Ta . gur (ṅ ?) . na
[4] . . . : L[i] : Gu-dag | ꝺ Phag . sna
[5] . . . r . rvaṅ (dvaṅ ?) . saṅ . | tshar . Go . sto
[6] . . . ra . yo . Li : Wi . ne . sa .
[7] . . . yo . ña . Li . Khu . le | sraṅ

" Myaṅ Khu-ḫphan, of the . . . . regiment ; Gceḫu-gtshes, of the . . . myi regiment . . . . Thu-rgyal.

" In Ta-gu . . . the Khotanī Gu-dag.

" In . . . . Phag-sna . . . r-rvaṅ-saṅ ; . . . . . of Parish Go-sto- . . ; the Khotanī Wi-ne-sa of . . . ra-yo ; the Khotanī Khu-le, of . . . yo-ña ; . . . . street . . ."

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Notes

Myaṅ is, no doubt, a tribal name, since *Myaṅ-ro* occurs as a place-name. For other occurrences see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 823. Concerning Ta-gu see *infra*, p. 280.

8. M. Tāgh. 0513 (paper fragment, left end of fol.; c. 4 × 7 cm.; probably from the same document as No. 0492; ll. 6 (beginning) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] lod | tshar . Ro . . .
[2] [tsh]aṅ (slaṅ ?) . myi . sde . . . .
[3] na . mkhar . sa . . . .
[4] Li . Bu (Cu ?) . de . saṅ . . .
[5] tshar : [Ga]s (?) | [st]o . . .
[6] . . . -o . mo . . . . . .

" . . . . . lod ; . . . . parish Ro . . . ; . . . . regiment . . . tshaṅ(slaṅ ?)-myi ; . . . . town . . . ; the Khotanī " Bu (Cu ?)-de saṅ . . . ; . . . . parish Gas (?)-sto . . ."

9. M. Tāgh. 0503 (paper fragment, irregular; c. 7 × 7 cm.; probably from the same document as Nos. 0492 and 0513; ll. 6 (parts) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . d . | [tsh]ar . Zval . r[o] . . .
[2] . . . ñe . Li . Saṅ . ge . B-o . . .
[3] . . . [St]ag . H̱phan . [ch]uṅ . | tshar . Ba . rog . . .
[4] . . . gyi . [sde] . glan . sum . Bu . lod | . . .
[5] . . . o̥ | Lam . [ko . ña] . na . Ña . . . .
[6] . . . Li . Gu . [d]e (ce ?) . | o̥

" . . . . of Parish Zval-ro . . . ; the Khotanī Saṅ-ge of . . . . ñe ; the 'Tiger' H̱phan-chuṅ of . . . . ; . . . parish Ba-rog . . . ; *glan-sum* Bu-lod of . . . . regiment.
" In Lam-ko-ña the Khotanī Gu-de (ce ?) of . . . Ña . . ."

Notes

Glan-sum is perhaps a military designation; cf. *glan-myi* (*supra*, p. 53).

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10. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0054 (paper fragment; fol. no. 44 in vol.; c. 21·5 × 6·5 cm.; l. 2 (No. 1 partly lower part only) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . [H̱jaẖ] . la : tshar . Wam . na . g[*de-*]. Pu . de | o̥ o̥ |
. . . . . .

[2] tshar . Men . ko . ña . Li . De . d[e] . tshar . 'A . ti . ko (?) . . . Śin . de | tshar . Bun . [b]o (?) (co ? so ?) . do . ña . Li.

" . . . in Parish Wam-na *gde-* (?) Pu-de. . . . The Khotanī De-de, of Parish Men-ko-ña. *The Khotanī* Śin-de, of Parish 'A-ti-ko . . . The Khotanī . . . , of Parish Bun-bo(?)-do-ña."

11. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0010 (wood, c. 12·5 × 2·5 cm.; fragmentary at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, black).

𐬙 | : | tsard . Han . ge . ña . ro . yo . ẖi | Li | Hi . . .

" The Khotanī Hi . . . of Parish Han-ge-ña-ro-yo." No doubt a visiting card, or docket.

12. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0018 (wood, c. 15 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; faint and partly illegible).

[1] 𐬙 | : | tsar . H̱den : ro . ñaḥi . Li . Ddzadz [1] . [*dod*] . ẖ . . . . . .

[2] . [*Li* . *Ri* . *zo* (gro ?) *Tse* . *ldan* | (?) . tsar . H̱de . ro [*ñaẖi*] . . . [*żar*]

" The Khotanī Ddzadz-dod of Parish H̱den-ro-ña. The Khotanī Ri-zo Tse-ldan (?). Parish H̱de[*n?*]-ro-ña."

Similar to the preceding.

13. M. Tāgh. 0050 (paper, c. 15 × 14 cm.; fragmentary at right, discoloured; ll. 9 *verso* of rather clumsy, square, *dbu-can* script, somewhat rubbed and smudged; *recto* a different document, see *infra*, p. 92).

[1] Corrected from *Dzaṅ* (?).

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[1] ꠸ | | Spre . ḫuḫi . lo . hi | dgun | sla | tha | cuṅs | kyi | ṅo . [la] . . . [2] rje . daṅ . *sa* [1] . dpuṅ | pon | blon | Mtsho | bzaṅ | [*po* | ḫi | gso*l*] . . . [3] žu tshar | Žum . baḫi | Li | Mar | son | la | Yaṅ | rtsaṅ . gi | s[d]e . . . [4] bcu | gchig | daṅ | ral | g[ri] | gchig | m[jal] . te | ḫbru . . . [5] bra [*gchig*] [ś]eṅs | na | dṅu | ḫbul | [ba*r* b*r*gyis] | | dus | der . . . [6] lpraḥ | yug | gchig | las | yug | gñis | su | sgyur | . . . [7] khon | ḫi | sgo | phrugs | daṅ | naṅ . no [2] | gchi | mchis | pa . [*la*] [3] [8] gyaṅ | žal | chu | ma | mchis | par | rgyis | khon | ta | ḫi | khnas . . . [9] chogs | tshegs | stap | ho | dpaṅ | du | yaṅ | Maṅ | [k]ra[4] | gyi | sd[e] | sbrad | . . .

"Beginning of the last winter month of the Ape year . . . petition of . . . chief and army commander Councillor Mtsho-bzaṅ-po . . . of the Yaṅ-rtsaṅ regiment having paid to the Khotanī Mar-son of Parish Žum-ba eleven . . . and one sabre, it was arranged that he should deliver turquoises . . . . . If at that time *delivery should not take place*, then for one piece of turquoise two should be substituted . . . his private possessions, or any wealth within his dwelling, *might be seized* without complaint. His guarantors were set down as co-debtors(?). In witness whereof the *sbrad* . . . of the Maṅ-k(h)ar regiment. . . ."

Notes

This is an agreement, or legal decision, of a kind exemplified *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 574–5, 593–4. In this case the gaps prevent our knowing what the Khotanī was to pay for the soldier's goods. On the other hand, the document furnishes an instance of civil, and not military, use of designation by parish.

l. 6. *gchig-las-yug-gñis-su-sgyur*: cf. *JRAS.* 1927, p. 813, and 1928, p. 594.

[1] Crossed out.
[2] Erroneous for *nor*.
[3] Crossed out.
[4] Compendious for *kar*?

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l. 8. *żal-mchu*: "protest," or "complaint", as *supra* (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 578).

khnas-pa: This is evidently a compendious writing of *kha-blaṅs-pa* "guarantor", which occurred *supra* (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 578, 593). In M.I. xliv, 00125, we have *khaṃs-kyi-dbaṅ-po* perhaps for *khas-blaṅs-kyi-dbaṅ-po*.

l. 9. *sbrad*: Apparently a military title; cf. M.T. 0345, and b, i, 0097 (*dbrad*, p. 89 *infra*).

14. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0030 (wood; c. 11·5 × 2·5 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] [*Sp*]*e* . ḫi . Li	sraṅ . Ma . żo . . . .
	ḫi . Li . . .
"Khotanī . . . of . . . spe	Khotanī . . . of street Ma-żo-"

The names of the "parishes" cited in the above texts are as follows:—

'A-ti-ko-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).
Bar-ma(mo)-ro-ña (*b*, i, 0048; *a*, i, 0031).
Ba-rog- (0503).
Bun-gto (go-do ?)-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).
Byi-ro-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
Dar-ci . . . . (*a*, i, 0031).
De . . . . . (*a*, ii, 0096).
Dro-tir (0492, *a*, i, 0031).
Dzam-ña (*b*, i, 0095).
Go-sto . . . (*a*, iii, 0074, 0513 (?)).
Ha (?)-ban . . . (*a*, i, 0031).
Ha . -o . . . . (*a*, ii, 0096).
Han-ge-ña-ro-yo (*a*, iii, 0010).
Has-lo(go, ro)-ña (*a*, i, 0031; *b*, i, 0048; *a*, ii, 0096).
Ḫde-ro-ña (c, ii, 0018).
Ḫden-ro-ña (*c*, ii, 0018).
Ḫdzam-ña (*a*, iv, 0074).
Jam-ña (*b*, i, 0095).

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Ka-to-ẓi-ña (*a*, iv, 0074).
Lam-ko-ña (0503).
Men-ko-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).
Me-ża-li (*a*, ii, 0096).
Ṅos-go-ña (*a*, i, 0031).
Pan-ro-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
Phun-bu-do . . . (*a*, ii, 0096).
Ro . . . . (0513).
Śi-ro-ña (*b*, i, 0048).
Śir-no (*a*, ii, 0096).
Śo-żo-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
Su-dor . . . (*a*, ii, 0096).
Ts . . . r-mo-ro (*a*, ii, 0096).
Wam-na (*b*, ii, 0054).
Żum-ba (0050).
Zval-ro (0503).
. . . . mo-za (*a*, ii, 0096).
. . . ṅ-lo-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
. . s-lo-no-ña (0492).
. . . . ro-ña (0492).
. . . . yo-ña (*a*, iii, 0074).
. . . . u-ya (*a*, ii, 0096).
. . . su-mo-no (0492).
. . . dir (*a*, i, 0031).
. . . i-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
. . . la-ro-ña (0492).

In addition to these *Sag-ti* seems to occur in M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0092 (No. 20 below) and in 0508.

The most characteristic feature of these names is the terminal syllable *ña*, which appears in the great majority of them. This confirms the suggestion, previously (*The Language of Ancient Khotan*, pp. 259, 260; *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, pp. 49, 61–2) made, that it had a meaning similar to that of "Sanskrit *bhūmi*, *sthāna*, *kṣetra*, and the like", or, we might add, the Teutonic *ham*, *heim*, etc. In a number of cases the two final syllables are *ro-ña*, which combination may have

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conveyed a combined meaning. For the *no* in *Śir-no* the explanation previously suggested (*The Language of Ancient Khotan*, p. 267) for the "little hill" *Ḫgus-no* may also be adduced.

The "streets" (*sraṅ*) mentioned are:—

Ba-žo-ña (*b*, i, 0048).

Byi-nom(chom ?)-na (*a*, i, 0031).

Ma-žo . . (*a*, vi, 0030).

No-ña (0492).

The general resemblance of these names of parishes and streets to those cited on pp. 264–6 of the article quoted will escape no one. It may be noted that in the bilingual document published in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 402–3, we probably have a parish name of the same kind, *Mar-śi-ko-ña*.

C. *Temples or Monasteries*

15. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0012 (wood; c. 21·5 × 1 × 2 cm.; complete; on one face (D) many notches with lines; l. 1 (face A) + l. 1 (face C) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] Li . Gos . de | Li . Śir . de . | | Li . Hir . bod .

[C] Lha . gaṅ . Tshar . ma . ḫjo | Lha . gaṅ . Tshar . ma . ḫjo | Lha . gaṅ . Ḫgum . tir . |

"The Khotanī Gos-de, of the Tshar-ma-ḫjo temple; the Khotanī Śir-de, of the Tshar-ma-ḫjo temple; the Khotanī Hir-bod, of the Ḫgum-tir temple."

Since the syllable *ḫjo* is often found terminating the names of Khotan shrines, the Tshar-ma-ḫjo is probably identical with the famous Tsar-ma foundation mentioned by Hiuan-Tsang (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 237–8), while the Ḫgum-tir caitya was almost equally famous (see *Asia Major*, vol. ii, pp. 262–3).

The Tsar-ma-ḫjo is named also on another wooden slip (M. Tāgh. 0180); also ? *b*, i, 0046.

16. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0070 (wood, broken away at right

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before being inscribed; c. 12 × 2·5 cm.; complete; l. 1 of clear, cursive *dbu-can* script).

Lha . gaṅ . Gu . žan . do | Li . Sar . rṅoṅ |

"The Khotanī Sar-rṅoṅ of the Gu-zan-do temple (*Lha-khaṅ*)."

The temple in question is probably related to the Vihāra Ḫgu-gžan-ta, mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle and discussed in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, vol. vi, p. 187, and *Asia Major*, vol. ii, pp. 264 and 266.

17. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0090 (wood; c. 8·5 × 2 cm.; complete; l. 1 of small, clear, cursive *dbu-can* script).

ཨ | : | Lha . gaṅ . Bru . ño . Li . Ku . chi . śi . |

"The Khotanī Ku-chi-śi of the Bru-ño (Phru-ño) temple."

This temple or monastery also is mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle (*Asia Major*, vol. ii, p. 266) and associated texts (*Sir Asutosh Mookerjee . . . Jubilee Volumes*, iii, p. 31).

18. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0023 (wood; c. 11·5 × 2 cm.; complete; ll. 2 *recto* of ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* script, l. 1 *verso* in a larger hand, more formal, a writing exercise).

[A] ཨ | : | So : ma : ña . Be . de | j[o] : gyi | Žo : da :

[B] ka kha ga | ṅa ca cha ja ña da ba na

"Žo-da of the Be-de temple in So-ma-ña."

Notes

Žo-da may, or may not, be a personal name; if not, it is perhaps an official designation.

So-ma-ña Be-de-jo: This is, probably, the famous So-ma-ña or Sum-ña vihāra, the *So-mo-je* of Hiuan-Tsang, concerning which see *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 194 n., 223–5.

It seems, therefore, that the documents [1] name several of the most famous religious establishments in Khotan, confirming the literary records and supplying, where required, a chronological *terminus ad quem*.

[1] Add 18a. M.T. *b*. i, 0045 (wooden slip; c. 8 × 2 cm.; clear *dbu-can*). [1] ཨ | : | Lha-gan . Kehu . hgan . tshe . | Rgya . [2] Sam . du. "Chinaman Sam-du of the Kehu-hgan-tshe temple". On this (Khe-gan-tsa) vihāra see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 266.

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D. The Citadel of Khotan

The actual fortified citadel of Khotan (*sku-mkhar*), which is several times mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 583), is once named in the documents.

19. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0022 (wooden stick, of irregular shape, four-sided, one side only partially flattened and retaining a portion of the bark; c. 27 × 2 × 1 cm.; ll. 2 + 1 + 1 of coarse *dbu-can* script, blurred and in places difficult to read; four notches and six lines on face A).

[A 1] [Ph]agi . lo . la . skun . kar . H̱u . then . du | dmar . sraṅ . [A 2] dgu . [gs]o[g]s . brnaṅs . g[ch]o [B] pa . mchis . nas . | dgra . zun . gyi . mtshams . gyi . son (so . na ? so-ne ? so-ni ?) [C] kar: | lhā . rtsā . . . ḫgum . drug [D] lṅa (sṅa ? śaṅ ?) khram . ḫdi[1] . ḫdi . la . mchis . pa . deṅ . san.

"Of the men employed at nine copper *sraṅ* in all who came in the Hog year to the Fort of H̱u-then, six have died in the . . . . of the guard-lines: five are at present still in this indenture."

Notes

l. A 2: *brnaṅs-gcho*: Perhaps for °*tsho* "company employed", with *tsho* as in *so-tsho* (p. 267 *infra*), *mkhar-tsho* (*c.* i, 001, etc.), etc., and *brnaṅs* = *bsnan* in *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 556, 559. *Gsogs* may indicate the "collective" pay.

B. *dgra-zun*: This seems to be for *dgra-zon* "on the watch".

D. *khram*: Here the stick itself is the *khram* "inventory" (concerning the word see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 69–70), as is indeed indicated by the notches on it. The word recurs below, p. 81. The dictionaries also give *ñag* (or *ña-ga*)-*khram* with the sense of "notch" or "indenture".

E. The Khotan King

During the period when the Tibetans occupied the fort at Śiṅ-śan the whole of the Khotan country must have been

[1] Crossed out.

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under their control. That period certainly, as Sir Aurel Stein has shown (*Serindia*, pp. 1287–91) on the basis of Chinese coins and documents, covered the last part of the eighth century A.D. To this time, therefore, belong the Tibetan documents which we have examined. They testify, as we have seen, to a constant correspondence with the city Khotan (Ḥu-ten), a control of its neighbourhood, and an active intercourse with Tibetan soldiers in other parts of Chinese Turkestan and naturally also with Tibet proper.

20. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0092 (paper; c. 27·5 × 10·5 cm.; discoloured; ll. 8 *recto* + 8 *verso* of fine, thin, cursive, *dbu-can* script, rather smudged, and *recto* somewhat faint; from l. 8 *recto* a different pen and showing some special (numeral ?) signs; signature at end in a different hand: between ll. 7–8 *recto* and also in a blank space in middle of l. 8 apparent signs, really seen through from *verso*; similarly in left margin *recto* and slightly elsewhere. In ll. 1–2 *recto* a monogram.)

[A 1] ꠸ | | naṅ . rje . po . Khri . bżre[1] . daṅ . Ḥphan . bżer . daṅ . Rgyal . bżre[1] . mched . kyi . żasṅar | *monogram* | Ḥtran . cedpo[2] [A 2][3] ḥi . mchid . gsol . baḥ | naṅ . po . ḥphrul . daṅ . ḥdra . ba . mched . kyi . ża . sṅar . nas . thugs . bdeḥ . [A 3] żes . thoste . glo . baḥ . rab . tu . gdagspa . żiṅ . mchis . mtshes | | Hel . ge . daṅ . Nag . tshur [A 4] lku[4] . | cig . ces . byuṅ . baḥ | Mdo . bżre[1] . rje . blas . gyis . btsald . pye . ma . mdzald | bdag . gi [A 5] myi . [*sk*]u . stag . sum[5] . la . skur . żiṅ . mchis . na . | | dgroḥ . baḥi . thabs . ni . rgyal . ta . bras . bu [A 6] gdags . la . bsku | Nag . tshur . żugs . la . bsregs . nas . rgyal . ta . bras . bu . daṅ . Nag . [A 7] na . tshur . gñisu . bsgyurd . te . blkun . na . Sag . ti . ḥi . tshar .

[1] Compendious for *bżer*.

[2] Written compendiously and somewhat doubtful, parts of the sign being due to the *verso*. A reading *du* (simply) is *possible*.

[3] There is here an apparent sign, due to the *verso*.

[4] *sku* (?).

[5] *sug.zum.la* "with hands closed up"?

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phin . b . . . [A 8] ha . lo . [*bcas* . ste] . stsald . | *blank with inverted signs transparent from verso* | : | Mdo . lo . h̲i . [sl-] . . . . [B 1] mkhar . gyi . [S]luṅs . pon . h̲dir . mchis . na . ż̲al . mchu . h̲i . slad . na . | . . . [B 2] gdah̲ . na . | khos . kyaṅ . gya . ża [1] . gyu . dag . bgyis . te . kho . ni . h̲di . nas . śul . . . [B 3] te . mchis . na . | phas . kyaṅ . bkah̲ . yi . ge . h̲gah̲ . yaṅ . ma . mchis . na . | bch [2] bdag . c . . . [B 4] kyaṅ . h̲di . na . rab . tu . myi . bde . žiṅ . mchis . | . | ji . h̲dra . ba . tsham . bkah̲s . spriṅ . bar . gsol [B 5] spyis . ji . h̲dra . ba . ni . bdag [3] . gis . gsol . gyaṅ . phyi . h̲tshal . thugs . la . mṅah̲ . ba . lags . na [B 6] lku . don . phran . tshigs . rnams . kyaṅ . [m]yur . du . bsgrubs . te | ma . thogs . pa . żig . du . tshur . byon . par [4] [B 7] gsol . || ż̲al . b[za]ṅpo . mthoṅ . gi . bar . du . staṅs . dgyal . yab . sras . thugs . rtag [B 8] du . bde . bar . smond . chiṅ . mchis | | [rgya] | [rgya] | [rgya] [*then in a different hand*] | gden . pho . lod.

[A 1–3] "In the presence of our brothers, Home Ministers Khri-bżer and H̲phan-bżer and Rgyal-bżer: letter-petition of King H̲tran-ced-po of Khotan. Having heard that the brothers, the Home Ministers, are happy in mind, I am in entire serenity of spirit. [A 3–5] As regards some robberies having taken place on this side of Hel-ge and Nag, the last dispatch from his excellency Mdo-bżer has come. I am sending to the Three Tigers a robber man of my own people. [A 5–8] The forfeit of fruit sent to your serenities at the time of the discussion having been burned in a fire this side of Nag, the forfeit of fruit for within and this side Nag became double: it having been stolen, on reaching the Parish Sag-ti . . . was sent together with . . . *ha-lo*. [B 1–3] Of the Mdo-lo district . . . the commander of the Sluṅs in the town came here: after complaint . . . was possible: he also has been acting

[1] Crossed out.

[2] Crossed out.

[3] Below this between the lines (above the words *thugs . la* in l. 5) is written the word *dlya* inverted.

[4] *r* below the line.

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crookedly. He is now on the road away from here. [B 3–4] From beyond also no letter has come, so that I too here am very uneasy. [B 4–6] I pray you to notify me [*or* I beg to report] merely how things seem. Although generally I report how things seem, it is my intention to send [again] later. Robberies of minor importance shall be quickly settled: pray refer them here without delay. [B 7–8] Pending a sight of your auspicious countenances, I continue to pray for the perpetual happiness of the distinguished father and sons. | seal | seal | seal |Gden Pho-lod."

Notes

This document is distinguished from most of the others by its writing, which is somewhat calligraphic, and, to a certain extent, by its phraseology. Thus it uses in ll. 2 and 6 the word *gdags* "transparent", or "attached", which in the other documents does not seem to occur, and the polite word *mched* "brother" or "friend" is employed with reference to the distinguished officials who are addressed. Also the letter was corrected in the course of being put on paper.

Before the writer's name is written a sign which is clearly a monogram on the lines of the Phags-pa writing and the Dalai Lama's seal, but simpler and, of course, very much older (see the plate): it can plainly be read as *rgyal-po* "king". The king's name is *Ḥtran*, followed probably by the expression *ced-po* "great", written in a compendious form, an expedient exemplified in the documents in the case of other phrases and very habitual in later Tibetan writings.[1]

Now it happens that in a Tibetan letter [2] from an emissary of a Khotan king the Lion (*Seṅ-ge*) king is named *Mun-dmag-traṅ*, in which phrase the syllables *Mun-dmag*, which occur elsewhere, denote some kind of troops. The last syllable is the name which appears in our document. Professor Konow

[1] See M. Bacot's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, x, xix (1912), pp. 1 sqq.

[2] Publications of the Indian Institute, Oslo University, i, 3 (1929), *Two medieval documents from Tun-huang*, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow.

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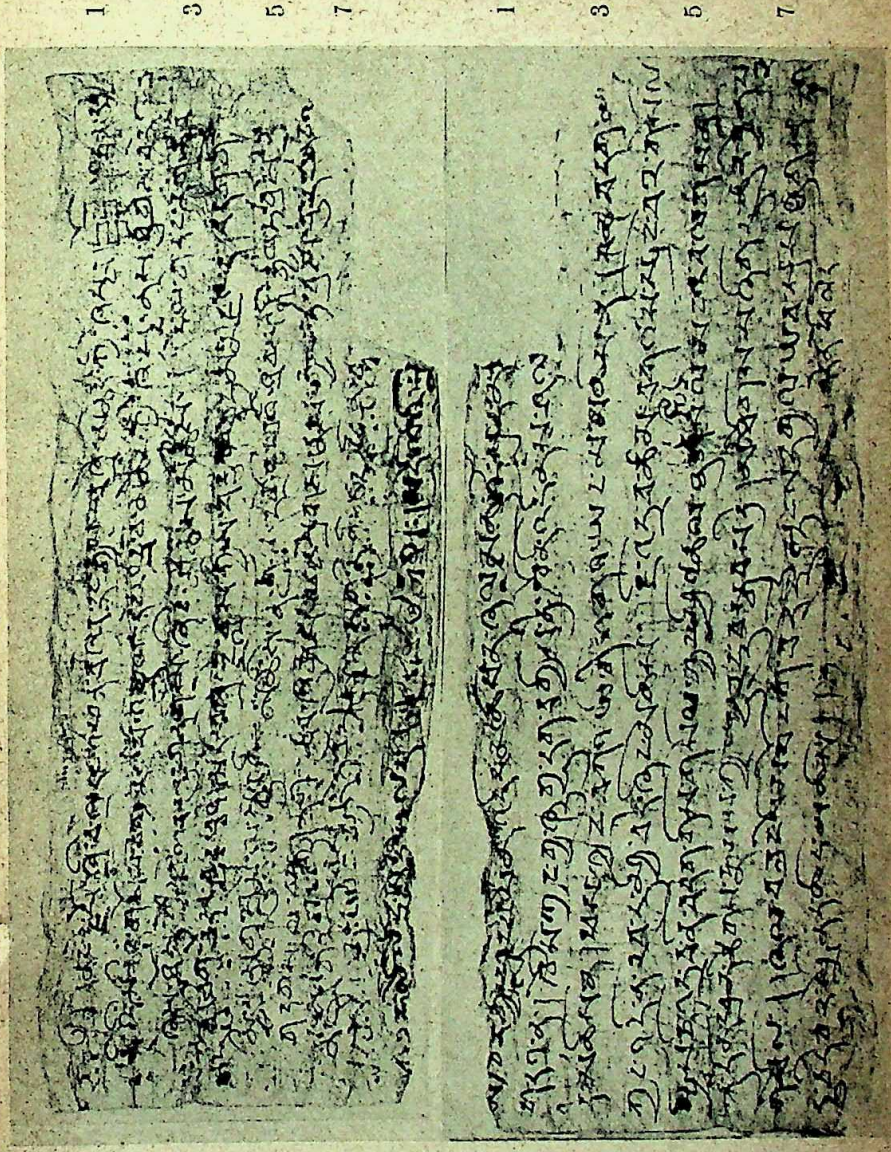

Letter from the Khotan King Ḥtran-ched-po (see pp. 66–71).

[*To face p.* 68.

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has suggested that the king must be the Vijaya-bohan-chen-po of the Khotan Chronicle (see *Ancient Khotan*, p. 582), and the *Viśa-Vāhaṃ* of a document published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1901, Extra Number, i, pp. 29 sqq., and discussed by Professor Konow in the *JRAS.* 1914, pp. 339 sqq., and *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii, pp. 223 sqq.

This identification is reinforced by the addition of the phrase *ced-po* (if correctly read) in our document, a phrase appended to the name of no other Khotan king. Since *Ḥtran* is a good Tibetan equivalent (from *ḥdren* "draw", "lead," as Professor Konow suggests) for the Sanskrit *vāhana*, it remains a question whether we yet have the king's name in its native form; the Sanskrit equivalent of *Mun-dmag-traṅ* will, as Professor Konow has suggested, be *-senā-vāhana*.

It is curious to note that in the emissary's letter *mched* is used as in our present document. This latter is of great importance, since it definitely proves that Vijaya-bohan-chen-po belonged to the latter half of the eighth century A.D.; it gives us a fixed point in the chronology of the Khotan kings.

Furthermore, it sheds a clear light upon the position of the Khotan king in relation to the Tibetan officers occupying the station of Śiṅ-śan. It refers plainly to complaints of robberies committed, no doubt, by Khotanī people upon Tibetan goods and persons in transit. The king explains that he is taking steps to investigate and bring the offenders to justice, and he promises prompt attention to minor offences of like kind in the future. He was therefore, as was only natural, a ruler in no position to deny satisfaction to the Tibetans dominating his country.

l. 3. *Hel-ge* and *Nag*: See *infra*, pp. 270, 272. It will be seen that elsewhere also Nag is associated with robberies.

rje-blas: This title, which has occurred before (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 73, ll. 6, 9, etc.), seems to be applied to persons of great eminence in civil life or religion. It is the expression

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rendered as a proper name by Colonel Waddell (*JRAS.* 1910, pp. 1252) in its occurrence in Lhasa inscriptions.

l. 4. *stag-sum*: The Tibetan authorities.

l. 5. *rgyal-ta*: This is evidently = *rgyal* in the sense of "fine" or "forfeit". The word has also the sense of *phala* "fruit", which suggests that the *bras-bu* "fruit" here may not be literal, but form part of a phrase or denote "interest"; but that is not certain, and Khotan was famous for its fruits.

In any case, as we may note, this use of the word *rgyal* clearly explains the *brgya-la* which caused us difficulty *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, p. 578. It recurs M.T. 0264, *b*, i, 0099.

l. 7. *Sag-ti-ḫi-tshar*: This "parish" has a name on the lines of Dro-tir, Ḫgum-tir, and Saṅ-tir, noted above; it is mentioned again in M. Tāgh. 0508 (paper).

l. 8. The endorsement seems to be a note by an official to the effect that the king's gift has been dispatched. The reading is not clear; but *ha-lo* would mean "hollyhock" and *yu-thi* "jasmine".

Mdo-lo: This district has hitherto been known only from mention in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (see *Ancient Khotan*, p. 583), which seems to indicate a territory in the direction of Polu. See *infra*, pp. 271–2.

l. B 1. *Sluṅs-pon*: On the *Sluṅs*, see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 820, where, as here, they seem to be different from ordinary soldiers.

żal-mchu: "complaint" (see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 578, 592–4, and p. 291 *infra*).

l. B 3. *phas*: = *pha-las* "from beyond".

l. B 6. *tshur*: "hither", i.e. "to me".

l. B 7. *Staṅs-dgyal*: *Staṅs* = "style", "fashion". The phrase is evidently a politeness addressed to persons of high rank; it recurs in M.I. i, 23, M. Tagh. *b*, i, 0098, *b* (*staṅ-dbyald*), 0503 (*staṅs-byal*) and 0436, published in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1088 (*staṅs-bsal-bya*) *c*, ii, 0064 (*gtaṅs-dbyal*).

l. B 8. *gden-pho-lod*: No doubt, the endorsement of the

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king's secretary, or even the king himself after dictating the document.

21. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00121 (paper, fol. no. 16 in vol.; c. 27·5 × 10 cm.; complete; ll. 4 of rather scrawled *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠸ | | rta . ḫi . lo . ḫi . dgun . blon . Klu . sgra . las . stsogs || pa . ḫi . ḥdun . tsa . Śel . than . du . btab . pa . lan : || [2] la || Yaṅ . rtsaṅ . gi . sde . Myaṅ . Lha . mthoṅ . Li . rjehi . tshugs . pa . Li . Bat : nag : li [1] . men . *l* [1] . tri [3] yug . 2 . gñis . sa [2] . lan . ḥdi . ḫi . dgun : sla . ra . ba . tshes . ñi . śu . gsum . la || skyeds [4] pu [3] . da . | ḫtsha[ld] . de . skyed . gyi .

"In answer to the letter dispatched at Śel-than at the winter meeting of Councillors Klu-sgra and the others in the Horse year. Myaṅ Lha-mthoṅ of the Yaṅ-rtsaṅ regiment lent (? *skyeds*) to the Khotanī Bat-nag, trooper of the Khotan king, on the 23rd of the first winter month of this year two pieces of silk. . . ."

Notes

l. 1. *Śel-than*: The place ("River-plain" ?) is not otherwise known.

l. 2. *tshugs-pa*: See *supra*, p. 53. "Trooper" is a makeshift.

In M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00159 (paper) also we have mention of a *Li-rjeḫi-tshugs-pa* "trooper of the Khotan king".

22. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0042 (wood; c. 7·5 × 1 cm.; a fragment; hole for string at right; l. 1 *recto* + l. 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] . . . [*m*] . du | Li . rjeḫi . steṅ . du

[B] . . [rt] (st ?)ogs | Li . la . rgya . ḫdra . . .

". . . in . . . Up to the Khotan king . . ."

[1] Crossed out: read *la* in the first occurrence.
[2] Crossed out.
[3] Crossed out.

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F. Amacas,[1] *a "naṅ-rje-po" and a "dmag-pon"*

The title *a-mo-che*, granted by the Chinese governments to kings of Khotan and other states in Chinese Turkestan, seems to have been first discussed by Chavannes in his *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, pp. 207–8. It was again discussed by Sir Aurel Stein in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 66, 176, 256, and by Chavannes at p. 523. In the same work (pp. 582–3) I gave instances of Chinese *a-ma-cas* in Khotan history, and subsequently (*JRAS.* 1927, pp. 121–2) I showed that the title had also at a late date been borne by rulers in the Ladakh region. Prof. Sylvain Lévi seems to have been the first (1915, *J.A.* xi, v, p. 191) to derive the term from the Sanskrit *amātya*.

It seems worth while to quote the instances of the use of the title in our documents. We have the following :—

23. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0088 (wood ; c. 8 × 1 cm. ; complete ; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

ཨ | 'Am . cha . Śir . de . tshan.

"The Amaca Śir-de-tshan."

The term *tshan* seems to have been an honorific (properly a plural), appended to the names of learned or distinguished persons : see *infra*, p. 75, and *Innermost Asia*, p. 1084. It is appended to the word *ban-de* in *a*, iii, 0062, and it is similarly employed in the document edited in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains*, pp. 402–3.

24. M. Tāgh. i, 0021 (wood ; c. 8·5 × 1 × 1 cm. ; complete ; nine notches ; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, smudged).

'a . mcha . Si : [b]ir . [Tsa] . bdad [rdad ?].

"Amaca Si-bir Tsa-bdad (Ci-rdad ?)."

[1] The occurrence of this title was noted by me, *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 121–3, with citation of Nos. 23–5 below. The latter, with Nos. 27 and 29, and also a new document from Turfan have now been discussed in a recent paper (*Königsnamen von Khotan* (*A-ma-ca*) . . . *SPAW.*, pp. 671–6, issued Jan. 1929) by Professor A. H. Francke. I am glad to see that Professor Francke, who originally had understood the syllables *a-ma-ca*, *am-cha*, where he had read them, differently, now accepts the reference to the officials called *amacas*. How far I agree with his readings and renderings

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25. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0011 (wood; c. 21 × 3 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of rather coarse *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꣸ | . | : jo . co . Stoṅ . bẑre[1] . laẖ . yul . zigs . kyi . mchid . gso[l] . [A 2] ba . thugs . bde . myi . bde . sñun . gsol . ẑiṅ . mchis . bdag [A 3] cag : | Li . brgyags . | 'A . ma . chaẖ . la . len . du . btaṅ . na [B 1] ma . mchis . na . H̱o . ni . nas . nas . rgyaẖ . bre . lṅa . skur . bar . [B 2] gsol |

[A 1–2] "To jo-co Stoṅ-bẑer: letter of Yul-gzigs (Local Surveyor)—*the usual compliments, then*—[A 3] Khotan supplies sent for conveying to the 'A-ma-cha not having arrived, it is requested that five Chinese *bre* of barley may be dispatched from H̱o-ni."

Notes

l. B 1. *H̱o-ni* is the name of a place (*infra*, pp. 270–1).

l. A 1. *Yul-gzigs*: The name occurs in its literal denotation "Local Surveyor" in M.I. xiv, 1 (*Innermost Asia*, p. 1084). In such cases as the present we cannot be certain whether it is so used or is a proper name (cf. English *Smith*, etc., and the case of *Rmaṅ-rogs*, p. 290, *infra*), as in *a*, iii, 0070.

l. A 3. *Li-brgyags*: "Khotan supplies" seems to be a technical term (cf. "Manchester goods") here and elsewhere (M. Tāgh. 0574, *a*. i, 0011). *rgya-bre*: cf. *b*, i, 0099.

26. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0017 (wood; c. 17 × 1·5 cm.; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of neat, cursive *dbu-can* script; remains, lower part, of one line at top *recto*).

[1] [ma . spriṅ] . | ñe . cha . [Li] . rdze . rtse . rjes . [tshe] . . nan . gyi . thud . ma . su . lad . paẖi . . [2] mchi . thob . pa*ẖi* . mar . tsh[o] . . de . mchis . śig . | Khar . tshaṅ . śiṅ . mkhar . gyi . [*slad*] [B 1] nas . spriṅ . ba . yaṅ . sta . ẖon . tshol . cig . | 'A . ma . [cag] . Stag . sum . rje . la . -gyes [B 2] [*gsol*] . mo . gchig . daṅ . sta . re . gchig . gyaṅ . ẑogs . śig 11.

will be seen below (except as concerns the Turfan document, in which, I may remark, the phrase *stag-sras-dgyes-gyi-rtse* is a place-name; see *infra*, pp. 264–5). That any of the persons named are royal I am far from believing.

[1] For *bẑer*.

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"Let the clotted milk at present required (?) by the high chief the Khotan king, whatever is left uncorrupted (?), and all the oil which can come at once. Prepare also what was afterwards sent from the town of Khar-tshaṅ-śiṅ. For the Amaca Stag-sum-rje leave a present of food (*sgyes-gsol-mo* = *skyes-gsol-mo* ?) and a hatchet."

Notes

l. 2. *Khar-tshaṅ-śiṅ-mkhar* is clearly the town of Khar-tsan or Khar-tsa-ciṅ discussed *supra* (*JRAS.* 1927, pp. 78, 82, 820; 1928, p. 80).

l. B 1. *sta-ḫon*: This seems to be the same as *sta-gon*, which occurs in M.I. 0028, "make ready."

27. M. Tāgh. *c*, iv, 0021 (wood; c. 14 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꣾ || Glu[1] . myi . Ḫpaṅ . chuṅ | [B] 'A . ma . cha . Se[*n*] . ḫdoḫi . mtshal . mo . la [2] . . . . . ḫ . [stsa]l |

"*Glu-myi* Ḫpaṅ-chuṅ sends . . . for a repast for the Amaca Sen-ḫdo."

Note

l. 1. *Glu-myi* = "singer"?

l. B. *Sen-ḫdo*: Possibly *Seën* (compendious for what?) is written.

28. M. Tāgh. 0483 (paper fragment; c. 27 × 4 cm.; ll. 1 of cursive Brāhmī +1 (mutilated) of large cursive *dbu-can* script; the Brāhmī portion is a note, of later date).

["*Khotanī*" *or Saka language.*]

[2] garä vī ce Ysainäguttre ttye rä śtä haurāṃñai.

ꣾ | . | Yoṅ (Yod ?) . 'A . ma . chas | | Śiṅ . śan . gyi . rtse . r[j]e . laḫ . gsol . baḫ |

"Petition by the Amaca Yoṅ (Yod ?) to the chief in command of Śiṅ-śan."

[1] Possibly *Gru*.

[2] Reading kindly corrected by Professor Sten Konow.

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29. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0057 (wood; c. 10 × 1 × 1 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; notches on B; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 'A . ma . ca . Lha . zuṅ . gre | tshand . la . [B] Sna . bo . Li . 'In . dad . ḫbul . ba . nas.

"Barley, offering by the Khotanī 'In-dad of Sna-bo to the Amaca Lha-zuṅ-gre."

Notes

l. B. *Sna-bo*: Probably the place mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle, l. 12, as being in Ḫon (rather distant from Khotan !).

l. A. *tshand*: See *supra*, p. 72. The name *Lha-zuṅ-gre* is a hybrid, the first two syllables *Lha-zuṅ*, being Tibetan and occurring in M.I. ii, 20*b*, M.T. *a*, iii, 0070.

It is perhaps no accident that in four of these texts there is reference to gifts of provisions or repasts and so on to the Amacas named, or that they share with the *ban-de* (= Nepalese *bandya*, Chinese *bonze*) the designation *tshan*. It is probable that, at least during the Tibetan domination, they enjoyed civil dignity and esteem rather than power, unless indeed they functioned as judges in the *grwa-tus* (= *pariṣad*, see *supra*, *JRAS*. 1928, p. 567).

Of other Khotan dignitaries we do not hear. But it might be opportune to consider the Tibetan *naṅ-rje-pos*, *jo-cos*, *žaṅ-blons*, etc., with a view to any chronological inferences that might arise. It might be thought that with the meagre resources of Tibetan nomenclature it would be a difficult matter to establish identifications. The difficulty, indeed, exists; but it is not due to that cause: such good use is made of the resources that in the documents the same names rarely recur. The subject is, however, somewhat complicated, and the names are very numerous: there being no doubt as to the general period to which the Mazar-Tagh documents relate, it will be best to reserve the designations of the Tibetan officials for a separate, and wider, consideration.

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We may, however, take note of the presence of one *dmag-pon*, or General, in the city of Khotan and of the conduct of one *naṅ-rje-po*.

30. M. Tāgh. 0515 (paper, originally folded in a long slip in the form of a modern Tibetan letter; c. 28·5 × 9 cm.; ll. 7 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, scrawled and in places faint, + 1 of more ordinary cursive *dbu-can*).

[A 1] H̱byuṅ | [1] ༄ | : | H̱[phan] | gz[i]gs . la | | H̱phan : rya : daṅ : Ña : b[rts]an . [gyi] . gso[l] : baẖ | sñuṅ [2] ba : slar : ẖbre[daṅ] . mi . ẖbred : sñ[u]n : gs[o]l | ż̀iṅ . m[chis] || de . ltar : so : la : bthus . [pa . ẖi] . tshe [2] . -ṅ : bdag : chag . [3] kyaṅ : so : la : bthus : pa . yaṅ : bdag : chag : [su]g : las : gyis : bskal . nas | so : ka : ma . [ẖ]dzin : t[e] || mo : [rg]aṅ [4] [*g-oẖ*] . ṅa : bu . [mchi]s . paẖi : tsh[e] | bdag : chag : gis : chi : pyin du : ẖtshal : ż̀iṅ : m[chi]s : | gyis : thugs : m[y]i . chad . du . gslo [3] [5] do . [chig . *na* . . *mo* . .] sṅa . tsham ni : pyuṅ : ż̀iṅ . mchis || ẖdi : na . yaṅ | ra . saṅ . rje : daṅ : pur ba : lastsogs . pa . [yaṅ] [6] . . . ma . . . . . nas . sman . [b]u . sman : ẖgaẖ : yaṅ : ma : skur : ż̀iṅ : [m]chisna : de[*r* : *stsas* : *thugs*] myi [7] chad : par . gsol | sñun . yaṅ . myur du : gdaṅs : par : gsol |

[*Inverted*] ༄ | | H̱phan . gzi[g]s | la | | H̱phan : rgyaẖi . gsol : baẖ ||

[B] [1] H̱phan . zigs | la || H̱phan : la : rya : daṅ. | Ña . brtsan : gyis : spriṅ

[2] [*Inverted, in a different hand*] . . . [*ra* . *saṅ* . *-so*] . gslo [3] . baẖi . [*sts*]u : [*ż̀u*]s . daṅ . | | dmag . pon . kyi : gdan . cha . H̱u . ten . du . bab . paẖi . thaṅ . yige . dpyeẖ . gsar |

"Be it so!" (*or* "May come", *an endorsement*).

[1–2] "To H̱phan-gzigs: petition of H̱phan-rya and Ña-brtsan. We beg to inquire whether your health has recovered or not.

[1] An endorsement in a different hand below the line.
[2] Added below the line.
[3] Compendious for *gsol*.

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[2–5] "At the time when *you* joined the soldiery, we too joined the soldiery, and we, through the fate of our works (?) did not take to soldiering. Our aged mother . . , at the time when we her children came, we wish that she come [and join us]. So we beg not to disappoint her. At the present moment . . mother has just arrived. [5–7] Here also the chief *ra-saṅ* and the *pur-bas* and so forth. . . . Owing to . . we are not sending any little medicines. We beg you not to decide . . . We pray that you may quickly recover your health."

"To Ḫphan-gzigs: petition of Ḫphan-rgya."

[B 1] "To Ḫphan-gzigs: sent by Ḫphan-la-rya and Ña-brtsan."

[B 2—*a different hand*] "Request in a petition letter from the soldiers [*Ḫphan-la-rya and Ña-brtsan*] and authorization by the General's *dīvān* established in Ḫu-ten—a new copy."

Notes

l. 1. *ḫbyuṅ*: This is, no doubt, the General's endorsement.

l. 2. *ḫbred*: For *ḫbreld*?

so-la-bthus: "Be called up for military service." The phrase is found also in M. Tāgh. *c*, i, 004.

l. 3. *bskal-nas*: Translation doubtful.

so-ka-ma-ḫdzin: = °*kha-ma-*°: cf. *so-khaḫ-zuṅ*, *a*, i, 0012.

l. 4. *chi-pyin-du-ḫtshal . . . gyis*: For *mchi-phyin*?

thugs-myi-chad-par-gsol: The phrase recurs in M. Tagh. *a*, iv, 00123.

l. 5. *ra-saṅ*: See *supra*, p. 53–4.

pur-ba: No doubt, some military designation.

l. 6. *sts-as*: Reading and sense not clear.

l. B 2. This is a note by some subordinate of the General.

31. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0062 (paper; fol. no. 46, complete; ll. 5 *recto* of rather square, black *dbu-can* script, clear; ll. 4 *verso* + top of l. 5 of ordinary, rather square, cursive *dbu-can*, a different hand from *recto*).

[A 1] ꣓ | | Naṅ . rje : po . Btshan . to . re : ma : rgyon :

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smyon . ba | | sriṅ . rgyon . rgun . ma [A 2] myi . zad . pa . | śi . ẖbyis : paẖ | | dgu . śi . baẖ : rgyon . ma [A 3] rgun . ẖam (btam ?) . mdaẖ . tshags : paẖo : rtol . po . che . chuṅ [A 4] ma . brgyos . nas | | Śiṅ . śan . du . sbyugs

[A 5] ༄ | : | jo . cho . Khri : rje . ẖpaṅs. | la . mkhar

[B 1] | | cho . bo . H̱an . mdzes . la | | | | Mkhar . slebs . kyi . mchid . gsol . baẖ . [B 2] | : thugs . bde . myi . bde . mchid . yi . ge . las . sñun . gsol . ẑiṅ . mchis . na . bkaẖ . stsal . bar [B 3] *mchid* . yi . ge . ẖdi . gsol . slan . chad . rjes . ẖbaṅs . thugs . bde . ẑiṅ . sñun . rgya . ẖo . myi . rgyal : pra [B 4] . . . mchis | | H̱u . ten . pyogs . na . bkaẖ . mchid . ji . gdaẖ . baẖ . ni . so . paẖs . la [1] . la . gsan . paẖ . tsham . . . . . .

[A] "The Home-Minister Btshan-to-re is an insane mother-ravisher, sister-ravisher, an insatiate wine-bibber, a death-child, a nine-death-man, in fornication and wine a gourd and a sieve. Having ravished the mothers of all who came in his way, great and small, he should be expelled to Śiṅ-śan."

"To my lord Khri-rje-ẖpaṅs, the city (*or* Prince H̱paṅs ?)."

[B] "To the chief H̱an-mdzes : letter petition of Mkhar-slebs—*then after the usual compliments* : This letter is to beg the dispatch of orders : for the rest *I trust* that my lord and his servants (*or* subjects) are happy and in good health, free from illness. What is the talk in the H̱u-ten quarter may be heard from (*or* [told] privately by ?) the soldier."

Notes

This curious document presents considerable difficulties in translation. Not only is the subject-matter *recto* one likely to lead to obscure expressions, but it is also not quite clear from the ductus that the words in the vertical line really

[1] Crossed out. Is *Lha* intended ?

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follow l. 5: the latter is, however, from the sense highly probable. We have in any case an "anonymous letter" to an official, whether from some one who signs as "the city" or not, and the charges which it lays against the Home-Minister are correspondingly serious. He is no doubt residing in Khotan, and the letter is written to an official there.

The *verso* is probably an inquiry made on behalf of the addressee of the *recto*, in which case it shows a good official discretion. Alternately the *recto* might be the reply to the inquiry *verso*: but this is in itself less probable, and, further, the letter is not addressed to the writer of the *verso*. The letter is, no doubt, sent from Khotan to Śiṅ-śan.

[A] *ma-rgyon-smyon-ba*: By "mother" is perhaps meant "[other people's] wives"; similarly as concerns "sisters".

śi-ḫbyis-paḫ: The expression "as to death, a child" may denote irresponsible killing. Or is it "a child of death"?

mdaḫ-tshags-pa: *mdaḫ-lpags* means "gourd" and *tshags* = "sieve"; perhaps this is a "portmanteau" expression.

rtol-po-che-chuṅ: I have rendered this as meaning "whoever appears (comes in his way), great or small".

[B] *slan-chad*: "For the rest"; or "in future"?

bkaḫ-mchid: "Talk" or "news": so pp. 256–7 *infra*.

II. Śiṅ-śan

Śiṅ-śan occurs as a place-name in over thirty documents from Mazār-Tāgh, a place on the Khotan river, about 100 miles north of Khotan, where Sir Aurel Stein discovered and excavated a Tibetan fort and other ruins. The name is hardly to be found in documents from other places, and I have already given expression (in Sir A. Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1086) to the view that Śiṅ-śan was the proper name of the settlement at Mazār-Tāgh itself. That the fact is so appears also from the circumstance that many of the documents are letters apparently *addressed* to Śiṅ-śan; and this impression will be enhanced by a perusal of those which we will proceed to consider.

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The name *Śiṅ-śan*, which appears to mean "Wood-mountain" (Chinese *shan*, as in *Pha-śan*, etc.), can never have been appropriate to the low barren hill on which rose the Tibetan fort at Mazār-Tāgh. It is perhaps, therefore, a corruption of some native name, and we may ask whether it is possibly the *Śen-ża* of the *Gośṛṅga-Vyākaraṇa*, denoting "the northern district *Śen-ża*, protected by an image *Śen-ża*, which would arise from the nether world" (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 584).

Since the above lines were written a definite confirmation of this suggestion has come to light. The Brāhmī endorsement of the document No. 28, p. 74 *supra*, addressed to a chief in command at Śiṅ-śan, has been read by Professor Sten Konow, who has kindly furnished me with the following possible translation:

"On the hill which (*or* who) is Ysainägotra, to him now to be given."

It is probable that the writer has by *Ysainägotra* rendered into his Iranian speech the native name *Śen-za*; and perhaps he had some justification, since, as we have seen (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 832), the syllable *za*, whether actually Iranian (Sogdian ?) or not, was employed in Chinese Turkestan with precisely the sense of *gotra*: thus *Śen-za* = *Ysainā* (i.e. *Senā*)-*gotra*. Moreover, by adding the word "hill" (*garä*) he confirms our understanding of the second syllable in Śiṅ-śan as the Chinese *shan*, a "hill". The Tibetan *Śiṅ-śan* represents, therefore, an accommodation to their speech of **Śen-(za-)śan*, a good instance of those etymologizing tendencies which seem to have specially influenced the folk-lore of Khotan (see *infra*, p. 259, and *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 258–9, 262–3).

32. H. 2 (wood; c. 12·5 × 1 × 2 cm.; cut away and broken—without loss ?—at right; hole for string at left; two slight notes in C; ll. 1 + 2 + 1 + 2 of poor cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ꠰ | : | khram . ḫdi . la . mcis . pa . daṅ . mar
[B 1] . -i . -[ph]o . ḫi . [ṅo] | Śi[ṅ . śa]n . gyi . [. .]

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[B 2] [n]as . | khal . ñis . b[rgy]aḥ . | [*bre . bżi*] . . .
[C] Li . Bu (Gu ?) . ḥdug . la | gtad . de | Śi[ṅ]
[D 1] śan . du . ḥtsal . bar . bgyis . nas
[D 2] kham . [*sladu*] . yaṅ . Bu . ḥdug . s[ts]ald |

"The indent has come here, and at the beginning of . . . . the barley of . . . Śiṅ-śan, two hundred loads and and four *bre*, consigned to the Khotanī Bu-ḥdug, were caused to be sent to Śiṅ-śan: apricots also were afterwards sent to Bu-ḥdug."

Notes

l. A 1. *khram*: See *supra*, p. 65.

l. A 2. *kham*: This might be erroneous for *khram*.

33. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0040 (wood; 23 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole with string at left; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing, rather faint).

[1] ꣿ | | Ḥu . ten . gyi . rtsis . sa . nas . | | Śiṅ . śan . gyi . mṅan . la . s[pr]iṅs . pa [2] ñin . żag . gchig . la . lṅa . chod . du . btaṅste | ḥphrin . byaṅ . ḥdi . riṅs . la . ko . ches . pa (?) [B 1] dam . du . zuṅ . la | ḥphrin . byaṅ . dusu . ma . phyind . taṃ . khyams . par . gyurd . naḥ [B 2] g[i]s . noṅs . pa . | chad . pas . khrims . bżin . du . gcad . do (de ?) | | Ḥu . ten . nas . tses.

"From the place of the census of Ḥu-ten: Message to the authorities of Śiṅ-śan having been dispatched in one day five times (at the fifth hour ? in five stages ?), this message token, urgent and very important, is to be taken at once. If the message token does not arrive in time, or if any offend by going astray, they are to be punished according to law. From Ḥu-ten, date. . . ."

Notes

l. 1. *rtsis*: Mentions of the "censuses" or "reckonings", which perhaps related to both persons and properties, are not infrequent in the Tibetan chronicle (e.g. ll. 8, 22, 75, etc.) or in

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the documents. We have had before (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 81; 1928, p. 573) a *rtsis-mgo* "head, or total, of census", and this also recurs in M.I. xxviii, 2, and in that chronicle (l. 52).

The *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa* has (fol. 349*b*, 7) *yul-gyi-rtsis-mgo* "the country's census-total".

l. A 2. *ko-ches-pa*: = *go-ches-pa* "of great consideration"?

l. B 1. *dam-du*: "At the fixed time" or "promptly", i.e. without loss of time at the relays. The phrase is found in M.T. *a*, v, 007, with *myel-tse-dgu*, "9 watches," and with *ñin-tshod mtshan-tshod* "day-time or night-time" in M.T. 0334 and *c*, iii, 0025 (*infra*, pp. 83, 85, 268), and we had *dam-żag-tu* "on a fixed day" in *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 69, 838, 844, and *ñin-dam-du* is found in M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0034 below.

34. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 001 (wood; 15 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script, rather faint).

[1] ꣾ | . | Li : Ḥdzas : dan . | Śir . ḫde . gñis : | | Ḫu . then . du : bdagi . dgun [2] cha . len . du . btaṅ . ba . las | | gchig . ni . slar . mchis : | [B 1] gchig . ni . ma . mchis | | deḫi . tsal . ma . ni | [par] . śa . ris . ma [B 2] lastsogspa . sṅa . mas . [ḫtshald] |

[1] "Two Khotanīs, Ḥdzas and Śir-ḫde, having been dispatched to Ḫu-then to fetch my winter things, [2–B 1] one returned: one has not come. [B 1–2] His rations, *par-śa-ris-ma*, etcetera, were sent before."

Note

The expression *par-śa-ris-ma* is of unknown meaning; it recurs twice, in the form *par-sa-re-śi-ma*, in another wooden document (M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0056).

35. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0034 (wood; 17 × 2·5 cm.; complete, but cut away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 3 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script, rather, in B, l. 2, very, faint).

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[1] Spe . staṅ . daṅ | | Mdo . brtsan . bsaṃ . bor . gyis | | Śiṅ . śan [2] h̲phar . du . | yos . bu : loḥi . dbyar . sla : tha : chuṅs | tshes : ñi . śu . gñis [3] *H̲u* : then . nas . spriṅ . ste | so . h̲phar . h̲di . riṅs . kyis : | ñin | [B 1] dam : du . zuṅ . la : | dpaṅ . žag : du | tshug[s] . śig : | phyis . saṃ : phar . khyaṃ[s] [B 2] śiṅ [1] | phar . ma . skye[l] . bskyal | chad . pa (pha ?) . cher (chad ?) . gcado (gcod) : | |

[1–3] "By Spe-staṅ and Mdo-brtsan, after taking counsel, dispatched from H̲u-then on the twenty-second day of the last summer month of the Hare year for conveyance to reach Śiṅ-śan. [3] This soldier-missive is to be taken immediately on the fixed day, and delivered on a witnessed (*dpaṅ* ?) date. [3–B 2] In case of lateness or wandering astray and not providing convoy for the missive severe punishment is to be imposed."

Notes

l. A 1. *Śiṅ-śan-phar-du* : This might perhaps be rendered "to beyond Śiṅ-śan".

l. A 3. *so-h̲phar* : The phrase recurs M.T. *b*, ii, 0052. Possibly it means "a soldier-pass".

ñin-dam-du-zuṅ-la : See *supra*, p. 82.

l. B 2. *skyel-bskyal* : This is the full phrase for "providing mountain convoy" ; *ri-skyel* recurs *infra*, pp. 254, 263, also in other documents, e.g. *a*, ii, 0085, Khad. 032.

36. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0016 (wood ; 23 × 1·5 × ·5 cm. ; complete ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 on side + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* rather faint).

[1] ꠸ | | Ho . toṅ . Gyu . mo . yan . chad . gi . stag . so . pa . bžugs . pa . la | | Gliṅ . riṅs . gi . so . paḥi [2] mchid . gsol . paḥ . bdag . cag . tshugs . pon . daṅ . h̲og . pon . gñis . kaḥ . ri . zug . pas ([B] naṅ . *rje* . [po] . bl[o]n . Staṅ . legs . gi . ža . sṅar . gs[o]l . baḥ s gs) [C 1] h̲tshal . brgyags . bar . chad . du . gyur . žiṅ . mchis . na . sṅar . gtaṅ . par . thugs .

[1] *ste* ? *daṅ* ?

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rje . jir [C 2] gzigs . Dru . gu . cor . tu . maṃchis . na . byaṅ . bu . ḫdi . Śiṅ . śan . du . gtaṅ . par . gsol | |

[1] "To the tiger soldiers stationed as far up as Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo, letter petition of the Gliṅ-riṅs soldiers. We, a *tshugs-pon* (sergeant) and a *ḫog-pon* (corporal), having mountain sickness (*ri-zug-pa*) [1] (petition in the presence of the Home-Minister Council Staṅ-legs), [1] having run short of food and provisions, have the kindness to send them soon (*sṅar* ?). If there is none in the Dru-gu *cor*, pray send this tablet to Śiṅ-śan."

Notes

The missive duly reached Śiṅ-śan, where it was unearthed by Sir Aurel Stein.

Concerning Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo and Gliṅ-riṅs see below (pp. 90 sqq., 286–8). It will be observed that the former was clearly on the route from Gliṅ-riṅs, which was in Tibet, to Śiṅ-śan, and it would appear to be connected with the Dru-gu *cor*, which was mentioned *supra* (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 68) and will be the subject of further observations later.

l. A 2. *ri-zug* occurs frequently (see pp. 280–1*infra*).

l. C 2. *byaṅ-bu* "little tablet" evidently denotes the wooden tablet itself ; cf. *phrin-byaṅ*, *so-byaṅ* "soldier-tablet" (M.I. xiv, 0019, 005, 126, 134), p. 284 *infra*, and *JRAS.* 1927, p. 826 ; *infra*, p. 87. We have also *so-ris*(*res*)*-byaṅ* "soldier-relay-tablet" in M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0017.

37. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0025 (wooden stick, four-sided, rather curved ; c. 19·5 × 1 × 1 cm. ; l. 1 on each face, ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ꠰ | Par . ban : man : chad : daṅ | Drugu : ḫjor : man : chad : gyi : so : pa [B] la : spriṅ : ṅo : ḫpar : ma : ḫdi : ma : kyams : par : Śiṅ | śan : du : thugs [2] [C] bag : du : le : lo :

[1] This line B seems to be part of a previously inscribed letter, which was erased or cut away when the present missive was inscribed.

[2] *s* below line.

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tsa (ci ?) : kyi : bar : toṅ : śig : ñin : tshod : mtshan : tshod [D] dam : du : zuṅ : śig : su : le : lo : bkyid : pa : chadu : chod : par : gcado.

[A–B] "Sent to the soldiers as far down as Par-baṅ and as far down as Dru-gu *hjor*. [B–C] Dispatch this missive, without straying, to Śiṅ-śan, taking care and avoiding remissness. [C–D] Day-time or night-time, it must be taken over immediately. Whoso shows remissness is to be punished."

Notes

A. *Par-ban*: Concerning this place see *infra*, pp. 274–6.
Drugu-hjor: See *supra*, p. 56.

B. *hpar-ma*: See *supra*, *JRAS.* 1928, p. 581.

D. *dam-du-zuṅ*: See *supra*, pp. 82–3.

38. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 005 (wood; c. 18·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] ꣾ | : | bdag . ṅand . pa | Rdze | sa (mi ?) | | Śiṅ . śan . man . cad . kyi . | so . hdzu [A 2] ñul : | : | htsal . ba . [ci] . [*ste*] . żig | | Żugs . ṅam . gyi . ltoṅs . na[*s*] [B 1] rgun . riṅs . su . mcis . phas | | rad . gos . kyaṅ . myi . hbyord . jiṅ [B 2] mcis . [nam] . żig | | dguṅ . sla . gñi[s] . śid . lan . gchig[*i*] . | sug [B 3] las | gyi . gñ[erd] . hk[*ums*] . śiṅ . | hkor . la . mchi . [ba : tsa]m.

39. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 007 (wood; c. 20 × 1·5 cm.; complete; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* (inverted) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꣾ | : | stsald . htsal . gyihi | htsal . ma . yen . [*ch*]uṅ . bam (bar ?) . du . sbyor . la | bdagi : htsla [1] [B] hphrin . byaṅ . hdi . . Caṅ . laṅ . tse . yan . cad . kyi . so . pas [2] . riṅs . par . Śiṅ . śan-|

[1] Compendious for *htsal*.
[2] *pas* below line.

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These two seem to belong together, and may be translated in one context, a proceeding which in any case seems harmless.

[005] "We humble persons, Rdze-sa(mi) (?), being sent out upon espionage, professing to be soldiers (*so-ḫdzu* ?), of (the country) down to Śiṅ-śan, have come in a long course (*rgun = rgyun?*) from the top of the Żugs-ṅam. Not even travelling clothes are available. By the time of our arrival we have accomplished a task of one year less (? *śid*) two months. While on our return—

[007] "We beg (*ḫtsal* ?) to be provided in ample or small quantity (*bam* ?) with the rations which should have been sent. This message tablet [should be forwarded] quickly by the soldiers as far up as Caṅ-laṅ-tse to Śiṅ-śan."

Notes

005, A 2. *Żugs-ṅam-gyi-ltoṅs*: This phrase, which recurs p. 258 below, is, no doubt, the same as the *Żugs-dams* of the Khotan chronicle, on whichever side may lie the easy confusion of *ṅ* and *d* (ང and ད). From the passage quoted in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 258–9, it is clear that the name belonged to some elevated plain near Tola in Me-skar; and, since the district of Me-skar lay between Khotan and Tshal-byi, which latter included Cer-chen and its hinterland (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 557, 561), we must look for Me-skar and Tola, with its *Żugs-dam* (or *ṅam*), somewhere in the mountains between Polu and Cer-chen.

005, A 2. *ñul*: A "spy"; cf. p. 258, M.I. vii, 55, xiv, 0012.

B 1. *rad-gos*: On *rad* see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 820; 1928, p. 576. *Rad-gos* "travelling costume" occurs in the document published by the Oslo Institute (p. 68, n. 2 *supra*).

B 2. *śid*: Perhaps we should read *śiṅ*, "given two months, a year"; in M. Tāgh. *a*, v, 007, we have *ñiṅ-żiṅ* "in the day-time".

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B 3. *gñer-ḫkums*: See *supra*, *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 810, 838, 842.

ḫkor: = *ḫkhor*.

007, A. *ḫtsal*: If correctly read, this seems to be an equivalent of *ḫtshal*, as not infrequently.

B. *ḫphrin-byaṅ*: "Message-tablet"; see *supra*, p. 84.

Caṅ-laṅ-tse: A place; see *infra*, p. 253. Clearly it must have been on the way to Śiṅ-śan.

40. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0025 (wood; 17 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠸ | : | blon . Mtsho . bzaṅ . gis | | Rid . Khrom . [2] ma . la . spriṅ . ṅo . || [B 1] laṅ . spriṅ . na . ma . mjald . pa . lta . žig . ste . slar . yaṅ . ma . mchi[s] : | da : Śiṅ . śan [B 2] ḫtshal . kyis . ḫphrin . byaṅ . gis . mj[o]ld . ma . thag.

[1] "By Councillor Mtsho-bzaṅ sent to Rid Khrom-[r]ma [B 1] If an answer (*laṅ* = *lan*?) has been sent, it has not arrived, it seems: later also it has not come. [B 1–2] So report to Śiṅ-śan immediately upon the receipt of [this] missive."

Note

l. B 2. *ḫphrin-byaṅ*: See *supra*, p. 84.

41. M. Tāgh. *c*, iv, 0039 (wood; c. 8 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠸ | Śiṅ-śan . mkhar . bu . [so]ḫi [2] las | skos | kyi . byaṅ . bu.

"Ticket of work-levy of soldier in the lesser fort (town) of Śiṅ-śan."

Note

l. 1. *mkhar-bu*: The "lesser fort" or town at Śiṅ-śan is perhaps named in antithesis to the larger fort on the hill.

42. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0065 (paper, fol. 13 of vol.; c. 27·5 × 12 cm.; a fragment; ll. 8 of ordinary, rather large, *dbu-can* writing).

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[1] ꠸ | : | naṅ . rje . po . Śiṅ.śan . gyi . rtse . . . . sñan . Khri . ma . lod . | gduṅ . rus . grag . . btsoṅ (n ?) . . . [2] ra . myi . ra . | žon . na . rta . chig . ri . b[aḫi] . . . s . pa . la | | Klu . gzigs . kyi . m[chi]d . gs[o]l . [3] baḫ | | Naṅ . rje . po . ḫphrul . daṅ . m[tsh]uṅs . pas . | thugs . dpag . mdzad . de . g-yra [1] . zigs . [4] stsald . pa . sug . par . mchis . te . [gtaṅ] . rag . htsal . || naṅ . . -o . . [5] . . . śan . gyi . stsaṅ . ś[a]gs . chod . paḫi . [tshe] . . . -o . . . l . ḫg . . . [6] . . b . tu . gchags . | | bdag . [ña]n . *pa* . [rño] . thog . na . spyan . zigs . . . [7] . . . ḫi . rigs . na . | kho . ru . chu . . . . [8] . . . phyed . bskur . ži . . .

[1–3] "To the [wife of the] Home Minister, the chief [in command] of Śiṅ-śan, [the lady] Khri-ma-lod, of famous lineage (*here a mutilated phrase containing the expression* when riding, one horse): letter-petition of Klu-zigs. [3–4] The Home Minister, equal to a theophany, having been so considerate as to send a glance (*zigs*) up here and (the message) having come to hand, I beg to tender thanks. [4–6] The Home Minister, when settling the measure (dispute, *śugs?*) of the (*Śiṅ* .)-śan crop . . . is quite fitting (*rab-tu-gchags* ?). [6–8] It being appropriate that your humble servant, if able, should *send* a present, *I* am sending there half a . . ."

Notes

l. 1. *Khri-ma-lod*: This name being, like most others ending in *-lod*, feminine—it occurs, in fact, in the Tibetan chronicle as the name of a princess—it is probable that the gap in the document contained the statement that the lady in question was the wife or mother of the Śiṅ-śan *rtse-rje* "chief in command" and *naṅ-rje-po* "Home Minister".

l. 2. . . . *ra-myi-ra*: "In . . . place or men's place."

l. 6. *spyan-zigs*: "A present," as on p. 258 *infra*.

The present is, no doubt, the customary *upāyana*.

43. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0097 (paper, fol. no. 36; c. 20·5 ×5 cm.;

[1] Compendious for *g-yar*.

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fragmentary at right; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ꣾ | : | rtaḫi . loḫi | dbyar . sla . ḫbriṅ . poḫi . ṅo . la ‖ Śiṅ . śan . gyi . mkhar . pa . daṅ . | . . . [2] rem (res ?) . gyi . ḫtshal . ma ‖ stsaṅ . nas . khal | brgya . bži . bcu . stsal | | Śiṅ . śan . . . [3] mṅan . | dbrad . Chas . slebs | la | stsaṅ . ḫdren | Ḫa-ża . Gyu . brtsan . gyis | | ḫphu[*l*]. . . .

"In the middle Summer month of the Horse year. Rations of the men in the fort and *soldier relays* (*so-res* ?) of Śiṅ-śan. From the crop one hundred and forty loads have been sent. *The crop of* Śiṅ-śan is complete. . . . . To *dbrad* Chas slebs offered by the Ḫa-ża Gyu-brtsan, conveyor of the crop."

Notes

l. 2. *so-res*: "Relay of soldiers" recurs p. 258 *infra* and not infrequently elsewhere (*a*, ii, 0054; *a*, ii, 0017; *b*, i, 0019; and p. 84 *supra*).

l. 3. *mṅan*: See *supra*, *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 67, 69, 838.

dbrad: See *supra*, p. 61.

44. M. Tāgh. 0501 (paper fragment, irregular; c. 11 × 6 cm.; ll. 6 of rather neat, cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . . *r*ta(?) . *gi* . *lo* . stoṅ . | *Śiṅ* . śan . gyi . mkhar . snon . du. . . . [2] . . . ñ[i] . śu . la . Ś[i]ṅ . śan . du . lta[ṅ] . sags (mags) . G-yu . brtsan . m . . . . [3] . . . . brgyad . thaṅ . du . stsol . l[o] . ches . byuṅ . nas . | s-o[*n*] . . . . [4] . . . pa . daṅ . slar . Ḫu . ten . du . mchi . ba . śul . żag . . . . . [5] . . . -[so]gs . G-yu . b*rtsan* . daṅ . rtse . rje . laṅ . sa . d-o . . . . . [6] . . . . d . n[i] . cha(u ?) . ma . chad[u] . p . . .

[1] ". . . autumn of the Horse year(?). The town (fort) of Śiṅ-śan at first . . . [3] . . . on the 20 . . . send to Śiṅ-śan the bale-man (*ltaṅ-sags* ?) G-yu-btsan . . . to the measure of eight"—with reference to this (order) . . . [4] . . . and coming back to Ḫu-ten, days on the road . . . [bale-]man G-yu-brtsan and the Chief in command . . . . [6] . . . not to punish . . . ."

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Notes

l. 2. *ltaṅ-sags* : Apparently equivalent to *ltaṅ-sogs* of M.I. xxviii, 002, l. 6 (= *JRAS.* 1928, p. 582) : or should we so read ? The sense is " bale-man " or " bale-collector ". The person G-yu-brtsan was in the previous document (*b*, i, 0097) *stsaṅ-ḫdren* " conveyor of crop ". *Ltaṅ-rogs* = " bale-man ".

l. 3. *ches-byuṅ-nas* : On this phrase see *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 79 and 559. Cf. *ces-byuṅ-bah*, p. 66 *supra*.

From these references to Śiṅ-śan it is clear that the place must have been the military headquarters of the whole Khotan region. Naturally it was in constant communication with the city of Khotan itself and other places in the area. But the documents suffice to show that it was a centre of communications from regions further afield, from Tibet and from the more easterly parts of Chinese Turkestan, and was a terminal point of Tibetan occupation in the west.

The place possessed the fort excavated by Sir Aurel Stein and also, apparently, a minor fort or town (*mkhar-bu*). It had a *rtse-rje* " head official ", who was a *naṅ-rje-po* " Home Minister ". It controlled, as we shall see, the supplies of numerous military posts, and also dominated the city of Khotan, which remained, however, under the administration of its native king.

III. Gyu-mo, Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo, Ho-se Gyu-mo

For already cited references to a place named *Ḫo-toṅ Gyu-mo*, with variants *'O-toṅ Sgo-mo* and *Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo*, see *supra*, pp. 51, 55.

From one of those references it appears, as we have seen, that the place lay between Gliṅ-riṅs, in Tibet, and Śiṅ-śan, or Mazār-Tāgh. This serves to exclude any identification with either Ak-su, which had also a Chinese name *Ku-mo* (see Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 835), or the oasis of Guma, between Khotan and Karghalik. There remain

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two [1] possibilities, namely, (1) Cer-cen, which was also during a long period known as *Tsü-mo* or *Chü-mo* (*Serindia*, p. 297), and (2) a place on the Cer-cen river recorded with the name *Kiumo* in a (large) map in the *Atlas* accompanying the *Mission Scientifique dans la Haute Asie* of Dutreuil de Rhins, but otherwise apparently not known. We may dwell briefly upon the matter.

In the name *Ḫo-toṅ Gyu-mo* it seems likely that the phrase *Ḫo-toṅ* is Chinese and means "east of the river". The likelihood is fortified by the fact that the two remaining syllables *Gyu-mo* are separately used (see *infra*, p. 281) for the same, or an adjacent, place; and it becomes a certainty in case the reading *Ḫo-se Gyu-mo* in pp. 268–9 is correct, since that would correspondingly denote a Gyu-mo "west of the river"; and it would also become probable that the *Ho-se* which we have previously encountered (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 577–8) refers not to a remote Ho-se in China, but to this very place in the Nob region. If Kiumo really existed on the Cer-cen river, it would very probably be the place indicated, and it would mark the point where, as we know (Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, 298–9, 1331), the route from Mīrān (Little Nob) to Khotan passed north of the Cer-cen river. If not, then the probabilities are in favour of Cer-cen.

It is curious that, while the Mīrān documents never refer to Khotan or Śiṅ-śan, those from Mazār-Tāgh are equally silent concerning Nob, Cer-cen, and Ka-dag, and this despite the large numbers (several hundreds) in both cases and despite the fact that the officers in Khotan and Mazār-Tāgh at least were in regular communication with Tibet. This demands a general explanation, which may partly be one of date and partly lie in the circumstance that the regards of the Tibetans in Mīrān were turned chiefly in the eastern direction, towards Śa-cu. The matter may be reconsidered later; but it is

[1] It seems unnecessary to bring in the *Yü-mi* or *Chü-mi*, applied by the Chinese to an old kingdom lying between the Chīra and Keriya rivers (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 467).

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at any rate implied that the regular communications between Mazār-Tāgh and Tibet passed at the period in question by way either of Polu (said to be now impassable for baggage animals) or by the valley of the Cer-cen river.

45. M. Tāgh. 0050 (paper fragment; c. 14 × 15 cm.; ll. 11 *recto* of good, cursive, black *dbu-can* script + ll. 9 *verso* of rather coarse, ordinary *dbu-can*—different matter, but the text, which has lost little at the left, makes it probable that in the *recto* little is missing on the right).

[1] . . . r Dron . myi . Lha . goṅ . Nad . gos . Btsan . legs | Dgra . byuṅ . . . [2] . . . na . Yul . h̲phan . Rtses . mthoṅ . Phug . h̲dros . legs | | . . . [3] . . . s . Brtsan . zigs | H̲phrul . gyi . rtse . na . Kol . kol . Ña . rtsan . . . [4] . . . Ryuṅ . g[o]ṅ . Rya (Nyo ?) . skor . | 'An . tse . na . Rhvul . po . Khu . goṅ . Rgyal . slebs . . . [5] . . . d . na . G[s]as . zigs . Zla . rma . byeh̲u : H̲bu . śaṅ . na . G-yu . l . . . [6] . . . ṅ . Lad . rtsu | Stag . sras . na . Tses . zigs . Lha . mñen . Ja . l . . . [7] . . . dus . na . Rmaṅ . [s]lebs . Żaṅ . rmun . Yul . tsan | H̲jag . ma . gu[r] . . . [8] . . . san . *Dgra* . mthoṅ . Skyin . tsud | Stag . sgugs . na . Liṅ . . . [9] . . . phan . | Mdoṅ . rtse . na . Phaṅs . legs . Lha . brtsan . | Jaṅ . laṅ . . . [10] . . . legs | Ho . toṅ . Gyu . mo . na . Byi . bu . Hul . tse | Rtse . -u . cag . na . . . [11] . . . s . gyi . rtse . na . Myes . mtoṅ | Bye . ri . snaṅ . daṅ . rtse . na . Legs . gsas.

" . . . Dron-myi Lha-goṅ, Nad-gos, Btsan-legs.

" In Dgra-byuṅ . . . . Yul-h̲phan, Rtses-mthoṅ, Phug-Dros-legs . . . Brtsan-zigs.

" In H̲phrul-gyi-rtse Kol-kol, Ña-rtsan . . . . Ryuṅ-goṅ, Rya-skor.

" In 'An-tse Rhvul-po Khu-goṅ, Rgyal-slebs . . . .

" In . . . d Gsas-zigs, Zla-rma-byeh̲u.

" In H̲bu-śaṅ Gyu-l . . . . . ṅ, Lad-rtsu.

" In Stag-sras Tses-zigs, Lha-mñen, Ja-l . . . .

" In *Stag-h̲*dus Rmaṅ-slebs, Żaṅ-rmun, Yul-tsan.

" In H̲jag-ma-gu . . . san, Dgra-mthoṅ, Skyin-tsud.

" In Stag-sgugs Liṅ : . . . . . phan.

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" In Mdoṅ-rtse Phaṅs-legs, Lha-brtsan.
" In Jaṅ-laṅ-*rtse* . . . . legs.
" In Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo Byi-bu, Hul-tse.
" In Rtse--u-cag . . .
" In . . . -s-gyi-rtse Myes-mtoṅ.
" In Bye-ri-snaṅ-daṅ-rtse Legs-gsas."

Notes

Concerning the places with names ending in *rtse*, viz. 'An-tse, Bye-ri-snaṅ-daṅ-rtse, Jaṅ-laṅ-rtse, Mdoṅ-rtse, Ḫphrul-gyi-rtse, Stag-ḫdus-*kyi-rtse*, Stag-sgugs-*kyi-rtse*, Stag-sras-kyi-rtse, see below (pp. 251 sqq.), where several of them recur. Concerning Dgra-byuṅ(-*gi-rtse* ?), Ḫbu-śaṅ, Ḫjag-ma-gu, Rtse--u-cag, see pp. 269–70, 282 *infra*.

The discrimination of the personal names is not in all cases certain; but for the most part we have sufficient analogies among those occurring in other documents. In l. 6 the expression *rhvul-po* (*rhul-po*) has been taken as a prefix (class or clan name) on the ground of its form (cf. *Khyuṅ-po*, noticed above, *JRAS.* 1927 p. 812) and of its occurrence in M.T. 0509, 0510.

It may be noted that in a case like the present, where a rather well-written official document shows on the reverse a private letter, especially if the latter is coarsely inscribed, the priority of the former is indubitable.

46. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0078 (wood; c. 22·5 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and partly rubbed away).

[1] | | Ho . toṅ . Gyu . mo . na | Bod . gñis . Li . gñis . la | mñald . paḫi . khri . thag . bar . ches . | byi . n . . . [2] Li . . -s : ño . na | Skyi . stod . gyi . sde . dṅul . Klu . bzaṅ . ḫog . phon . . .

" In Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo two Tibetans, two Khotanīs (chief bedstead *thag-bar* . . . . ?).
" In . . s-ño, the *dṅul* Klu-bzaṅ of the Upper Skyi regiment, the corporal . . ."

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Notes

l. 1. *mñald . . .*: This phrase perhaps refers to conveyance of the sick. But we hear elsewhere of a *mñal-paḥi-sde* (*b*, i, 0075; *c*, iii, 0017, 0078), perhaps the medical contingent.

l. 2. *dňul*: Apparently not found elsewhere as a personal designation. Since *dňul* = "money", it might mean "cashier".

Skyi: On this region see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 816.

47. M. Tāgh. *c*, i, 0053 (wood; c. 15·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ꠸ | | Ho . toň . Gyu . mo . ḫi . blugs (*for* rgyags ?) ||

[B 1] Ha . żar . gy[i] . mag . la . ri . zugi . brgyags . ḫbag

[B 2] gu . yaň . med . tho

"Supplies for Ho-toň Gyu-mo. For the army in the Ha-ża [country] there is not even a moderate amount of *ri-zug* ('mountain-sickness' ?) supplies."

Note

B 1. *ri-zug-brgyags*: See p. 281: this phrase recurs *a*, ii, 0065, iii, 0040, *b*, i, 0059 and 0177, *c*, iii, 0030.

48. H. 4 (wood; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary, rather clumsy, cursive *dbu-can* script).

꠸ | | Ḫo . toň . Gyu . mor . mchi |

"Going to Ho-toň Gyu-mo."

49. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0066 (wood; c. 17 × 1 cm.; fragmentary, the top part lost; l. 1 *recto* + the top of l. 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] . . . : ḫtshal . brgyags . dag . ma . thond . pas | rab . ḫtu : t[o] | | daḫ . cuň . yaň . Ho . toň . sgo . [c]al[d].[1]

[B] *Illegible.*

"Food supplies not having been issued, very . . . So send some little to Ho-toň Sgo[-mo]."

For a mention of a Ho-si Gyu-mo and of a Gyu-mo without qualification see below, pp. 268, 281.

[1] Added below middle of line.

(*To be continued.*)

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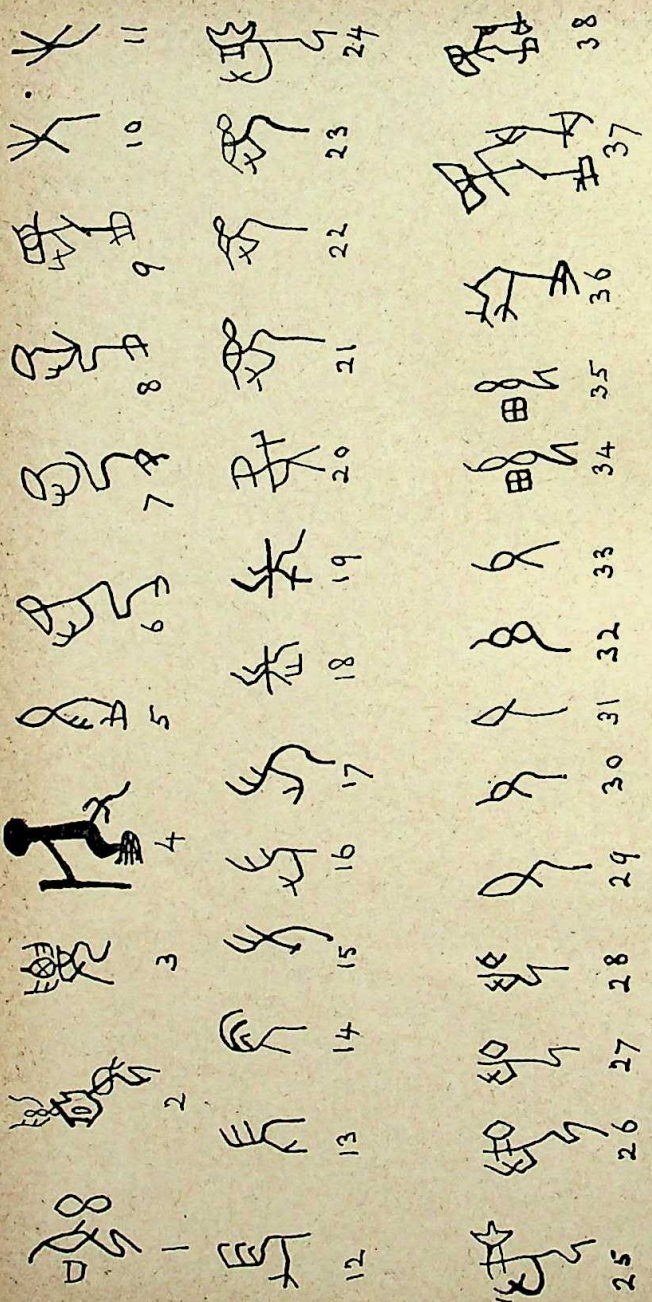

The Human Figure in Archaic Chinese Writing.

To face p. 95.]

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The Human Figure in Archaic Chinese Writing. Part II

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE II)

Type 18

IN the *Journal* for 1923, pp. 386–90, in the Series of "Pictographic Reconnaissances", Part V, a small set of ancient forms was discussed and illustrated which I gave reasons for considering the original scription of the word *hsün*, now written 訊, and meaning to question, examine with authority, and, in the phrase, 執 訊 *chih hsün*, standing for "bound captives". It was there maintained that the archaic form represented a kneeling human figure having the arms pinioned behind with cords. Fig. 21 on p. 389 of that Paper, reproduced as Fig. 1 on Plate II of the present Number, shows best the conception of the early design.

This same attitude, combined with another element in an integral design, appears in a unique and suggestive character (Fig. 2), given by Lo Chên-yü on p. 19 of *chüan* 6 of his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*. But here in Fig. 2 the crouching figure has for its head a curious, more elaborate, yet stylized shape, found in several slightly differing variants,[1] the original outline of which remains at present obscure though it seems to contain the eye.[2] Above this head again is attached a group made up of the two hands, with fingers downwards, holding the archaic version of 糸 *mi*, silk thread, but in combination used ideographically for thread or cord of any kind. Beneath this is a strange shape in which it is easy to see an unfortunate captive with hands bound behind his back, being dragged by a cord round his neck.

[1] See e.g. Figs. 12, 13, and 14 in Plate VIII, *JRAS.* for October, 1927. Also Figs. 37 and 38 in this Number.

[2] Wang Hsiang has ingeniously conjectured that two closely similar archaic characters cited by him from the Honan Finds (but without further reference to chapter and page of Lo's Works), may be 面 *mien*, face.

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And, incidentally, I propose to identify this recently discovered figure with a so-called "ancient form" reproduced in the *Shuo Wen* under the character 要 *yao*. It may well be that at first this equation will be considered too daring, but less so, I hope, when certain facts are recalled that ought to be borne in mind.

First, then, the word *yao*, defined by the *Shuo Wen* as the waist (now written 腰 *yao*), has, besides the now more common sense of to want or require, another meaning, also in frequent use, namely, to bind morally, to constrain, and in that sense is synonymous with 約 *yao*, or *yo*,[1] as Kanghsi states.

The *Shuo Wen* gives the Lesser Seal version of *yao* 要 as , which it analyses as 臼 *chü*, the two hands, and 交 *chiao*, contracted, giving the sound, though such a shape for such a contraction, it has been objected, is impossible. But the same work gives further a different character as the *ku wên* or "ancient form", which is, as written, a complex of the two hands, the element 囟 *hsin*, skull, and 女 *nü*, woman. Fig. 3 reproduces it. The disaccord between the Lesser Seal and the upper part of this alleged ancient form will be seen at once.

Now my suggestion is this, that both the *Shuo Wen's* Lesser Seal and its "ancient form" are corrupt; that the former contains not a contraction of 交 *chiao*, but the old character for silk or cord; that the supposed element *hsin*, skull, otherwise inexplicable, is another and worse corruption of the same sign for cord; and lastly, that the lower part of the *Shuo Wen's* "*ku wên*" form was *not* the archaic shape of *nü*, woman, but a misunderstood and miswritten alteration of the figure of a prisoner with his hands bound behind his

[1] It is pertinent here to observe that no example of this last character as thus composed can be produced from archaic texts. It is true that Takada in his *Ku Chou P'ien* appears to give one, but it is only, as he states, a reconstruction from archaic versions of 糸 *mi* and 勺 *shao*. For myself I rather regret that the Japanese scholar should have so often followed this practice, as being likely to mislead readers who may not notice what he always makes plain, that such and such a character is reconstructed, and is not therefore authenticated from an actual example.

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back, the general appearance of the character 女 *nü*, woman, in its early form lending itself easily to such an alteration, whether ignorance or design is responsible.[1]

If this argument should prove tenable, it would follow that the upper part of our complex, Fig. 2, is the original of the Lesser Seal phase of 要 *yao*, while the full archaic character, Fig. 2, minus the difficult and intractable head, is the veritable prototype of the *Shuo Wen's* "ancient form", Fig. 3.

Thus the original design of the character would be a picture inspired by the idea of "constraint", which is certainly one, and probably the earliest, sense of the word *yao*. And if a rope round his neck, and the binding of his hands behind his back, do not constrain a man, he must be of quite exceptional recalcitrance.

But quite opposed to my interpretation of the analysis and significance of Fig. 2 is that of the Japanese scholar and critic, Tadasuke Takada. He sees in that figure an archaic version of the character 夏 *hsia*, probably an ethnic name, but used in various other senses. He dissects Fig. 2 into 夂 *ch'ui*, above which is an element "expressive of dignity", 有威儀之意, and over that again, a contracted scription of 爰 (an obsolete character, said to mean "to put in order", and traditionally, but probably wrongly, read *luan*), expressing, so Takada says, "composed demeanour" 修容之意. I cannot follow him in this, nor can I detect in the helpless being of the archaic script, either much dignity or any composure.

* * * * *

I venture to take this opportunity of repairing an omission, which I much regret, in Plate IX of the July Number of the *Journal*, where Fig. 34*a* is referred to in the text (p. 564)

[1] See also the transformations undergone by this same figure of a bound captive in "Pictographic Reconnaissances" in *JRAS.* for July, 1923, pp. 386–90, *s.v.* 訓 *hsün*.

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but by an oversight was omitted from the Plate. I reproduce it as Fig. 4 on the accompanying Plate, and now repeat a few sentences from pp. 564–5 of the July Number for convenience sake. Takada, I remarked, considered the group to be "without doubt the most archaic form of 據 *chü*, to hold on to", and rightly pointed out that the human figure and the staff make a picture of someone supported by a staff. I added that it would therefore seem reasonable to conclude that without the hand element on the right, the figure with the staff stands for the most primitive scription of 杖 *chang*, a staff, or to use a staff.

Type 19

The design represented by Fig. 5 on Plate II depicts a human figure fully expressed with head, arm and hand, and foot, the latter shown probably as a mark symbolizing a standing or walking posture. I agree with Wang Hsiang, the author of the *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsuan*, a dictionary of archaic forms from the Honan Finds, who equates this form (p. 47) with the modern character 夋 *ts'ün*. Such an identification, though a good case may be urged for it, cannot be considered certain, and in fact there is a rival claimant to the archaic representation of *ts'ün*, upheld by a powerful advocate. For in vol. xvi of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* Review, No. 16, p. 2, that specially competent critic, the late Wang Kuo-wei, maintains that the form seen in Fig. 6 is in his opinion the archaic prototype of 夋 *ts'ün*. He adds that he surmises it to represent the character 俊 *tsün* (or *chün*), heroic, in the name 帝 俊 *ti chün*, "Emperor Hero," a title occurring in the *Shan Hai Ching*, and, he says, the true name of the 帝 嚳 *ti Ku*, Emperor Ku, of the legendary ages. See also *Kanghsi*, *s.v.* 夋 *ts'ün*, which, it is stated, was another name of the Emperor Ku.

The main distinction between this Fig. 6 and Fig. 5, indicated in the first line of this Type above, lies in the different position of the arm and hand, which seems to make it unlikely

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that the two can be mere variants, but I am unable to offer a rival identification. I add on the Plate three variants of Wang Kuo-wei's example, Figs. 7, 8, and 9, taken from my own collection, H. 140, 640, and 798.

Another example of the character cited by Wang (Fig. 6), identical in form, but apparently from a different text, is preceded by the two characters (above which the fragment is broken) 又 于 *yu yü*. If we take 又 *yu* here to equal 佑 *yu*, or 祐 *yu*, to protect, protection, we might suppose a previous word to implore, or to receive, and the whole clause might have been "to implore protection" from the spirit indicated by Fig. 6, whether *ts'ün* or some other word is to be read.

TYPE 20

At first sight Figs. 10 and 11 hardly suggest that they have to do with the human figure. They appear on the Bones as Place-names according to Lo Chên-yü (*Y.H.S.K.K.S.*, p. 15), and will be found in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i, chüan* ii, pp. 3 and 4. But in view of the construction of the archaic character for 鬥 *tou*, to fight, which is (and in a curtailed form), Figs. 10 and 11 would appear to be the two elements of *tou*, minus the forearm and hand.

And the construction of this character *tou* is interesting in more than one way. It depicts in linear outline, and slightly stylized manner, an "antithetic" or "heraldic" group of two men fighting, or, as Lo puts it, "without weapons grappling with each other," 徒手相搏. And Lo leaves it at that; but if I am not mistaken, there is a more detailed and a more amusing explanation of these two warriors to be found in our picture. The trident-like strokes that surmount the rest of the figure must symbolize the hair of the head, and hair in dishevelled disorder also, a disorder due to the fact that each of the combatants is trying to drag hair by the handful from the head of the other—a form of prowess still displayed at times by Chinese coolies when really enraged.

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What remains doubtful, however, is to what modern character Figs. 10 and 11 correspond.

Type 21

The variations of this rather baffling character are illustrated by Figs. 12 to 17. The lower half of these shows clearly that the profile of a human figure is in question, and the lines of the upper part would seem to represent, or to symbolize, the loose hair of the head. And this is the construction put upon the whole complex by Wang Hsiang in his Book, where he conjectures 長 *ch'ang*, long, and *chang*, to grow, to be the modern equivalent. Lo Chên-yü leaves the character undetermined, but Wang's suggestion has always attracted me, even though I find in my own collection two examples, Figs. 18 and 19, of a formation much closer to those shown in the *Shuo Wen*. But that fact is not conclusive against Wang's view, for these Shang Dynasty relics abound with realistic pictograms, and also with much stylized or broken-down signs, for one and the same character. And in any case, the six variants, Figs. 12 to 17, fall within the scope of this Paper, whether they are early representatives of 長 *ch'ang* or not.

Type 22

This type bears a general resemblance to the last in the attitude, but the head is either wanting or reduced to the stylized symbol ⊐, and behind or over the head, or over the shoulder, are objects which are sometimes of obscure significance. It also forms the main part of several archaic characters, one of which was fully treated in a previous Paper,[1] where a number of variants were illustrated. Here I need only add one that was not among them, Fig. 20. This shows the linear design of a man with stylized head facing left and carrying over his shoulder a halberd, the weapon of his time.

[1] "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Part VII, under *Fang* 方, in *JRAS.* for July, 1926, pp. 479–83, and Plate VIII. Fig. 20 is from *Y.H.S.K.* Hou Pien 下 p. 22.

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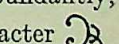
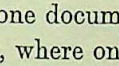
Figs. 21–23 indicate a different character of unknown modern equation. The head seems to be wanting, and in its place we have a singular element which I am unable to explain. In one instance occurring in my collection (H. 680) the whole character is evidently a man's name or title.

Another and equally inscrutable complex presents itself in the group of variants Figs. 24 to 28. To what *word* this strange formation corresponded is unknown, and apart from our ignorance of its verbal signification, we cannot even quite penetrate the significance of its graphic construction. Yet we may, it seems probable, analyse the character as consisting of a human figure, with head in profile shown in part, with one arm raised as though carrying some object over the shoulder, while behind the head is the outline of what certainly appears to be a dissevered human ear. Now we know the Chinese tradition that in olden times it was the custom to cut off the ear of a prisoner of war and present it to the Ruler in proof of personal prowess. And it would be quite a reasonable conjecture that these figures portrayed a soldier carrying away this token of valour, were it not that a simpler variation of the same theme exists already and abundantly, both on Bronze and Bone documents in the character  and  *ch'ü*, to fetch, where only the hand holding an ear is represented. This weakens the probability of the conjecture above suggested to some extent, and no other solution seems at hand.

Type 23

The rather dull little character shown in Figs. 29–31 is considered by Lo Chên-yü, followed by Takada and Wang Hsiang, to be 允 *yün*, meaning both sincere and to consent. Lo explains the Figures as depicting a man looking backwards 象人回顧 *hsiang jên hui ku*, and suggests tentatively the significance of that attitude as "perhaps symbolizing that his words and deeds correspond", 殆言行相顧之意與. Lo's view of the character and of its supposed symbolism does not seem very convincing. Moreover, there is another and rather different figure contemporaneous

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with this, which does undoubtedly stand for 允 *yün*, so far as mere form goes, and that is or , found nearly always in combination, sometimes as in Figs. 32 and 33, where the later scription was 夋 *ts'ün*.

But there is still extant on the Honan relics a variant of our character, typologically more primitive, and more self-expressive, than any of the above, though like them found in the archaic scription of 唆 *tsün*. It is shown in Figs. 34 and 35, where the kneeling or crouching attitude is more fully and naturally displayed. And unless there was some difference in the drawing of the head originally, we should be driven to identify Type 23 with Type 3, Figs. 9 to 14.[1]

On the whole, we may doubt whether 夋 *ts'ün* and 允 *yün* were not once mere variants of the same character, and further, whether the initial sounds of the two words in question, *ts'ün* and *yün*, were not identical in the earlier speech.

Type 24

This has been so fully treated in the *Journal* for October, 1927,[2] that I need not do more here than describe the type as the linearized figure of a man grasping an object sometimes with both hands, sometimes with one, and having in certain examples the head drawn with "a singular crest with an irregular and angular outline, found, however, in the Honan Relics fairly often on human figures in the place where the head ought to be". The foot is also present in some of the variants. Fig. 36 illustrates the type, the object grasped being omitted.

Type 25

In this type we meet a quaint and meagre human figure, distinguished from all others previously studied by having one arm behind its back, bent at the elbow and grasping by its long handle some implement or weapon whose head

[1] See *JRAS.* for July, 1929, p. 560 and Plate IX.

[2] In "Pictographic Reconnaissances", Part VIII, pp. 771–7, and Plate VII, Figs. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, showing a considerable range of variational detail.

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rests apparently on the ground. The rest of the figure is made up of a stylized reduction of the head, below which is a linear trunk and the remaining upper arm, while the line of the body terminates in a bent leg and foot. See Figs. 37 and 38. What is the significance of this drawing? and can we associate this unusual complex with any modern character? I believe we can respond to both these questions with some assurance, and since the matter has both interest and importance to the students of the Chinese archaic world, I venture to treat it in some detail.

Mr. Takada is, to my knowledge, the only authority who has attempted to decipher the character, though not to equate it with any modern form, nor to assign to it definitely either sound or sense. He considers it to consist of what he believes to be the archaic scription of 獶 *nao*, ape, on the left, with 戉 *yüeh*, battle-axe, (modern 鉞), on the right, and ranges it in one of the categories called by him 古逸字 *ku i tzŭ*, or "archaic disused characters", throughout his great Work.[1]

In this analysis I am unable to follow him, and disbelieve that the two elements involved are those corresponding to *nao*, ape, and *yüeh*, battle-axe. (And where do even the most modern Gorillas trail battle-axes behind them?)

The solution I am about to put forward is on quite other lines, and to make it clearer to follow, I add below a tracing of the facsimile of the bone fragment with its inscription, given on p. 24 *verso* of Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Hou Pien*, 上 Shang, in the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* Review, part iii.

This bone fragment contains in large well-written shape twelve complete characters, and part of another at the break of the bone at the right-hand upper corner. The inscription is in three vertical columns, of which the right is the first, and is continuous with the middle line of four characters. The left and third line seems to be a separate entry though related to the previous sentence. It seems to require some

[1] See his *Ku Chou P'ien*, chap. 26, p. 30.

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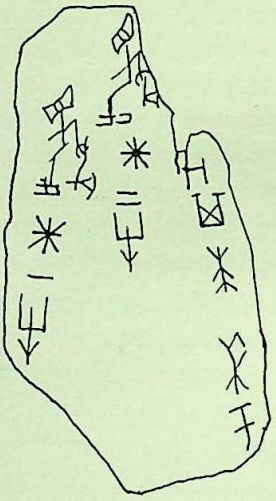
previous words corresponding to those of the right-hand column, but none can be detected above it in Lo's facsimile.

The modern transcription of these three vertical lines of archaic characters is clear, but for the curious complex that constitutes Type 25, under discussion. I believe this to be the original scription of the character now written 畟 *tsi*, for which later scribes, in the Title 后 稷 *Hou Tsi*, substituted



TEXT-FIGURE 1.

the augmented character 稷 having the same sound, but the different meaning Millet. Hence Chavannes rendered 后 稷 *Hou Tsi* (literally, as I believe, "Lord of the Ploughshares," a rendering I shall defend a little lower down) by the words "Prince de Millet".

We should read the inscription then, in modern Chinese, thus :—

Line 1. [Part of an undeciphered character mutilated by fracture of bone] followed by 其 求 禾 于 *ch'i ch'iu ho* [standing for 年 *nien*] *yü*.

Line 2. 畟 燎 二 牛 *tsi liao erh niu*.

Line 3. 畟 燎 一 牛 *tsi liao i niu*.

This would be equivalent in English to :—

Line 1. X X the-or-that pray-for the harvest to

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Line 2. Tsi, and make-a-burnt-offering of two oxen.

Line 3. X X Tsi, and make-a-burnt-offering of one ox.

Such a translation at least gives an intelligible and probable sense, whereas Takada's decipherment of the anthropomorphic character as *nao*, ape, and *yüeh*, battle-axe, and his or his printer's error in printing 米 *mi*, rice, for 㷭 (= 燎 *liao*), a burnt-offering, leaves us unenlightened.

The use of 禾 *ho*, growing grain, as a contraction of the ancient character for 年 *nien*, year, or harvest, the word intended here, is not uncommon on these Honan relics, as Takada points out.

This brings me to the defence of my contention that the remarkable form shown in Type 25 is the true original of the Lesser Seal , and modern shape 耜 *tsi*. The constituent elements in these two phases are, as it were, dislocated, when compared with the more living picture on the Bones. But that is not all. They further omit the arm behind the back and the object held in it. But, for all that, it seems clear that what was intended by the ancient artist, was a man walking and dragging behind him some implement of tillage, whether a hoe or, perhaps, a primitive ploughshare. For though the *Shuo Wen* under its entry of 耜 *tsi*, rather describes its function than defines its fashion, when it writes, 治稼耜耜進也 *chih chia tsi tsi chin yeh*, that is, "In tillage, sharp-sharp-ly to move forward," the *Erh Ya* is more explicit and writes, 耜耜耜也 *tsi tsi ssŭ yeh*, "*tsi-tsi* is the share or blade."

Was there, then, still lingering on in the Second Millennium B.C., a tradition among the early Chinese of a tillage practised not with oxen or horses, but by men pushing or dragging a primitive ploughshare, and thus opening up to the sowing of seed the virgin soil of territories in which they were immigrants and intruders? Such a racial memory, incarnate in an eponymous hero *Hou Tsi*, the Lord or Overseer of Ploughshares, and piously epiphanized in the Figure of Type

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25, may well be revealed by the scanty clauses of the inscription discussed above, which clearly indicate a supplication to some spiritual being having power to grant or withhold a bounteous harvest.

In "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Part VIII, in the *Journal* for October, 1927, p. 777, referring to the same Figure (here Fig. 37 of Plate), I wrote, "The significance attributable to this enigmatic group eludes us, consequently also the modern verbal and graphic equations."

Further consideration of the inscription illustrated in the text above (Text-Fig. 1) suggests so strongly that the "enigmatic group" is, in fact, the prototype of the character 耜 *tsi*, a share or blade, despite the absence in the modern form of any element corresponding to the object dragging in the rear of the human figure, that I venture the surmise that the element 耒 *lei*, plough, was at some later date substituted for the object shown in the archaic scription, and the character 耔 *tsi* was thus created as a kind of *cy-près* solution of the difficulty. This surmise is fortified by the statement of the *Tsi Yün* 集韻 Dictionary (cited by Kanghsi) that "耔 is the same as 耜 *tsi*", 同 耜 *t'ung tsi*, that is, is a variant form of it. What is more we should thus find an explanation for the fact that a word really meaning a share or blade, should be apparently represented in the Lesser Seal and modern forms of writing, *only* by a human figure advancing in profile. As an original design for such a word, that seems most inadequate and unlikely.

Yes, it may be objected, but it is only a conjecture at the best. So it is, but when certainty is beyond reach, conjecture, supported by argument, is the next best thing, for a conjecture is also a challenge. And so, adapting a stanza from Bret Harte, let me end this study in the minor key of Truthful James :—

"Which is why I remark, And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark, And for tricks that are vain,
Archaic Chinese is peculiar, Which the same I am free to
maintain."

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

ESA MUÑJAṂ PARIHARE

This passage of the Padhāna-Sutta (Suttanipāta, v. 440) has been declared, on p. 917 of *JRAS.* 1929, to have been misunderstood by Dr. W. Eggers in his dissertation "Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas". As a matter of fact, Dr. Eggers has said nothing on the Sutta, but merely repeated the statement of the scholiast regarding the *anivattino.* But as I am myself of opinion (and have said so to my students, among whom was Dr. Eggers) that the scholiast comes nearer to truth than both Pischel and Oldenberg thought, I trust that the following little restatement of the case will not be found superfluous.

It will be remembered that Pischel in his fascinating paper "Ins Gras beissen" (*Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1908, p. 445 ff., has explained, among other things, that taking grass or reed in one's mouth was in ancient India an appeal to the enemy to spare one's life, and that, therefore, the Bodhisattva, despising surrender to Māra, said: *esa muñjaṃ parihare* "Ich verschmähe das Schilfrohr"—"I refuse to take the reed".

This view was promptly declined by Oldenberg by quoting (in *ZDMG.*, 1908, p. 594) from the Vedic literature (Gobhila, Kāty. Śraut., Śatap. Brāhm.) five passages in which the verb *parihar* appears in close connection with *muñja-mekhalā, muñja-yoktra,* etc., i.e. with a girdle made of muñja grass bestowing mystical power for performing certain ceremonies, or (according to the Atharva-Veda) magical power for conquering one's enemy (*vīraghnī mekhalā*; Kauśika-Sūtra: *anayainaṃ mekhalayā sināmi*).

One more fact telling against Pischel might have been mentioned by Oldenberg, viz. that nowhere in the Nikāyas has the verb *parihar* the meaning "to reject, to disdain" or

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the like (see the P.T.S.'s *Dictionary* where for the noun *parihāra* in the sense of "avoidance, keeping away from" only a Jātaka passage is referred to).

But Oldenberg comes to a strange conclusion. He winds up by paraphrasing as follows the meaning of the sentence we are concerned with: "Möge er (Māra) immerhin seinen Muñjagürtel umnehmen, der im bevorstehenden Kampfe ihm Sieg bringen soll"—"Let him (Māra) by all means put on his muñja belt which is to secure him victory in the impending fight". Evidently, then, Oldenberg takes the three stanzas 440–42 to be a soliloquy interrupting the direct speech of the Bodhisattva to Māra.

It must be strongly doubted that this is correct. At first sight, indeed, stanza 442 may not seem to be addressed to Māra; but stanza 431 (*te Māro vattum arahati* = Lal. Vist. *tān evaṃ vaktum arhasi*) shows that *Māraṃ*, in 442, may be and probably is nothing else than a poetical substitute for *Māra tvaṃ* (voc. + acc.). The three stanzas contain nothing that could be accounted for only by the assumption of a soliloquy, while everything they contain is calculated to frighten Māra and therefore not likely to be a soliloquy. This is particularly evident in stanza 441, which I would paraphrase thus (*ettha* = *saṅgāme*; no *na*, as in Mahāvastu): "Do not think that I am no match for you, because there are a good many ascetics waging war with you unsuccessfully. For, if these do not succeed, it is because they are not loyal to their vow (*subbatā*) and do not, as I do, know the one way leading to success."

Still, the Vedic references adduced by Oldenberg are important and decisive. It cannot be doubted that our passage has something to do with them. It is not, however, the mystic or magical power of the Vedic muñja belt which connects the latter with our Bodhisattva, but merely its being the token of a *vrata*. Even now the practice of wearing a grass ring for the duration of a *vrata* (or *dīkṣā*) is not uncommon in India. In my opinion, therefore, *muñjaṃ*

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parihare means much the same as *vrataṃ badhnāmi*, the special kind of vow being understood. The Bodhisattva says: "I take the vow to conquer or to die, caring nothing for life," and this fits in perfectly with the second line of the stanza, in which I can see no mild resignation, as Pischel does,[1] but only the words of the true Kṣatriya: "Death in battle is better for me than if I would live as a vanquished man."

The scholiast, then, is essentially right. The word *muñja* in the Sutta does mean some outward sign indicating the *vrata* of the *anivattino*.[2] And though the author of the Sutta may have thought of the ring or belt, the practice of wearing a *muñjatinam* fastened on the head or banner or weapon of the warrior (to frighten the enemy) may well have existed at the scholiast's time.

F. Otto Schrader.

NOTES ON HITTITE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

The country known to the Assyrians as Samalla, also written Sam-alla from an assimilation to the Semitic שמאל lay north of the Gulf of Antioch, its capital city being the modern Sinjerli as was proved by the German excavations on the site. Tomkins was the first to identify it with the Samalua of Thothmes III (*Syrian Geographical List*, No. 314) where it is associated with Aleppo (No. 311), 'Urma (313), the modern 'Umq of Uerem or Plain of Antioch, and 'Akama (315) in which Tomkins saw the name of the modern Akma Dagh. In one of the Cappadocian tablets from Kara Eyuk (Sidney Smith: *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets* 36, *a* 4) we read that "the governor of Purutim" wrote to a Babylonian merchant at Ganis (Kara Eyuk) to say that "the Governor of 'Simala" had lately "departed (?) from

[1] Thinking, it seems, that the Bodhisattva continues on the defensive, whereas, in reality, this is just the beginning of his offensive (cf. 442: *yuddhāya paccuggacchāmi mā maṃ ṭhānā acāvayi*).

[2] Which, by the way, need not mean *morituri*, but may mean simply those who have vowed not to flee.

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us" (*isti-ni ki(?)biś*). Purutim is the Purt of the Thothmes list (No. 316) where it follows Samalna and 'Akama, and corresponds with the Assyrian Purattu or Euphrates.

Zalba is frequently mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets as a chief source of the export of lead. It lay to the south of the Halys, as is shown by its connection with Khakhim (*Cuneiform Tablets in the British Museum*, iii, p. 34, *b* 4–8) "Dadum has reached Zalba, saying: 'Here am I: for the goods to Khakhim I will go'" (*azir lukutim ana Khakhim lulik*). According to the Arabic writers there was a "Leadborough" (برج الرصاص) in the province of Aleppo (Sachau: *Sitzungsberichte d. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1892, xxi, p. 14). I am inclined to identify Zalba with Anazarba which the Arabic historians write 'Ain Zarba, "the Spring of Zarba". In Assyrian this would have been Ena Zarba, while the later Aramaic of Cilicia would have made it עינזרבא. Suidas, who makes the "Anazarbian" (Anazarbas) founder of the city live in the time of the emperor Nerva (!), confuses it with Kuinda, the Kundi of the Assyrian texts. The ancient name seems to survive in the Turkish Anavurza. For the interchange of *l* and *r* we may compare *zârakhi* (*sic*) and *zalkhu*, the Subaræan or Mitannian word for "lead" (WAI. v, 29, 41–2). Possibly the form of the name was influenced by the Assyrian *zaruba* "refined metal".

In the treaty between the Hittite king Mutallis and Sunassioras king of Kizzuwadna the river Savri forms part of the boundary between the two kingdoms. In Savri I see the classical Saros. The name still survives in that of the Savran Chai which flows between the Saros and the Pyramus.

The city of Durmitta in the Boghaz Keui cuneiform texts is identified with the modern Derende by Professor Garstang. The latter part of the name recurs in other local names like Kismitta and Karasmitti and since initial *m*- commonly represents *w*- in Hittite, more especially after the vowel *u*, the pronunciation of the name would have been Durwitta. Cf. the variant forms of the name of the city Khagmis,

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Khaggamis and Khagbis (which presupposes Khagwis). Lewy has shown that Durmitta is the Durkhumeid or Durkhumit of the Cappadocian tablets (which also mention a Kunana-meit C.T. iii, 7, *a* 21). Durkhumeid, or rather Durkhumit, lay in the direction of Samukha, and in Clay, *Letters from Cappadocia*, No. 70, we are told that the caravan road ran from Durkhumit to Wakhsusana and from Wakhsusana to Saladuar (also written Salatiwar and Salatimear, No. 148, 27, where it is conjoined with Ursu, the classical Rhôssus).

A. H. SAYCE.

THE RASTRAKUTAS AND THE GAHARVALS

There is much difference of opinion among historians as to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gaharvāls being identical.

Dr. Burnell, observing the Rāṣṭrakūṭas mentioned as *Raṭṭa-vaṃśīs* in some of their inscriptions,[1] was led to infer that they are members of the Reḍḍi tribe. He believed that it is the Telugu word *Reḍḍi* which has been distorted into *Raṭṭa*. In Telugu this epithet is applied to the aboriginal agriculturists of that province.

Mr. V. A. Smith held that the Gaharvāls and Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Upper India, at least, seem to have come from the same stock.[2]

For some time they held sway over Kanauj, as appears from the copper grant dated Saka-S. 972 (V. S. 1107; A.D. 1051) of king Trilocanapāla of Lāṭa (Gujarat), which contains :—

कान्यकुब्जे महाराजराष्ट्रकूटस्य कन्यकां
लब्ध्वा सुखाय तस्यां त्वं चौलुक्यामुहि सन्ततिं ।

(*Indian Antiquary*, vol. xii, p. 201.)

[1] Researchers of history are well aware that in the inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I, as also in that of Indra III found at Navasari, the word "Ratta" only stands instead of "Rāṣṭrakūṭa" to denote the race of these kings, which shows that "Ratta" is another form of the word "Rāṣṭrakūṭa".

[2] "The Northern Rathors are off-shoots of the Gaharwals." V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 429.

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i.e. "O, Caulukya! seek the hand of the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kanauj, and produce offspring."

In an article in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. iii, p. 41, Mr. J. W. Watson, Political Superintendent, Palanpur, writes that on Thursday[1] the Mārgaśīrṣa Śudi 5 of V. S. 936, the Rāṭhor Śrīpati, king of Kanauj, on the occasion of his accession to the throne, made a charitable grant of sixteen villages in North Gujarat to the Chibadiya Brahmans. One of those villages, named Etā, is still held by the descendants of those Brahmans. He also adds that the Muhammadan historians of Gujarat have acknowledged the king of Kanauj to be master of Gujarat.

In the above grant this Śrīpati is designated *Kanaujeśvara*, either perhaps as being a member of a Kanauj royal family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas, or because the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruvarāja II of the southern branch may, after defeating king Bhojadeva Parihār of Kanauj, have granted an appanage to Śrīpati's father, who belonged to a section of Northern Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and on his death this Śrīpati may have made this charitable grant.

In the *Bombay Gazetteer* also the village of Eta is stated to have been granted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kanauj. Dr. Fleet also holds that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had migrated to the South from the North.

But on this point it may, however, be asked how the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, who are described as Candra-vaṃśīs in their inscriptions, can be considered descendants of the Sūrya-vaṃśa. My reply to this is that in the first place the distinction of Candra, Sūrya, and Agni Vaṃśa, is only a Paurāṇic idea, because in different places the same clan is designated as of different lineage.[2] Moreover, if at

[1] In fact, Sunday falls on this date.

[2] In some inscriptions of the Solankis (Caulukyas), in the *Dvyāśraya-Kāvya* of Hemacandra, and in the *Vastupāla-Carita* written by Jina Harṣa Gaṇin, the Caulukya race is said to have sprung from the Lunar stock. But in the *Vikramāṅkadeva-Carita*, written by Bilhaṇa, the origin of the

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all the matter deserves notice, it will be seen that in fact nowhere before S. 782 are the Rāṣṭrakūṭas stated to be Candra-vaṃśīs. Further, among the 1,800 silver coins of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja I, found at Dhamori (Amraoti), we find the phrase :—

"परममाहेश्वरमहादित्यपादानुध्यातश्रीकृष्णराज"

Here the word महादित्य alludes to the king's being of the Sūrya vaṃśa, because in the documents hitherto discovered *Mahāditya* appears neither as a title nor as a name of his father. Thus it doubtless refers to his prime ancestor, the sun.

Besides this the copper grant dated Saka-S. 730 (V. S. 865, A.D. 808) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda-rāja III, contains the verse :—

यस्मिन्सर्वगुणाश्रये क्षितिपतौ श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो
जाते यादववंशवन्मधुरिपावासोदलंध्यः परैः ।

i.e. "just as the Yādava clan became invincible owing to the birth of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, in like manner the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan also became invincible by the birth of this able king."

This shows that until this date the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan must have been considered distinct from the Yādava[1] clan; but later on the scribe of the copper grant of king Amoghavarṣa I dated Saka-S. 782 (V. S. 917, A.D. 860), probably misinterpreting the simile in the aforesaid plate of king Govindarāja, may

race is held to be from Brahma, which view is also supported by the inscription of the Solanki king Kumārapāladeva.

In the Mount Abu inscription dated V.S. 1377 of the Chauhān Lumbha the Chauhān clan is stated to belong to the Lunar stock; in the inscription of the time of Visāladeva IV, in the *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*, and in the *Prithvī-rāja-vijaya* this clan is said to be of the Solar stock; while in the *Prithvīrāj Rāso* it is mentioned as having sprung from Agni, the Fire God. Similar is the case of the other clans.

[1] This fact is borne out by the inscription of the Yādava king Bhīma, dated V.S. 1442, found at Prabhāsa Paṭṭana, which contains the words :—

वंशे(शौ) प्रसिद्धो(द्धौ) हि यथा रवीन्दो(न्द्वो): ।
राष्टोऽवंशस्तु तथा तृतीयः ।

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have taken this king for a Yādava-vaṃśī. The later writers of the subsequent seven grants, as also Halāyudha, seems to have copied this mistake.

In the *Rāṣṭroḍa-vaṃśa-Mahākāvya*, written in Saka S. 1518 (V. S. 1653, A.D. 1596), it is stated that a Candra-vaṃśī prince had been adopted by the Sūrya-vaṃśī king of Kanauj [1] and that the former was the first prince to be designated Rāṣṭroḍa.

Besides this, it is also possible that in course of time, owing to the influence of Vaishnavism, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas may have been considered Yadu-vaṃśīs. I quote, for instance, the case of the Gohil house of Bhaunagar (Kāṭhiāwār). When, in the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era, they had been ruling in Mārwār, they were considered Sūrya-vaṃśīs, whereas now, owing to their present abode being in the vicinity of Dwārakā, they allege themselves to be Candra-vaṃśīs, as is evinced by the following stanza :—

[1] पुरा कदाचिन्नतये समेतान्देवाननुज्ञाप्य गृहाय सद्यः ।
कात्यायनीमर्द्धशशाङ्कमौलिः कैलासशैले रमयाम्बभूव ॥ १२ ॥

. . . . . .

अन्योन्यभूषापणबन्धरम्यं तत्रान्तरे द्यूतमदीव्यतां तौ ॥ १४ ॥

. . . . . .

कात्यायनीपाणिसरोजकोशविलोलितात्तत्पिता तथेन्दोः ।
गर्भान्वितैकादशवार्षिको ऽभूदभूतपूर्वः प्रतिमः कुमारः ॥ २० ॥

. . . . . .

तस्मै वरं साम्बशिवो दयालुः श्रीकान्यकुब्जेश्वरतामरासीत् ॥ २३ ॥
अत्रान्तरे काचन जातनाम्ना समेत्य देवी गिरिजाहराभ्याम् ।
विलीनभूमिपतिकान्यकुब्जराज्याधिपत्याय शिशुं ययाचे ॥ २४ ॥

. . . . . .

नारायणो नाम नृपः सुतार्थी यत्रेश्वरं ध्यायति सूर्यवंश्यः ।
सा रुद्रदत्तेन सहामुनाक्षिप्तवातरत्काञ्चनमेखलेन ॥ २८ ॥
अलक्ष्यदेहा तमवोचदेषा राजन्नसावस्तु तवैकसूनुः ।
अनेन राज्यं च कुलं तवोढं राष्टौ(ष्टौ)ढनामा तदिह प्रतीतः ॥ २९ ॥
(सर्गः प्रथमः)

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चन्द्रवंशि सरदार गोत्र गौतम वक्खाणूं
शाखा माधविसार भूके प्रवरचण जाणूं
अम्बिदेव उद्धार देव चामुण्डा देवी
पाण्डवकुल परमाण आद्य गोहिल चल एवी
विक्रमवध करनार नृप शालिवाहन चकवै थयो
ते पछी तेज ओलादनो सोरठ मा सेजक भयो ॥

A further proof of Vaiṣnavism influencing the lineage is that in the seal of a copper grant, of the sixth century, of the Vikrama of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Abhimanyu, there is an image of the goddess Ambikā seated on a lion, while in their subsequent copper grants Garuḍa has been substituted.

Here it may also be asked why, if the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in reality were not Candra-vaṃśīs, did they themselves allow the repetition of a mistake committed by a scribe. In reply I beg to say that the royal family of Udaipur is popularly styled Sūrya-vaṃśī, but the learned Mahārānā Kumbhakarṇa himself, concurring with the opinion of previous scholars, stated in his *Rasika-priyā* (a commentary on the *Gīta-govinda*) that the founder of the dynasty was a Brahman :—

श्रीवैजवापेन सगोत्रवर्यः श्रीबप्पनामा द्विजपुङ्गवोऽभूत् ।

Next I shall take up the question of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gaharvāls being one and the same.

An inscription of king Lakhaṇapāla[1] has been found at Badāyūn : it is of the thirteenth century A.D. It contains the lines :—

प्रख्याताखिलराष्ट्रकूटकुलजच्छापालदोःपालिता
पाञ्चालाभिधदेशभूषणकरी वोदामयूतापुरी

. . . . . .

तत्रादितोभवदनन्तगुणो नरेन्द्र
श्चन्द्रः स्वखड्गभयभीषितवैरिवृन्दः ।

i.e. " Protected by the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, the city of

[1] This Lakhaṇapāla was seventh in descent from Candra. By assigning twenty years to each generation we arrive at about the same period which is assigned to the Gaharvāl Candra of Kanauj.

In the United Provinces this Lakhaṇa is generally supposed to be a nephew of king Jayacandra, and I think that the author of the *Rāso* has also somewhere in his work mentioned him as such.

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Badāyūn is an ornament of the province of Kanauj (Pāñcāla). Having conquered his foes by his prowess, Candra became the first king of that place."

Similarly, we have found a copper grant of the Gaharvāl Candradeva of V. S. 1148 which contains the lines :—

विध्वस्तोद्धतधीरयोधतिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः ।
येनोदारतरप्रतापशमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं
श्रीमद्गाधिपुराधिराज्यमसमं दोर्विक्रमेणार्जितम् ।

i.e. "Candradeva, son of Yaśovigraha, became a powerful monarch. Having vanquished his enemies with the force of his arms, he took the kingdom of Kanauj." The lineage of Candradeva is not mentioned in this copper grant. But his descendants were afterwards known as Gaharvāls.

Comparing both these inscriptions and taking into consideration the contemporaneousness of the two Candradevas mentioned therein, we conclude that both refer to one and the same. Candradeva, having first taken Badāyūn, later took possession of Kanauj also. After him his eldest son Madanapāla ascended the throne of Kanauj, while the younger son Vigrahapāla received Badāyūn as a *jāgīr*. The Badāyūn family stuck to the original racial name, but the descendants of Madanapāla, being sovereigns of Gādhipura (another name of Kanauj), assumed the title of Gaharvāl, just as some Rāṣṭrakūṭas, residents of village Reṅka of the United Provinces, came to be known after it as Reṅkvāls. In the Prakrit language *Gahar* can easily be a corruption of *Gādhipura*.[1]

It may also be noted that, when Rao Sīha, having severed all connections with Kanauj, migrated to Mārwār, he at once abandoned his surname Gaharvāl and acknowledged himself as simple Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

We conclude that, when the power of the Parihārs became weak owing to the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indrarāja III of the Deccan, their feudatories began to assume

[1] [This etymology seems to require explanation.—Ed.]

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independence. Consequently in about V. S. 1137 some Member of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, having carved out an independent state of Badāyūn, soon after took possession of Kanauj. Afterwards, when Jayacandra was killed and when, shortly after, Shams-ud-dīn began to drive out the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from that region, Jayacandra's grandson Sīha migrated to Mārwār *via* Mahuvi.

Certain ruins at Mahuvi (Dist. Farrukhabad) are still called Sīha-rao-kā-kherā.

Again, from a copper grant of Rao Dhuhar, grandson of Rao Sīha, we gather that in his reign a Brahman had brought down the idol of their tutelary deity from Kanauj. Similarly, in the inscription of V. S. 1686 of Rāṭhōr Jagmal, the latter's ancestor Dhuhar is mentioned as Sūrya-vaṃśī Kanaujīya Rāṭhōr.

Taking all these facts into consideration, we are led to believe that in reality the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gaharvāls were of the same lineage. Besides this, in the *Rajataraṅgiṇī* (written in the twelfth century of the Vikrama era) there is a mention of thirty-six clans of Kshatriyas, and in the *Kumārapāla-caritra* (written in V. S. 1422), where thirty-six clans are enumerated, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan is designated "Rat", while no specific mention is made of Gaharvāls.

Again, finding a mention of the name of Gopāla and his successor Madanapāla in a Bauddha inscription of V. S. 1176 (A.D. 1118) from Seṭ Maheṭh, and Gopāla being entitled therein as "*Gādhipurādhipa*", or ruler of Kanauj, Mr. N. B. Sanyal thinks that these two, Gopāla and Madana, were the ancestors of the aforesaid Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Lakhaṇapāla of Badāyūn; that Gopāla had acquired possession of Kanauj in the last quarter of the eleventh century of the Christian Era, sometime between the overthrow of the Pratihāra Dynasty of Kanauj in A.D. 1020 (V.S. 1077) and the acquisition of that kingdom by Gaharwāl Candra in almost the last part of the eleventh century of the Christian Era, and that Gaharwāl Candra had seized the kingdom of Kanauj from

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Gopāla, which accounts for the title of "*Gādhipurādhipa*" being affixed in the inscription of Seṭ Maheṭh to the name of Gopāla alone, and not to that of his son Madana.

Further, Mr. Sanyal quotes a stanza from the copper grant dated Saka-S. 972 (A.D. 1050; V. S. 1107) of Trilocanapāla, found at Surat, in which there is a mention of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas having ruled over Kanauj. Mr. Sanyal supports this view on the basis of the Seṭ Maheṭh inscription.

In regard to the above opinion the following points deserve consideration :—

There have been found a copper grant of Trilocanapāla, dated A.D. 1027 (V.S. 1084), and also an inscription of Yaśaḥpāla, dated A.D. 1036 (V. S. 1093), from which we conclude that the Pratihāras held sway over Kanauj for some time even after this period. Moreover, a stanza in the copper grant[1] of the Gaharwāl Candra, dated V. S. 1148 (A.D. 1091), found at Candravatī, runs as follows :—

तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोसलेन्द्र-
स्थानीयकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य ।
हेमाद्रितुल्यमनिशं ददता द्विजेभ्यो
येनाङ्किता वसुमती शतशस्तुलाभिः ॥

From this we understand the Candra had conquered Kanauj long before the date of this inscription. The propositions that Candra had conquered Kanauj in the last part of the eleventh century of the Christian Era and that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gopāla of the Badāyūn inscription ruled over Kanauj in the last quarter of the eleventh century do not appeal to reason.

Again in the Badāyūn inscription it is thus stated about Madanapāla, successor of Gopāla—

"यत्पौरुषात्प्रवरतः सुरसिन्धुतीरहम्वीरसंगमकथा न कदाचिदासीत्" (l. 8)

i.e. "under the powerful influence of Madanapāla there was

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ix, p. 304.

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no talk even of the Muhammadans ever attempting an approach to the bank of the Ganges."

As to this Mr. Sanyal himself thinks that Madanapāla may have fought with the Muhammadans as a feudatory general in the army of the Gaharwāl Govindacandra.

If it were so, it would be more open to question how the scribe, who delights in recording even the ordinary act of his patron's forefather Madana in having kept the Muhammadans from the banks of the Ganges, forgot to take notice of such a great deed as the conquest of Kanauj by Madana's predecessor, Gopāla ?

Mr. Sanyal holds V. S. 1257 (A.D. 1200) as the probable date of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Lakhaṇa's Badāyūn inscription. This Lakhaṇa was seventh in descent from Candradeva. According to the prevalent practice of assigning a period of twenty years to each ruler, if we count back 140 years from the date V. S. 1257, we arrive at V. S. 1117 (A.D. 1060), as the time of Candradeva of Badāyūn.

We have found a copper grant of V. S. 1148 (A.D. 1091) of Candra of Kanauj, referring to his many past conquests and ceremonies ; also we know that this Candra retired from the throne in V. S. 1154 (A.D. 1097), having made over the kingdom to his son Madana, and died only three years after. From these facts we conclude that this Candra was rather old at the time of issuing this copper grant (V. S. 1148) ; and this is further borne out by the fact that even his son Madana, having attained old age, retired in V. S. 1161 (A.D. 1104), i.e. only four years after Candra's death, and died in about V. S. 1167 (A.D. 1110).

Hence, to suppose that Candra of Badāyūn is identical with him of Kanauj would not be improbable. The same Candra, having acquired Badāyūn, may soon after have conquered Kanauj, as has been stated before.

In the circumstances, if we presume Gopāla of the Seṭ Maheṭh inscription to be identical with the one mentioned in the Badāyūn inscription, it may be said that the scribe

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of the former inscription may have affixed the title "*Gādhipurādhipa*" to Gopāla in consideration of the Badāyūn family being closely related to the Kanauj family.

In the foregoing we have referred to the copper grant dated Saka-S. 972 (V. S. 1107 ; A.D. 1050) of Trilocanapāla. This inscription has reference to some past, and not to any contemporary, Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj. It therefore finds no support in the Seṭ Maheṭh inscription.

Further, is it not strange that, owing to a fancied resemblance between the names of Yaśovigraha and Vigrahapāla and Mahīcandra and Mahīpāla, Dr. Hoernle came to the conclusion that the Gaharvāls belonged to the Pāla Dynasty ? In the first place, the names of all the kings of the Pāla dynasty ended in the termination Pāla ; secondly, Mahīpala of the Pāla dynasty was a powerful king, while the Gaharvāl Mahīcandra was not even an independent chief. Thirdly, in all the inscriptions of the Pāla kings, excepting one of Mahīpāla, the dates are given in their regnal years, whereas in all the inscriptions of the Gaharvāl kings the Vikrama Samvat is used. Lastly, kings Dharmapāla and Rājyapāla of the Pāla Dynasty married the daughters of kings Parabala and Tuṅga respectively of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dynasty, while, as shown above, the Rāṣṭakūṭas and Gaharvāls were identical.

Some people hold the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gaharvāls to be of distinct origins on the ground of their different *Gotras*. But Vijñāneśvara has clearly said—

राजन्यविशां . . . . पुरोहितगोत्रप्रवरौ वेदितव्यौ

i.e. "the *Gotras* and *Pravaras* of kings accord with those of their priests."

Accordingly, having shifted their residence from one province to another, they may probably have been required to change their Purohitas, and so their *Gotras* may also have changed.

The quotation given below from Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda-Mahākāvya* will also be sufficient to show that the

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difference in *Gotras* does not necessarily indicate difference of the clans :—

गुरोर्गोत्रादतः कौत्सास्ते भवन्ति स्म गौतमाः ॥ २२ ॥
(सर्ग १)

i.e. " owing to the change of the priest they adopted Gautama's *Gotra* instead of their previous Kautsa *Gotra*."

Thus, on giving a careful consideration to the subject, the doubts raised against the collateralness of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gaharwāls will be seen to be groundless.

Sāhityācārya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

Communication

1. Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis le mois de novembre 1928, et est ainsi composé : C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, Tj. De Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Des huit publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux pris marqués : (1) Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la *Ḥamâsah* de al-Buḥturî (1909), fl. 96 ; (2) *Kitâb al-Fâkhir* de al-Mufaḍḍal, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; (3) *Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâṭinijja-Sekte*, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4.50 ; (4) Bar Hebraeus's *Book of the Dove*, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4.50 ; (5) *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, par C. Van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6 ; (6) *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10 ; (7) *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen, par S. van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7.50 ; (8) Les *Livres des Chevaux*, par G. Levi della Vida (1829), fl. 5.

Novembre, 1929.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE ZOOLOGICAL SECTION OF THE NUZHATU-L-QULŪB OF ḤAMDULLĀH AL-MUSTAUFĪ AL-QAZWĪNĪ. Edited, translated, and annotated by Lieut.-Colonel J. STEPHENSON, C.I.E., M.B., D.Sc., F.R.C.S. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xxx.) 9 × 6, pp. xvi + 100 + 127. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1928. 15*s*.

During the last twenty years considerable attention has been given to one of the chief Persian writers of the Īl-khānī period, Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī of Qazwīn, a friend of the illustrious statesman and historian, Rashīdu'ddīn Faḍlullāh, who appointed him to a post in the financial administration. Of the works in which his leisure was employed, three have come down to us. The first of these, the universal history known as *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, has been published in facsimile in the Gibb Memorial Series with an abridged translation by the late Professor E. G. Browne; the second is the immense historical poem entitled *Ẓafarnāma*, extant in a unique MS. (Brit. Museum, Or. 2833); the third is the *Nuzhatu 'l-Qulūb*, which may be described as an encyclopædia of popular science. The third *maqāla* comprising the geographical portion of the work was edited and translated by Mr. G. Le Strange (Gibb Memorial Series, xxiii), and now we are indebted to Colonel Stephenson for an excellent edition and translation of the section dealing with zoology, which forms part of the first *maqāla*. There seems to be no earlier Persian treatise on the subject, and even in Arabic, apart from monographs by philologists like Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubayda, the *Kitābu 'l-Ḥayawān* of Jāḥiẓ stands alone; for while the *Nuzhat* was completed in 1340, Damīrī's *Ḥayātu 'l-Ḥayawān* dates from the latter half of the same century. Moreover, the Arabic writers regard the subject mainly from a literary point of view, unlike Ḥamdullāh, whose work runs on scientific

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lines, though its contents do no more than "allow us to see what, good or bad, high or low, actually was the state of zoological science in the Muḥammadan East in mediaeval times". Faint as this praise may appear, Colonel Stephenson judges rightly that the historical aspect of the work is that which constitutes its real importance. Though teeming with absurdities, it provides in comparatively few pages a great amount of information, not readily accessible elsewhere, that sheds light over a wide field of study. For example, since the description of each animal is followed by a list of the medical and magical uses of its several parts, "we thus have a 'Materia Medica'—a list of the drugs of animal origin used in Persia at the time of the compilation of the *Nuzhat*," and the names of the diseases in which they were applied. Much of this lore is traditional or popular; the authorities most frequently cited are the *Wonders of Creation* by the writer's fellow-townsman Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī and the vast collection of anecdotes by 'Awfī—a fact that speaks for itself. It should be noticed, on the credit side, that he often gives the Turkī and Mongolian names of the animals described. Naturally these names have suffered at the hands of the copyists.

The oldest and best MS. of the *Nuzhat* is one written in 1449 and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ancien Fonds 139). By collating this and five other MS. copies in addition to the Bombay lithograph, the editor has produced a good and trustworthy text. Here and there, I think, it is capable of being improved, but so far as I have tested it the doubtful readings are almost invariably those which cannot be corrected with any certainty. E.g. ماريطوعون (p. ٥٠), the name of a fabulous "man-eater", is clearly a mistranscription of *μαρτιχόρος* or *μαρτιχώρας*, which in its turn represents the Persian مردخوار; but who shall decide how the word was spelt by Ḥamdullāh? Old MSS. of the *Jawāmi'u 'l-Ḥikāyāt* have ماريطوعودون, an easy

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corruption of مارطيخوروس. Notwithstanding its straightforward style, the book raises many a problem for readers unfamiliar with its subject-matter. We have therefore every reason to be grateful to Colonel Stephenson, one of the rare Oriental scholars who are also experts in zoology and medicine, for a satisfying translation, the value of which is increased by numerous notes on special points connected with natural history, etc.

I conclude with some criticisms. P. 1, l. 9: "He gave to animals sensation and motion, that they may seek their food according to بدل ما يتحلل". This phrase, which is left untranslated, means "in compensation for what is dissolved", i.e. for waste caused by the bodily secretions. Cf. *Firdawsu 'l-Ḥikmat*, ed. Ṣiddīqī, p. 115, 15 f. وكلّ حيّ محتاج الى غذآء يقوم مقام ما يتحلل بالشمس والرياح من بدنه اوّلا فاوّلا. P. 2, l. 25: Instead of "has proved a felicitous guide" read "is set down here (is quoted) for luck". P. 7, l. 2: "Infidels" is not an adequate rendering of ملاحده, which denotes the Ismā'īlīs and particularly the "Assassins". P. 12, last line: "There is a friendship between the snake and the ibex; and if the ibex's horn and the snake's tail be burnt, and the ashes rubbed on the sole of the foot, one will feel no distress even after long walking." Since it has previously been stated that the ibex is the enemy of the snake, the editor suggests that دوستى is a slip for دشمنى. But does not the sense of the passage imply that some kind of occult or magical sympathy was supposed to exist between the two animals? P. 22, l. 5 from foot: For "application to the eye" read "suppository". شياف has both meanings (see Dozy, *Supplément*). P. 29, l. 9: "It is an ugly and dirty animal." The translator owes an apology to the bear for these epithets, neither of which occurs in the text. He reads و اطلس (*sic*) انز, the last word

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being an emendation, but Ḥamdullāh wrote انزوا طلب, "seclusion-seeking". So Damīrī says الدبّ يحبّ العزلة, i.e. it retires into its den for the purpose of hibernation. P. 78, l. 8 from foot: For "flat" read "smooth". The point is that the young eaglets have nothing on which they can lay hold to prevent themselves from falling. The author adds, "but notwithstanding their small size, they محس باشند and elect to rest quietly rather than to move about." Colonel Stephenson alters محس, which is the reading of the best MSS., to مِخُشّ, an uncommon word meaning "bold during the night", and translates by "they have no fear". Surely the correct reading is مُحِسّ, i.e. the eaglets are endowed with a sense (instinct) of self-preservation. P. 88, note: "The Shaikhu-r-Ra'īs" is a title by which Ibn Sīnā is often designated.

R. A. Nicholson.

Falakī-i-Shirwānī: His Times, Life, and Works. By Hādī Ḥasan. James G. Forlong Fund, vol. vi. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. 96. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1929. 12*s*. 6*d*.

This book of 96 pages is the introduction to the author's forthcoming edition of the *Dīwān* of Falakī, a panegyrist of the Shirwānshāh Minūchihr II (514–44 A.H.). It begins with a careful account, based on numismatic as well as literary evidence, of the history and chronology of the Shāhs of Shirwān in the sixth century of the Hijra. Themselves weak and obscure, they derive a certain lustre from their connection with two great Persian poets. Niẓāmī, who dedicated his *Laylā and Majnūn* to Akhsatān I, and Khāqānī, who was Falakī's contemporary, and in the elegy which he wrote on his death called him "a sneeze of my lawful magic", meaning in plain prose "my pupil in the art of poetry". If the exhaustive research undertaken by Dr. Hādī Ḥasan

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has not produced a great deal in the shape of facts concerning Falakī himself, it has added very considerably to our knowledge of the literary history of the period. He shows by means of an ingenious deduction from passages in the *Dīwān* that the poet died, not in 577 A.H. as has hitherto been supposed, but nearly forty years earlier, after having been released from a fortress in which he was interned by his royal patron; and several other long-established errors are decisively corrected. The *Dīwān* of Falakī, which contains little over a thousand couplets, is extant in a unique MS. at Munich. Taking this as the basis of his text, the editor has supplemented it by a thorough examination of anthologies, lexicons, treatises on prosody, and works on general literature. One might perhaps wish that he had expended so much labour on a writer more conspicuous for merit and interest; but he has worked all round the subject, and there can be no doubt that the result is an exceptionally fine contribution to the critical study of Persian poetry. The two illustrations reproduce a *mustazād* by Falakī and a page containing a reference to him in the *Dīwān* of Ẓahīru'd-Dīn Shufurwah from MSS. in the British Museum and the India Office. I have observed only two mistakes: بتغ for بَيْغ and Arion for Orion, both on p. 21.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE MATHNAWĪ OF JALĀLU'D-DĪN RŪMĪ. Edited from the oldest manuscripts available with critical notes, translation, and commentary, by R. A. NICHOLSON, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic, Cambridge. Vol. III, containing the text of the Third and Fourth Books. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, IV 3. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxxi + 64 + 510 pp. London: Luzac & Co., 1929. 30*s*.

Three volumes of this great work by Professor Nicholson have now appeared, and both author and printers (Messrs. Brill of Leiden) are to be congratulated on the excellence

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of this third volume. Professor Nicholson's Introduction is of singular interest. When he published the text of the first two books he explained why he preferred certain manuscripts. His text of Book I is based on manuscript C—an early fourteenth century copy belonging to the British Museum—that of Book II on manuscript D—a Munich copy dated A.H. 706 (A.D. 1307). These manuscripts, although old and good, are not of pre-eminent authority. Professor Nicholson chose them because, for reasons which he gives, he considered other manuscripts to show signs of corruption and alteration of what was probably the poet's original text. Now, however, by a singular piece of good fortune, he has obtained manuscripts written so soon after Jalālu'd-dīn's death that there is no question as to their superiority. Accordingly the text now published is, as to Book III up to line 2835 that of manuscript H, and as to the rest of Book III and the whole of Book IV that of manuscript G. H is a manuscript in private possession in Constantinople; it was written in A.H. 687, and is said to have been read to Jalālu'd-dīn. G is preserved in the museum attached to Jalālu'd-dīn's "Turba" at Qōniya; it was written in A.H. 677 and is said to be a copy of a corrected and emended archetype that was read to the author and his friend Ḥusāmu'd-dīn. As Jalālu'd-dīn died in A.H. 672, it is clear that these two manuscripts give us a text of unusual trustworthiness.

Variations in the text of the Mathnawī can be roughly divided into two main classes—changes due to later copyists and differences which *may* be due to alterations made in the original poem by the poet himself. The Mathnawī is, in places, not very polished verse; its rhymes often offend; it is not very difficult to emend them so as to avoid obvious breaches of rules. Moreover, its meaning is constantly obscured by excessive conciseness, and may be explained by the addition of a line or two. Thus changes and additions have been made only too frequently by ingenious copyists. But what are we to say to differences in reading occurring in manuscripts

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so early that copyists had little time to work their wicked will upon them? Professor Nicholson suggests that the first copies of the poems—or at least of its earlier books—were corrected and published during the poet's lifetime or soon after his death. Whether Jalālu'd-dīn himself made or approved of these corrections cannot be said. But he may well have done so. Fitzgerald's extensive alterations to his own original version of the Rubā'īyāt show how far a poet *can* go in this direction.

The text has been remarkably well printed. The list of errata cannot be called long. There are ninety-three corrections to Book III—4810 lines—and only thirty-eight to Book IV—3855 lines. And most of them are very trivial, such as addition or omission of an *iḍāfat*. Very few additional mistakes have been revealed by a careful perusal of the text. In case they may be useful to Professor Nicholson they are noted here :—

Book III.	l. 839, for	نوفیق	read	توفیق
	p. 122, heading, for	دقوقی	,,	دقوقی
	l. 3200, for	یان	,,	بیان
	l. 3613, for	استیزة	,,	استیزه
	l. 3710, for	مقصدس	,,	مقصدش
	l. 3886, for	بیآماسد	,,	بیآماسد
	p. 257, heading, for	حقّد	,,	حقّید
Book IV.	l. 305, for	ثو	read	تو
	l. 377, for	سنحد	,,	سنجد
	p. 435, heading, for	غژید	,,	غزید
	l. 2771, for	ان	,,	آن
	l. 3816, for	کی	,,	کنی
	l. 3843, for	یقش	,,	نقش

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There are some cases where the reading looks questionable, though perhaps the manuscript authority may be conclusive. The following are noted :—

Book III. l. 130, لُبد may perhaps be لَبد (wool).

l. 919, اندر ضمان may perhaps be اندر زمان

l. 2567, رُسته may perhaps be رَسته

l. 4731, and Book IV, l. 187; should we not read either نردبان or ناودان in both places—preferably the former ?

Book IV. l. 319, گفتیم may perhaps be کفتیم

l. 1657, زخالِ مردهٔ زنده may perhaps be زخالِ مرده زندهٔ

l. 2557, خانه کِری may perhaps be خانه گری

l. 2864, کورئ افزون روانِ may perhaps be کوری افزونِ روانِ

l. 3783, هست دیون محاسب may perhaps be هست دیوانِ محاسب

In Book IV, l. 2997, the curious form فایدّه occurs twice. The Arabic termination in ة is sometimes written ه, for example in the *ḥadīth* quoted in Book IV, l. 1420—اَهلُ اُلْجَنّه

All students of Persian are awaiting with interest the next volume, which is to contain the translation of Books III and IV, and still more the commentary and explanatory notes. The Mathnawī is by no means easy to translate, for words and phrases meet one on every page presenting difficulty. But much harder is it to grasp the real meaning which

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Jalālu'd-dīn intended to convey to his hearers. Take such a simple example as the famous lines beginning:

از جمادی مردم و نامی شدم وز نما مردم به حیوان سرزدم

The poet deals with this idea more than once; thus:

آمده اوّل باقلیم جماد وز جمادی در نباتی اوفتاد

What does he really mean? Speaking for myself, I look forward with impatience to Professor Nicholson's remarks on this and many another difficult passage. The Ṣūfīs of Jalālu'd-dīn's time lived in a world of ideas so different from our own that few of us can really appreciate and sympathize with their thoughts and their beliefs. If any modern scholar can understand the mind of a great Muslim mystic of the Middle Ages, it is Professor Nicholson.

Perhaps the scheme of the Gibb Memorial Series hardly allows of one suggestion. The late Professor Browne told us that the Mathnawī was "poetry of a very high order". The translation of Books I and II is adequate as to the words. But Professor Nicholson has shown us in his *Selected Poems from the Dīwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīz* how he can also translate the spirit and reflect the poetry of Jalālu'd-dīn. Could he not do something like this for the Mathnawī too?

C. N. S.

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARĀT, *Ẓafar ul-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih*. By 'ABDALLĀH MUḤAMMAD *bin* 'OMAR AL-MAKKĪ AL-ĀṢAFĪ, ULUGHKHĀNĪ. Vol. III. Edited by SIR E. DENISON ROSS (Indian Texts Series). $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp. CXV + 42 + 215. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1929. 7*s*. 6*d*.

This is the third and last volume of the text of this most valuable work, the unique holograph manuscript of which Sir E. Denison Ross discovered in the library of the Calcutta Madrasah. The importance of his discovery can hardly be over-rated. The book is primarily a history of Gujarāt and

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is a most valuable and independent account of that state and its rulers, but the author branches off into the history of practically all other Muslim states in India, Jaunpūr, the Deccan, Mālwa, Khāndesh, Bengal, and Dihlī. For the history of the small state of Khāndesh Ḥājjī ad-Dabīr, as the author is commonly styled, is the only authority besides Firishta, and he gives us much information which supplements Firishta's brief account, and much more which explains it. His history of the Bahmanids, and of the dynasties which succeeded them in the Deccan, and of Muslim dynasties in all parts of India, also contains much which enables the searcher after historical truth to supplement and correct accounts given by other historians.

The editor explains in his introductions to the three volumes the difficulties, neither few nor light, of the task of editing the text of Ḥājjī ad-Dabīr, of which, however, he has acquitted himself with conspicuous success. Most valuable and interesting additions to the text of the work are the subject-index, the notes, and the three appendices, but the most important is the biographical and geographical index. The importance of this index and the difficulty of compiling it are explained by the editor in his introduction to volume ii. "One great cause of confusion to the reader throughout this history (he might have added, every Indian history) is the author's practice of referring to the leading *dramatis personae* by their titles only, without reference to their other names; and seeing that many of these titles were always borne by some one, and were indeed sometimes held by two or more individuals concurrently, the result is often most bewildering." Sir E. Denison Ross has carefully examined each mention of a person by his title, has determined in each case to which holder of the title the entry refers, and has given in his index the personal name, as well as the title, of the person mentioned, with references to the pages in which he is mentioned. The difficulty of this task, and the immense labour which it has involved can be estimated only by students of original works

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on Indian history, and the result of the editor's labours is that this index is not only a guide to those consulting this particular text, but a work of reference for students of Indian Muslim history generally, as well as a model for editors of all future works on the same subject. All such students owe a debt of gratitude to Sir E. Denison Ross.

The editor justly complains of the scanty notice which his labours have received. "The fact is," he says, "that Arabic scholars are not as a rule interested in Indian history, while Indian historians are not generally acquainted with Arabic," so that the book has fallen between two stools. The present writer has met students of Indian history who have never heard of Hājjī ad. Dabir, and has been in communication with one such engaged in the translation of an important authority, which deals with the history of Muslim India in general, and that of Gujarāt in particular. This student has been advised to suspend his work until he has carefully studied Hājjī ad. Dabīr, but for the reason given by Sir E. Denison Ross such advice as this is at present fruitless, and our English translation of the text is much to be desired.

A slight error in the introduction to volume I seems hitherto to have escaped notice. Hājjī ad. Dabīr is not consistent in his spelling of place-names, and an instance of this is his spelling of the name of the town Sūrat in two ways, سورت and سرت, but the spelling سورته represents the district Sorath (Saurāshtra), not the town.

Sir E. Denison Ross has rendered a great service to all students of Indian history. The text of the valuable work discovered and edited by him is a monument of scholarship and industry, and a mine of historical information.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

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MATÉRIAUX POUR UN CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ARABICORUM. Deuxième partie, Syrie du Sud. Tome deuxième, Jerusalem, "Ḥaram". Deuxième fascicule. Par MAX VAN BERCHEM. $14\frac{1}{4} \times 11$, 217—466 pp. In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français du Caire. Tome 44. Cairo, 1927.

This fascicule concludes Van Berchem's work on Jerusalem. Short notices of the earlier fascicules have appeared in the *Journal* as they came out, and a general view may be taken here of the whole. It forms a separate book in three volumes, the third volume containing the plates having been published before the other two. An index is still wanting, but is promised.

The existing Islamic monuments of Jerusalem that are earlier than the Christian kingdom of the sixth/twelfth century consist of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣâ mosque and one or two other buildings and remains in the Ḥaram sanctuary. A few detached fragments of this period from the sanctuary and others from the town itself or from its neighbourhood are preserved also. Both in the town and in the Ḥaram there are numbers of monuments still standing that date from the recapture of Jerusalem from the Crusaders onwards to modern times. Van Berchem brings together a comprehensive collection of inscriptions from these objects, consisting of all that he was able to see himself, and he adds any other Islamic inscriptions from Jerusalem of which he could find a record. He is careful to warn the reader that his collection is not complete and he points to places where additions may be looked for, but it does not seem likely that they would be many or of much importance. In any case, only a small proportion of his inscriptions have been published before. The series includes about 300 items and starts in the Umaiyad period, extending over the remainder of the Islamic epoch, but for a gap in the sixth–twelfth century, due to the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. Most of the inscriptions are architectural, but there are a few of a different

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kind, such as decrees, title deeds, epitaphs, and grafitti. The substance of the record is usually brief, the bulk of the inscription generally consisting of titles and formulas.

To this collection Van Berchem adds a commentary in the usual form of a separate article on each inscription dealing with the various points of interest as they arise. It contains justifications of the texts and translations, and every aid that could be required by the reader. But the commentary does not stop at verifying and explaining the inscriptions; it also looks to what can be learnt from their evidence when it is taken in conjunction with the other evidence available. Enquiries of this description and general observations constitute the chief part of the commentary and form its text, the critical apparatus and minor points being relegated to notes. The monuments to work on which inscriptions relate are described so far as is necessary for the purpose of the author. The descriptions are generally detailed and are often illustrated by plans and drawings. The plates include views and details of several of the monuments, besides reproductions of all the principal inscriptions.

The book affords an excellent view of the progress of the Arabic monumental script at Jerusalem, from the plain Kufic of the Umaiyads to the transition to the rounded character and thence to the modern forms; and it would hardly be possible to follow the same development at any other place so fully and with so little interruption. Details of interest to palæography are noted regularly and commented on.

Van Berchem's interpretation of the inscriptions, which is most careful and thorough—nothing that offers the least difficulty being passed unnoticed—produces a good deal that is of general value for language, for he demonstrates precisely the meaning of numbers of words and expressions particularly administrative and technical terms, and he notes all peculiarities such as departures from grammar that have philological significance.

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The decrees that have been referred to nearly all belong to the ninth/fifteenth century, and relate to the abolition of exactions. There are some ten of them and they are obviously valuable historical documents. Hardly any of the other inscriptions could well be described as historical, but many of them have a historical bearing and Van Berchem searches systematically for all the historical light they yield. This means comparing historical notices with the epigraphical records, tracing personages mentioned in the inscriptions, and looking into their circumstances, noting variations in style and formulæ, detecting allusions, and so forth, and arriving at conclusions that sometimes require close reasoning. Some idea of the completeness with which this part of the subject is handled may be given by particular examples: all that is recorded about the demarcation of roads under the Umaiyads is reviewed in order to show the significance of the well-known milestones of 'Abd el Malik and for the bearing of the title *ḥaḍra* on the date of an inscription, a full view of the usage as to this title in different parts of the Islamic dominions is furnished. Van Berchem's historical deductions from a few tombstones and other detached fragments show what it is possible to derive from the most hopeless looking material.

The new historical fact that is produced by these investigations does not amount to more than a little about the doings of Salâh ed Dîn and his successors and a few indications as to the administration, the position of individuals, and various other matters, one of which is the claims of the Ottomans to the Khalifate. A constant check on the accuracy of the Arab historians is obtained and alone would repay all the trouble taken. The writers generally come out with credit, and Mujîr ed Dîn, author of the standard chronicle of Jerusalem *Uns el Jalîl*, proves to be particularly reliable.

The inscriptions give a good number of topographical facts and signs. They are followed up with the aid of the

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geographers, medieval travellers, and others, and many useful results are obtained, often after long and elaborate enquiries. The principal ones relate to the walls, citadel, and aqueducts and to the Haram. Some curious instances are shown of the way in which legends spring up and names travel from shrine to shrine.

There are few Islamic monuments of any consequence in Jerusalem that are not dated directly by inscriptions. Some of the madrasas and other buildings later than the sixth/twelfth century are remarkable for their beauty or for other characteristics. Van Berchem points out the features which are of special interest for the history of architecture, e.g. the early use of the cruciform plan and modifications of it, the square minaret, some constructional peculiarities, the Latin elements, sometimes taken from Latin buildings bodily and sometimes imitations of Latin models, so frequent in the Muhammadan buildings of Jerusalem later than its recapture from the crusaders. As a rule no developments since the foundation of the buildings seem to have occurred and it is only in the Haram that there are buildings which have been altered and restored at intervals extending over a long time. The inscriptions of the Aqṣâ mosque, of which the earliest known (but no longer in existence) belonged to the reign of El Ma'mûn, become continuous after the sixth/thirteenth century, and the way in which they elucidate various problems with regard to its architecture, its mosaics and other details connected with it, is discussed.

The Dome of the Rock has a line of inscriptions longer and more complete than El Aqṣâ. The result of Van Berchem's researches here is virtually a history of the monument in the light of its inscriptions. A great deal of new evidence is produced; besides the numerous inscriptions published for the first time, there are reliable reconstructions of inscriptions on the windows and elsewhere, one or two dates previously unnoticed, such as that of the tiling of the octagon, arguments

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on important problems founded on a strict consideration of the language. The existing mosaics are analysed and compared with one another and with examples elsewhere, a very difficult problem of decipherment in one of them has been solved, adding considerably to our knowledge. All that is known of the vanished mosaics of the exterior has been collected.

Van Berchem succeeds in proving that the object of several of the inscriptions was to take possession of buildings, as it were, so as to obtain their good auguries. This curious fact, well worth demonstrating, gives a clue to the well-known substitutions of El Ma'mûn at the Dome of the Rock. To be noticed are his discussions of the length of the Umaiyad *mîl*, and the cubit and of Mamluk heraldry, all starting from epigraphical data.

Any one who examines the book will be impressed by its extraordinary thoroughness. Remarkable are the regularity of its method, and the great care for accuracy evident throughout and particularly conspicuous in recording the inscriptions, the abundance of the evidence that has been brought together by the author by means of his wide knowledge of his subject and by his untiring search in all the sources open to him, the acuteness of his observation and the clearness and fairness of his exposition. References are given throughout and the authority for every statement can be seen at once.

The amount of useful information on many different matters that is afforded incidentally is another notable feature and extends the value of the book far beyond its immediate theme.

Some idea of the immense labour that the book represents can be obtained from a list of authorities consulted which is given in one of the volumes. It covers some twenty-four pages, and contains several hundred items, including unpublished MSS. as well as books and serial publications. In it are to be found the oriental sources, such as Arab historians and geographers who treat of Jerusalem, and the occidental ones—

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the accounts of medieval pilgrims and travellers and also modern European writers on the place. The list is limited to works cited in Van Berchem's notes under abbreviated titles, others being cited also under full titles. Van Berchem's labour would have been much less, if he had restricted himself to original sources, but he took the trouble of going through translations and other secondary authorities, so that those unacquainted with Arabic could check his statements.

At an early stage of his career Van Berchem realized the importance of Arabic archæology and the aid that its study could give to the history of the manners, ideas, and civilization of Muslims. He saw how epigraphy could be made to serve this object, notwithstanding that many of the inscriptions that exist have little interest in themselves. He laid down principles for dealing with them even before the first volume of the Matériaux had appeared, containing his plan for a Corpus of Arab inscriptions. He devoted himself to Arab epigraphy and had long been acknowledged as its greatest exponent, being consulted and receiving constant communications about it from all parts. The reputation he had acquired and the general esteem in which he was held were strikingly shown by the tribute paid to his memory by numerous distinguished scholars on his decease in 1921. Shortly before it had seemed that the project for a complete Corpus was in a fair way towards being realized, but now it is to be feared that it will not be carried much beyond the point at which he left it eight years ago. "Jerusalem" represents a perfection of his method as the result of experience and the advance he had made is evident when "Jerusalem" is compared with his excellent work on Cairo. From "Jerusalem" one can see that the most insignificant inscription of antiquity is always worth collecting, for it can always be made to yield something useful.

It seems impossible to imagine anything that could be done to make an epigraphical research more productive, and

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it is satisfactory that Van Berchem was able to complete this book as a model for others to follow.

Professor Wiet undertook the arduous task of seeing the book through the Press after the printing had only just begun, and has carried it out in a way that deserves general gratitude.

A. R. Guest.

Maqrîzî: El Mawâ'iz wa'l-i'tibâr fî dhikr el-Khiṭaṭ wa'l âthâr. Arabic text edited by M. Gaston Wiet. Vol. V, fascicule premier. 14 × 11. pp. 184. In Memoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Tome 53. Cairo, 1927.

This instalment of Professor Wiet's magnificent edition of el Khiṭaṭ contains the history of Egypt from the Arab conquest to the end of the reign of the Tulunids and includes an account of the town of Fusṭâṭ and its outlying districts el 'Askar and el Qaṭâ'i'. Maqrîzî introduces most of the topographical chapters with some instructive remarks of his own, but the rest of this part of his book is almost entirely a compilation from earlier writers, whose statements are sometimes abbreviated and sometimes reproduced word for word, the sources being sometimes indicated and sometimes not shown. The compilation is useful because of the amount of scattered information that it brings together, and, moreover, though the originals of most of the extracts of which it is formed are still in existence, it does preserve some passages that would otherwise have been lost. One that is important is the account of the foundation of Fusṭâṭ, which Professor Wiet shows to have come originally from the Khiṭaṭ of el Kindî. Another that is more striking is the celebrated description of the garden of Khumârawaih, with its curious and doubtless authentic details of the plantations, the house of gold and its decorations including the painted effigies of Khumârawaih and his favourite women, the lion house, and the lions.

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This passage is presumably derived from the almost contemporary Ibn ed Dâya.

In his notes Professor Wiet gives references to the passages which Maqrîzî has taken from extant writers and also to modern books or publications in which any part of Maqrîzî's text has been translated or discussed. He deals with any difficulty that the text offers and further he includes matter that is likely to be useful, such as the names of the directors of finance in Egypt collected by him from various sources. He has succeeded in identifying numbers of persons and places, in correcting several errors of his predecessors, and in solving various other problems. His work has been done most carefully, and will be indispensable to students of the history of the Arabs in Egypt.

A. R. GUEST.

KITÂB ED ḌAKẖÎRA FÎ 'ILM ET ṬIBB (the treasury of medicine). By ṮHÂBIT IBN QURRA. Edited by Dr. G. SOBHY, Assistant Professor of Medicine, Egyptian University. 11 × 7. pp. 186 Arabic text + 43 English and English and Arabic. Cairo: Government Press, 1928.

This is a concise guide to therapeutics, undertaking, as stated in its opening sentence, "to describe malady and its remedy as tersely as can be done." It goes through the whole range of illnesses and ailments in separate chapters, dealing with their causes and with the appropriate treatment. Only a very few of the authors of medical works in Arabic, which have reached us flourished before Ṯhâbit ibn Qurra, so that if this book is rightly ascribed to him, it would have a special interest. The question how far it shows any additions to Greek medicine would be of particular importance. That it is based largely on Galen appears from the frequency with which he is cited. The author also quotes Hippocrates fairly often and various other authorities occasionally.

But is the book really the work of Ṯhâbit ibn Qurra, who has been described as the great mathematician,

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philosopher, and physician of the third–ninth century, one of the greatest figures among the promoters of Arab learning of the time? It seems certain that it is not. It is true that at the end of a list of the books composed by Thâbit which is handed down by el Qifṭî one finds the following: "There is also in current circulation an excellent Arabic compendium known as eḍ Ḍakhîra and ascribed to Thâbit." Dr. Sobhy refers to this statement as a proof of Thâbit's authorship, but he has failed to notice that immediately afterwards the author of the list mentions that he had asked Thâbit ibn Sinân whether Thâbit ibn Qurra was the author of the compendium and had been answered that he was not. Against such evidence, the inclusion of Eḍ Ḍakhîra by Ibn Abî Uṣaibi'a among the works of Thâbit ibn Qurra has no weight.

Thâbit ibn Sinân, who was the grandson of Thâbit ibn Qurra, died in 365–976. Eḍ Ḍakhîra, therefore, must date from at least as early. But if Ibn Sînâ (b. 370–980) is mentioned in the present version of Eḍ Ḍakhîra, the book cannot have reached us in its original form. Dr. Sobhy, in his introduction, includes Ibn Sînâ among the authors who seem to have been consulted for Eḍ Ḍakhîra since their names constantly occur in it. In the absence of an index, it has not been found possible to verify this statement, or, indeed, to discover any reference to Ibn Sînâ in the book.

In any case, this version of Eḍ Ḍakhîra is of considerable antiquity and was well worth bringing out. It is produced from a unique seventh–thirteenth century MS. The text appears to be very good. The printing and turn out leave nothing to be desired. Dr. Sobhy supplies a useful introduction in English and a carefully compiled glossary containing English equivalents of all Arabic technical terms and names of drugs that appear in the book. The glossary by itself is a work of much value.

A. R. Guest.

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KHIṬAṬ ESH SHÂM. By MUḤAMMAD KURD 'ALÌ Vol. 5. 11 × 8, 308 + 4 pp. Damascus, 1927.

The four earlier volumes of this large Arabic work on the history and geography of Syria have been noticed in the *Journal*. It is now announced that the history will be completed in a sixth volume to be published soon and the gazetteer, which it is hoped to bring out afterwards with maps and illustrations, will require three or four volumes more. The civil history, which is the subject of the present volume, is carried down to the time of publication. Under the main heading are grouped the army, the navy, revenue and taxation, trusts and charities (*waqfs*), municipal administration, canals, harbours and communications, posts, telegraphs and telephones, and ancient monuments. The accounts of the various institutions are general for the most part, but they bring together a number of useful details. including some extracts from historians. If the historical surveys are a little disappointing, particularly as regards the early developments under Islam to which attention naturally turns, it has to be remembered that in the present state of historical research it would hardly be possible to make them satisfying. Particulars of the introduction and extension of railways and some other modern inventions in Syria are given. The book will be useful as a guide to Syria. It is doubtless intended primarily for the general reader.

A. R. GUEST.

DOCUMENTS INÉDITS D'HISTOIRE ALMOHADE. Publiés et traduits . . . par E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL. (Textes arabes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Occident musulman, Vol. I.) 10 × 6½. xii + 272 + ١٠٧ pp., 2 maps. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

The exhaustive researches which M. Lévi-Provençal and his colleagues have carried out in the libraries of North Africa and Spain, have been rewarded by the discovery of several

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works of the first importance for the history of Islam in Spain and the West. The present volume, the first to be published in this new series, contains, as the title indicates, a number of miscellaneous documents, which were found grouped together in a neglected manuscript at the Escorial. M. Lévi-Provençal has not only published the texts, but, maintaining the best traditions of French scholarship, has supplied in addition an excellent translation and a wealth of illuminating annotation, together with a glossary, indices, and maps.

Of the three sections of the book, the first consists of letters from the Mahdī, Ibn Tūmart, and his Khalīfa 'Abd al-Mu'min, exhorting their followers in the precepts of their religion, and threatening the Almoravids and their partisans. Though there are indications that some of them at least are forgeries, the uncompromising and puritanical tone of the letters illustrates in vivid fashion the spirit of these early reformers, so closely resembling the Wahhābīs of our own time. The second contains the abridgement of a work on the genealogies and tribal affiliations of the Almohads, which is of technical value for its precise information. The third and longest section (pp. 50–133 of the text), on the other hand, is a work of peculiar interest. The author, Abū Bakr b. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣanhājī, nicknamed al-Baydhaq ("the pawn"), was one of the three disciples who accompanied the Mahdī from the very outset of his mission. The editor has been unable to identify him more closely; in the introduction he suggests that he may have been a brother of the famous 'Umar Āṣnāg, and elsewhere (p. 44, n. 4) that he may have been a nephew of the Mahdī himself. He always speaks of himself as the muleteer of the Mahdī, in whom he had the most childlike faith, and was evidently content to play a very modest part in the Almohad movement. In simple language, without pretence or artifice, he relates what he himself saw and took part in of the movements of the Mahdī and his successor, together with a summary of their military expeditions. As the narrative of a first-hand witness, his testimony, though

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often in contradiction with the statements of the later historians, deserves, it would seem, the fullest credence, and has indeed already been utilized by M. Gaudefroy-Desmombynes. In dealing with events in which he had no personal share, however, al-Baydhaq is brief and abrupt, and I am inclined to agree with the editor's suspicion (p. 206 note) that the conclusion of the work is a hasty compilation by another hand.

The task of translating these documents offers peculiar difficulties here and there, partly owing to some uncertainty about the exact sense of several terms, especially in the letters of Ibn Tūmart, and partly because of the colloquial and at times un-Arabic phraseology of their Berber-speaking authors. There are, in fact, throughout the work a number of sentences in Berber which M. Lévi-Provençal has left untranslated. Nevertheless his success in producing an intelligible translation of even the most obscure passages deserves to be signalized, and there are comparatively few places where his renderings are definitely, in my opinion, open to correction.

P. 5: "celui qui combat"; read "he who is slain" (من قتل)

P. 11: "le mensonge n'est réservé qu'à ceux . . ."; the sense seems to be "[God has made manifest their artifices] and likewise (their) falsehood, except to those who . . ."

P. 13: "par qui je vous recommande"; والذى نوصيكم به in the text is the beginning of a new sentence, "Now that which I commend to you."

P. 17: "Comme ils sont les plus perdus . . . Allāh m'a ordonné": I take اذا as an exclamation "and lo, they are . . ." and الله as the beginning of a new sentence.

P. 29: "on lui mettra sous la plante des pieds un charbon": the original expression is much more realistic, "he shall be shod with sandals of fire."

P. 37: "Ces gens qui pratiquent sans défaillance ce qui

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est licite" is a somewhat unlikely rendering of [ومن مرّة] اهل الحلال الموطّد. Read probably اهل الجلال الموطد "they of old-established glory."

P. 38: "homme des combats": the popular sense of ملا حم (prophecies, etc., especially those relating to the Mahdī) can hardly be overlooked in the interpretation of the verse.

P. 46, paragraph 2: the text implies rather "but in the case of all those throughout the land of Egypt who . . . , the Mahdī preferred . . ."

P. 80: The translation "Le croyant mange des dattes et l'infidèle boit du vin" seems to miss the point of the anecdote. While the sale of wine by infidels is lawful, what angers the Mahdī is finding Muslims so engaged, for which reason he spills it all out, exclaiming المؤمن تمّار والكافر خمّار i.e. "The believer is a seller of dates, the infidel a seller of wine."

P. 103: "quand Allāh décrêtait une chose, elle ne se faisait que par lui": read "in order that Allāh should bring to pass a matter which was decreed", referring to the capture of Fez, related on p. 166.

P. 130: "les tālibs des Ganfīsa étaient absents": the text has طلبت, "the Ganfīsa were searched for, being absent."

P. 134: "Quel subterfuge employer alors? Laisser de côté tout subterfuge": more probably "What is to be done then? Avoid all subterfuge." The Mahdī seizes on the word حيلة, quite innocently used by the questioner, and applies it in its disparaging sense. A few lines below there is a similar play upon words in the phrase لا تبردوا صيفة ولا تفتروا شتوة, where the editor translates, "Ne faites pas de l'été l'hiver et de l'hiver l'été." In this case the Mahdī, enjoining his followers to engage in warlike activities without intermission, says whimsically, "Let not your ardour be chilled for a single summer nor lukewarm a single winter."

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Pp. 167–8: It is not clear why ميّز is differently translated in three contiguous passages: "il passa les Almohades en revue" (ميز الموحدين), "il y leva de nouvelles troupes" (ميز فيها), and "où il passa ses troupes en revue" (again ميز فيها).

H. A. R. GIBB.

L'ISLAM. Manuale delle Credenze ed Istituzioni Musulmane. DI HENRI LAMMENS, S.J. Traduzione e appendice di Ruggiero Ruggieri. 9 × 6. xix, 278 pp. Bari, 1929. L. 20.

Père Lammens' original work appeared in 1926 at Beyrouth, and has recently been translated into English by Sir Denison Ross. After introductory chapters on "The Cradle of Islam—pre-Islamic Arabia" and on Muḥammad, the book goes on to deal in separate chapters with the Qur'ān, the *Sunna*, the Jurisprudence and Laws of Islam, Asceticism and Mysticism in Islam, and Reformers and Modernists. The subjects are dealt with clearly, concisely, and, on the whole, adequately.

In the world of reality, beliefs and institutions are inseparable from the people who hold or perpetuate them; the personal element intrudes and modifies the doctrine or theory propounded by the original teacher. The present work concerns itself for the most part with the "theory" of Islam as based on the Qur'ān, the *Sunna*, and the law-books. But it also deals with the modifications introduced into the religion by the various societies that adopted it and became "sects". It is in this part of the work that a certain inadequacy appears, and there is a lack both of original presentation and of due proportion. The time has come to recognize that Shī'ism is entitled, by the history of its origins, to equal treatment with Sunnism instead of being relegated among the "sects". The author, however, has followed the

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orthodox method and does not even make it clear that *Shī'a* is a name used by the Sunnīs, and that the Shī'ites have their own names for themselves, either *Ithn 'Ashariya* or *Ja'fariya*, or, in India, sometimes *Tīnvārī*, the followers of the " Three " ('Ali, Hasan, and Husayn, as opposed to the *Chāryārī*, or followers of the " Four " Caliphs. In the matter of proportion, more space is devoted to the various sects—Zaydīs, Isma'īlīs, Druses, and Nuṣayrīs—than to Shī'ism, though it is perhaps natural that a French work should pay a good deal of attention to the beliefs of peoples who figure prominently in French " mandated " territory. The Italian translation which we have before us endeavours to restore the balance by a long appendix (pp. 204–22) on the Sanūsīs who are mainly to be found in Italy's African domains. Apart from a page on the Khōjas, the " peculiar " Muslims of India, Central Asia, China, and Java receive no attention.

In addition to the appendix on the Sanūsīs, the Italian translation is provided with others on recent events in the world of Islam, and with statistics—culled mainly from L. Massignon's *Annuaire du Monde Mussulman* (1925)—of the numbers of Muslims in the various regions of the world. The translator also has prefaced his work with an appreciation of the life and work of Père Lammens. (It seems a pity, incidentally, that the author's carefully preserved ideal of scholarly detachment should not have been maintained always by the translator, who at times in his appendices (e.g. pp. 192 ff. and p. 203) too clearly indicates his national and ecclesiastical sympathies.)

The Italian translation is well printed, and is provided, like the original, with a short vocabulary, an up-to-date bibliography, and an index, in addition to the appendices. It should prove a useful and convenient work of reference.

R. Levy.

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WOODBROOKE STUDIES. Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshuni. Edited and translated with a Critical Apparatus by A. MINGANA, with Introductions by RENDEL HARRIS. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. 332 pp. Cambridge: Heffer & Sons, 1928. 10*s.* 6*d.*

These "Studies" are reprinted, for the benefit of a wider public, from the half-yearly *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Dr. Mingana promises a catalogue of his documents and an account of their collection. They were amassed at intervals but especially in the course of a journey to the Near East, undertaken in 1925, by the encouragement and material assistance of Dr. Rendel Harris and Mr. Edward Cadbury. This was a wise measure prompted by piety, zeal for learning and compassion for Eastern Christians, harried in and beyond Turkey during the War and after. It is obvious that MSS. treasured from generation to generation are liable to theft or loss on hurried journeys and to depredation and destruction if left behind in buildings to be ruined by Turks or Kurds. An instance of this danger is the valuable "Apology of Timothy I Patriarch of the Eastern Church A.D. 780–823", Fasc. 3 of *Woodbrooke Studies*. This MS. copied at Alkosh some few years ago and collated by Dr. Mingana has since been destroyed by Kurds. The Vatican Library possesses a copy; but it is here published for the first time. We congratulate Dr. Mingana on securing this work and many other survivals.

These MSS. are now made fully available for study, first in the case of Fasc. 1 and 3 by rotography of beautiful, even and thus very clear writing; where the MSS. are less clear rotographic specimens are given and the whole given in good modern Maronite character. Full translations by Dr. Mingana are given and valuable introductions by Dr. Rendel Harris: these combine wide learning with a vivid and playful style full of allusions. In these introductions and in Mingana's numerous footnotes all the references to Ecclesiastical History and to sources which are necessary for elucidation and comparison are fully and abundantly supplied.

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Fasc. 1. A treatise of the great Jacobite writer, Dionysius bar-Salibi, Bishop of Mar'ash and Mabbogh 1145. Against the Melchites. It is difficult to revive interest in bygone controversies, especially on ritual points such as opposed methods of making the sign of the Cross. The reader is chiefly struck by the fact that in controversies and differences it is needful to insist on outer differences as symbolical of doctrine. The historical interest continues and the differences between the Monophysite Bishop, the Melchites or Chalcedonians, and the Greek Church are given in well-defined statements and arguments. The bishop's plea for instruction in Church services, i.e. for the reading of Bible lessons rather than concentrating on elaborate musical services, is convincingly put.

Same Fasc., Part. 2. The "Exhortation to the Priesthood" ascribed to Ignatius of Antioch, is of higher order: it is eloquent and upholds a high ideal. As regards deacons it descends lower with accusations of ignorance and impiety.

We next come to various apocryphal writings in Garshuni, that is vernacular Arabic written in Syriac script, probably with a view to partial concealment, as Christians, while adopting the language of Mohammedan conquerors, would need to camouflage their treasured books. This popular literature was widely spread. MSS. are found far apart, in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia. Their origin appears often to have been Coptic and some may have been translated from Greek or Syriac.

Fasc. 2 contains "A Jeremiah Apocryphon" which is evidently related to the Book of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Last Words of Baruch: it has reflections from the Book of Judges, the Four Gospels, the Gospel of the Infancy and the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. A "New Life of John the Baptist" follows. It is of Greek or Coptic origin, a pious romance, probably from Alexandria, combining Bible history with many legends of miracles. Next come five Uncanonical Psalms. There must have been very many

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psalms whence the CL of our Psalter could be selected. These bring Vol. I of *Woodbrooke Studies* to its close.

The series of apocrypha of Coptic origin written in Garshuñi, is continued in the following fasciculi, iv, 4*a* and *b*, both give the name of Gamaliel as their author. " The Lament of the Virgin " elaborates and adds imaginary details to the account of the Entombment, and removal from the sepulchre of our Lord's body. It is curious that it is the Blessed Virgin, not Mary Magdalen, who waits in the Garden lamenting the disappearance of her Son's body; it is she who sees the Risen Lord without recognizing Him, who talks with Him and receives teaching and comfort. He is standing among the multitudes whom He has raised from Hades. In one version Mary Magdalen precedes the Blessed Virgin Mary to the Tomb.

In both this " Lament of the Virgin " and in the " Martyrdom of Pilate " the Roman Governor is accepted together with his wife, Procula, as almost a believer and quite as a lover of the Saviour. This view starts from an anti-Jewish tendency and takes Pilate as opposed to them. There is little explanation here: but in other apocrypha the process of conversion from Unjust Judge to more or less of a believer is evident. Another Coptic apocryph, the Akhmim Fragment of the Gospel of St. Peter, begins with an allusion to Pilate washing his hands as a plea of innocence (this is accepted) while the Jews and Herod, bribed by the Jews to deliver up the Lord, " did not choose to wash." After the dead body of a son of the Emperor Tiberius has been brought to Jerusalem, placed in the Tomb of the Lord and raised to life, the Emperor makes inquiries, then orders Pilate to be crucified for neglecting to inform him of the Lord Jesus and His miracles.

Fasc. 5. " Vision of Theophilus or The Book of the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt." This is the third book of an apocryphal history of the Virgin and her Son, the fourth being the well-known Gospel of the Infancy: these texts, other than this third book, have been already published.

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This part is strongly Monophysite: it is probably by a late Coptic bishop. It is in Syriac, translated from the Arabic and probably embodies local tradition. These five apocrypha have much in common, so we have considered them consecutively. We now return to Fasc. 3, "The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdi." Timothy I was Patriarch of the Eastern Church 780–823: the Caliph Mahdi 775–85 was the third Abbasid Caliph, son of Mansur and father of Haroun ar-Rashid. This treatise falls into line with early Christian Apologetics, it is in dialogue form and is an example of fair and temperate controversy.

These notices include Woodbrooke Studies as far as the second half-yearly *Bulletin* for 1929. We shall look forward with interest to see what further treasures may be brought out from Dr. Mingana's store.

J. P. MARGOLIOUTH.

TEMPLE GAIRDNER OF CAIRO. By C. E. PADWICK. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. ix + 330 pp. London: S.P.C.K., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Canon Gairdner was a man of multiple powers and talents such as might well have made both his life and the reflection of it in his biography confused and shifting. His iron self-discipline enabled him to weld many-sided activities into a complete whole; while the friend of the whole family, his companion in literary labours and now biographer, with her usual clearness of thought and writing has presented us with no tangled skein but an orderly weaving of many-coloured threads into a complete portrait.

Temple Gairdner in his youth seems to have been most attracted by hopes of success in Oxford studies and next to an active life in the English world: this was the aim of the parents who were ambitious for him: he apologizes to them on entering on his high calling.

Classics, one of his first loves, never lost their attraction for him; "I believe half my soul is Greek": he longed to

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revive his study of Greek masterpieces with his daughter at Somerville ; and " four divine days " at Athens and Salamis, due to the breakdown of a boat at the Piraeus, brought him pure joy.

Miss Padwick draws out well the historical relation of successive religious movements in Oxford, that of separate Christian Missions arising from the Evangelical Revival, leading by way of fervour kindled amongst a band of undergraduate friends to the International movement of the Students Christian Movement linking colleges round the globe. Gairdner visited many colleges as travelling secretary. Later, in the same spirit he voiced the needs of Islam and of the relations of the Anglican Communion to the Eastern Churches at the Pan Anglican Congress, 1908, spoke for Islam at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, 1910, and undertook the popular report of it. He helped on preparation for Dr. Mott's Conferences in Eastern Cities, 1924, and for the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, 1928.

Hero-worship of General Gordon at the school-age of eleven, later shared with his friend, Douglas Thornton, directed their thought toward the Sudan, not yet open for missionary work. Both friends were accepted by the C.M.S. in 1927 and sent out to Cairo for work among educated Muslims. The drudgery of elementary school-teaching and the usual countless interruptions baffled them at first, but before six months both ardent students of Arabic were attempting work in it with tremendous labour of preparation. Gairdner's sweet temper and friendliness in discussions sometimes found response and enabled him to press positive teaching in the place of the barren disputations beloved in the East. Before long the friends thought that the meeting of reiterated objections would be best carried on by papers. Some of these were collected as " Egyptian Studies " ; some were in aid of other Muslim fields, e.g. for the valuable " Christian Literature Society for India ".

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Canon Gairdner's outlook was always practical: he saw at the outset the importance of treating the vernacular as a real language. His Grammar of *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* (Heffer, Cambridge) and *The Phonetics of Arabic* (University Press, Oxford) form a valuable new contribution to learning. The one excursion he allowed himself in the realms of pure scholarship to which he was ever strongly attracted was a translation of al-Ghazzali's Sufi treatise, *Mishkat al-Anwar* (The Niche for Lights): this subject was suggested by Professor D. B. Macdonald of Hartford Theological Seminary. It was published by the Royal Asiatic Society. The rest he gave up for the pressing claims of Apologetics and Instruction. He wrote Lives of Bible characters, commentaries on three of the Epistles and a Harmony of the Passion from the Four Gospels. It is hoped to republish some of the more important of his essays on Oriental subjects.

The "apostolate through literature" at which he always aimed and towards which he attempted to train newcomers, was after a while taken over by the American Mission.

Temple Gairdner's most original work was his Bible Plays, in Arabic and English: in these his strong dramatic powers, his music and his scholarship combined to set forth deep truths in an arresting way. One description must suffice—the Story of Joseph was acted in Arabic in the Church of St. Mary in Cairo; the hardly interrupted space of its Byzantine style affording a solemn setting. The chancel only was curtained off, the great Cross above the screen was left brooding over the stage, a reminder that the history of Joseph is a type of the sufferings and glory of Christ. This play made deep impression on crowded audiences, many of them Mohammedan and not even "enquirers".

His musical work has not yet come to its full blossom: it is a collection of Egyptian and Syrian airs suitable for use in Christian worship. During his last illness he prepared this for press.

The great problem of our modern, crowded life is the capture

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of the essential and rejection of the less important. To Canon Gairdner the immediate object, whether "deputizing", study, music, the drama, friends, boating, his children, was all-absorbing; it was connected with an admirable lack of self-consciousness, he did not so much break engagements as achieve an absolute unconsciousness of them, his immediate circle taking the wise course of being amused at his ways and occasionally offering the apology which would never have occurred to him as called for. This gift of absentmindedness, connected with an innocent directness of outlook, was inherited from his father.

Another characteristic was that Gairdner always seemed to be of the same age. In youth he gave to an acquaintance the impression of a much older and fully formed mind and later one of his undergraduate friends said "He was really about twenty years ahead of us". He continued till his death to look much the same, serious, intent, absent: slight, wiry, active. His spirit was youthful, ever ready for new experiences, new light, new interests.

J. P. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. BURY, M.A., F.B.A., S. A. COOK, Litt.D., F. E. ADCOCK, M.A. Vol. V: Athens, 478–401 B.C., pp. 554, 9½ × 7, 21*s*. Vol. VI: Macedon, 401–301 B.C., pp. 648, 9½ × 7, 30*s*. Cambridge University Press, 1927.

These two volumes cover a space of close on two centuries, and contain the history of the rise and fall of Athens and the history of the conquest of Persia by Alexander of Macedon. A band of prominent scholars joined forces to give as full a description of this period as modern scholarship and the available sources could provide. With but very few exceptions all these sources are Greek, the reason for which will be touched upon later. A question arises which is not intended to diminish in the slightest degree the great value and importance to be attached to the work of these writers. It is this, whether

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history can be written in what may be called an objective manner without bias and without allowing oneself to be carried away by the spirit and passion by the man who handles the subject steeped in it to such an extent as to fully assimilate the spirit of time and men? Here, in any case, we have a definite answer to that question. These scholars have so steeped themselves into the atmosphere of Greece that they can see the events only in the light in which the Greek historian saw them.

We have here a very minute and carefully worked up description of the economic and political life in Athens, of the rise of the drama and of the four great poets, a very vivid description of the "period of illuminations" as it is called, in which the first attempts have been made of philosophical speculations leading up to the death of Socrates. Art, sculpture, and architecture are also carefully treated and a special chapter is devoted to the study of Herodot side by side with Thucydides. Of course, the Peloponnesian War plays a prominent part, and the authors of all these very important studies have imbibed so much of the Greek spirit that they did not hesitate to call the great and civilized nations of the East barbarians, adopting the nomenclature given to them by the Greeks, and they even speak of a Greek Empire although it covered only the southern part of the Balkans with a few islands thrown in, like Sicily and others. But there is probably another way of looking at all these events which are portrayed in such a luminous manner. The political outlook of the Greek was limited to the city state, his world was a very small one and his interest self-centred. The number of inhabitants of Athens all told was scarcely 200,000, the beginning of all the sudden blossoming out rather obscure, and one feels inclined to doubt the veracity of all these things which the Greeks have been able to palm off on a believing world.

It is characteristic that Herodot was called a liar, although he is perhaps the most truthful of all the writers, whilst Thucydides in modern times might have been a brilliant

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war correspondent. This is not intended to lessen the admiration for the wonderful skill and great power of his description of events, true and imaginary, but looking at all these things from the point of view of the Orient one cannot help feeling that something is missing and that is a recognition of the sources and influences which have contributed to this sudden development in all directions which has taken place in Athens in the short space of about seventy years or less. No inquiry is made as to how much of it is due to the direct communication with the Near East and the great civilizations which flourished there for centuries. Modern research, specially the studies on the great civilization of Babylon and of the Hittite Empires so close to the shores of Greece, the discoveries made in ancient Phrygia and Lydia and also in Troy, have all thrown a flood of light on the high state of civilization enjoyed by these nations long before the Greeks.

We turn now to the second volume. Special attention has been paid to the Persian Empire down to the time of Alexander, then the decay of the so-called Greek Empire is minutely described and with it practically all that civilization in Athens, then the ease with which Philip overthrew the Spartan hegomony and Thebes. A special chapter is devoted to the contemporary history of Egypt, its subjugation by Persia, its temporary freedom and final conquest; a chapter is also devoted to the study of Palestine at that time under the Persian Empire and the development which has taken place in the same corner of the Persian Empire destined afterwards to give to the world a new course, into this the results of Biblical higher criticism are embodied.

If we now examine the result of the Macedon or Greek conquest of the Persian Empire, looking at it again, not with the eyes of one who is lost in admiration of the Greek and of Greek achievements, we find here also the reverse of the medal. It seems that the march of the Macedon and Greek soldier is marked by complete and ruthless destruction of the whole ancient civilization, every ancient town seems to have

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been razed to the ground, all the literature of which now some traces are coming to light had been ruthlessly destroyed, nothing is left to tell of the great culture of the nations, and in order to remove all the traces everywhere new towns were planted to take the place of the old and completely destroyed ones. The mounds which cover the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian Empire were the only means to preserve the remnants of the past.

All the sources of which these scholars are able to avail themselves were, therefore, of necessity Greek, with the exception of those used in the chapters on Egypt and Palestine, and here also much which is of Greek origin had to be used; the picture, therefore, is somewhat one-sided, but leaving this apart and taking the view of the authors one can only congratulate one and all on the excellent way in which they have carried out their task, and for some time to come it is the most comprehensive and reliable history of that period of Greece and Asia Minor based on solid research, amply documented and also beautifully presented. No better service could be rendered to students of ancient history than the publication of these two volumes, to which another has now followed covering the period of the successors of Alexander and the rise of Rome. In spite of some restrictions imposed upon themselves by the authors an extraordinarily rich bibliography arranged according to the chapters of the books is appended to each volume, which are also enriched by a number of maps and plans and excellent indexes.

It is not in the spirit of a critic that one would like to ask whether it would not be possible to issue at the end of the series a comprehensive bibliography arranged not only according to chapters but also according to subjects. This would prove an invaluable guide for any student, it might also form an independent volume and be helpful in other directions. It is merely a suggestion that is thrown out, perhaps those who are responsible for this great undertaking may take it into consideration.

M. GASTER.

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LA GRÉCE ET L'ORIENT, DES GUERRES MÉDIQUES, LA CONQUÊTE ROMAINE. Par PIERRE ROUSSEL. 9 × 6, 556 pp. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1928. 50 fr.

Side by side with the *Cambridge Ancient History* one may mention now the smaller volume by Professor Roussel which covers the whole period from the beginning of the conflict between Greece and Persia finishing with the establishment of hellenism after Alexander and the division of his Empire between the Selucides and Lagides. The shadowy monarchy of Antigonos in Greece is slightly touched upon. The book forms part of a series of publications on general history of which this is one special volume. It is divided into four sections. The first deals with the conflict as already mentioned, the second is devoted to a description of what is also called here the Athenian Empire, in the same grandiloquent style as the Greeks call the Athenian state, the period of Pericles and the Peloponnesian war are included in it. In the third the hegonomy of Sparta, the battle against the barbarians, the internecine struggles between Athens, Sparta and Thebes and the advent of Philip of Macedon are all recorded, in the fourth we have the conquest of the Orient by Alexander, his death and the dismemberment of his Empire.

At the end of each of these sections a chapter is devoted to a brief description of the civilization which flourished in Greece from time to time during those varying periods. Though he attempts to examine the events described in the Greek literature with a critical eye, the author none the less cannot escape the Greek influence altogether. At the beginning of each chapter a list of books is given which the reader is advised to consult thus avoiding the necessity of giving a comprehensive bibliography at the end, there are also occasional explanatory footnotes.

The author is already acquainted with the *Cambridge Ancient History* and quite abreast with all modern researches concerning Greek history.

The book is written in the usual elegant French style with

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that lucid diction which appeals so successfully to a large circle of readers. It is a compact volume, very handy and yet crammed full with all the essential facts concerning the history of Greece, its rise and fall. It compares favourably, and I think no higher criticism can be bestowed upon it, with the *Cambridge Ancient History* and therefore serves very successfully the needs of the scholar. An index of twenty-five pages and two maps, one of Greece and the other of the Empire of Alexander, concludes this valuable book.

M. GASTER.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS. By the late F. W. HASLUCK, M.A. Edited by MARGARET M. HASLUCK, B.A., M.A. 2 vols. 9 × 6, 877 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. 63*s*.

The author of this book, who unfortunately died before its completion, has undertaken a task which, though apparently limited to a narrow scope, opens up an unexpected vista on the important problem of Ethno-physicology. The late Mr. Hasluck, one of the foremost scholars of modern Greece, and who had lived many years in Turkey, was slowly drawn into the study of the mutual relations, spiritual and religious, between these two nations, differing so much from one another, coming from two distinct races, speaking different languages. They are diametrically opposed to one another in their religion. They have entirely different traditions, practices and customs, so at any rate it appears on the surface, yet the result of the author's investigation has been to show that a more intimate contact has been created between these two nations than one would be inclined to suppose. This slow assimilation which has taken place between these two nations living only side by side with one another and yet otherwise entirely separate has effected an exchange of their customs, religious practices and beliefs which has drawn them very close to one another. They freely borrowed from one another, the Greeks from the

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Turks and the Turks from the Greeks, and each one has afterwards translated the new element into his own spiritual sphere so that many practices and folk-lore among these nations have become indistinguishable from one another.

This opens up a new prospective, for if the Greeks can borrow from the Turks and the Turks from the Greeks, and if the shrine which is sacred to one becomes sacred to the other in the course of time, how much of it is of recent origin and how much of it can be traced back to ancient Pagan times ? The veneer only seems to be different which has been placed upon them, and thus we are led by this excellent investigation to a revision of our ideas as to the antiquity and origin of practices and beliefs found among one nation or another. This is merely the general result drawn from a study of the rich contents of the two volumes. The MSS. had been left incomplete, and it is due to the consummate skill of his young widow that we owe the publication of these two volumes. She has been able to collect and collate all the fragments left behind and whenever necessary she has added explanatory notes showing her own profound knowledge of the subject. A new light is thrown on the origin of the Janissaries and also on the Bektashi around whom many stories have been gathered which are now proved to be mere legends. We have here in the first place a series of chapters devoted to the transference of rural and urban Turkish and Greek sanctuaries visited by one or the other.

Part II is devoted to a description of Turkish and popular history and religion. We see how far it is removed from the orthodox form of Islam, like everywhere the masses make a religion of their own, with their own sayings, their own shrines, with their own practices and customs, some old, some new, some borrowed from the old inhabitants, some brought in with the stream of Islam, some being of Christian origin, such as the worship of the Old Testament and Koranic saints, side by side with local saints.

In the second volume (pp. 363–770) the student of folk-

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lore will find a very rich harvest. It is this part which is mostly due to the excellent work done by Mrs. Hasluck. Specially praiseworthy is the wonderful index, one has no other word for it, so invaluable for a book of such a character, it runs to 106 pages from pp. 771–877, and the full bibliography at the beginning fills forty pages.

Happily the pagination is consecutive although the book is bound in two volumes. There are also four illustrations in this book which is beautifully printed, needless to say having been done by the Clarendon Press. Mrs. Hasluck must be most warmly thanked for this invaluable gift, a fine monument to the memory of her late husband.

M. GASTER.

ISLAM IN SPAIN. By the Rev. Canon SELL, D.D. 8 × 5. 182 pp. London: Church Missionary Society, 1929. 3*s*.

This is one more of the many books published by Canon Sell concerning Islam which he has studied from many points of view. Among them there is his *Historical Development of the Qur'án* and the *Life of Muhammad*. He is fully versed in the Arabic literature, and fully conversant with the best works on the subject treated in this publication. It is a comparatively brief story of the Muhammads in Spain from the conquest to the final defeat.

The author tries to be impartial and to a large extent succeeds, specially as he is not touching here upon any religious problem nor dogmatic question. Thus the invasion of Spain by the Muhammadans is described, the establishment of the Khalifas, the slow rise of the Christian kings and a chapter on the Arabian philosophy. One misses, however, a chapter on the art and sciences of the Arabs which have left their deep impress, not only in Spain but upon the whole of mediaeval Europe, which has still continued to our own days. In the last-mentioned chapter the author endeavours to minimize the part which the Arab philosophy and sciences have played in Europe. It is presented as being merely

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a reflex of Greek philosophy, which the Arabs had obtained through the intermediary of Syriac translations. This alleged dependency on the new platonic and other speculations of the hellenistic period is, however, of a very slender nature. Philosophy has been independently developed by the Arabs and it has become the product entirely of the Arabic genius. Europe has learnt of the ancient Greek philosophy, not in its primitive form but in the developed form of Avicenna (Aben Sina) (Ihn) and Averroes (Aben Roshd) and many others whose name is legion.

For those who wish to have a succinct survey of Islam in Spain this book will no doubt prove very profitable, always bearing in mind that some caution is required as far as the judgment of the author is concerned about the Arabic rule and achievement.

M. GASTER.

TABULA SMARAGDINA. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hermetischen Literatur. By JULIUS RUSKA. 8vo. pp. 248. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1924. 32 marks.

The Emerald Table, which forms the subject of this important work by Professor Ruska, is the one on which the inscription was found which marks the turning-point in the history of alchemy from the time it became known in the Latin text. It is told that Apollonius of Tyana, who at that time had become merely a tradition, was able through his art to penetrate into the secret chamber where he found Hermes in the shape of an old man sitting on a golden throne and holding the Emerald Table in his hands. The origin has remained obscure. It was by mere chance then that Professor Ruska, who has already published some very important studies on the Arabic alchemists, in examining a MS. placed at his disposal by Professor Bergsträsser, hit upon this passage.

He recognized at once the great importance of his discovery, and leaving other studies aside he concentrated upon a

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serious investigation as to the origin of this remarkable inscription. It consists only of a few lines and yet, as already remarked, it gave to alchemy that speculative character which it has retained since the fourteenth century. Having discovered this text Professor Ruska set to work to see whether he could trace it to some Greek original. To this purpose he examined most minutely, in the first chapters of this book, all the existing astrological, magical, and alchemistic treatises found in Greek. He includes rightly into the Hermetic literature all such treatises associated with the name of Hermes. But all search was in vain.

The author then follows up the Arabic traditions concerning Hermes and Apollonius; then he discusses the so-called Treasure of Alexander, a book written on gold leaves and containing a large number of alchemist prescriptions. Of these he gives large abstracts in Arabic and German translations. He then passes on to the MS. in which the Tabula is found, practically on the last page. This work is said to have been translated from the Syriac of a certain Sagus.

He then proceeds to investigate the book of *The Causes of Things*, and he translates for the first time the introduction which he believes to be very old, in any case anterior to Ğabir (eighth century) since he quotes it. He comes to the conclusion that the Emerald Table formed an essential part of it. By the way, one may note that many Arabic passages are given in the original and in German translations thus making the book accessible also to non-Orientalists. So far, according to Professor Ruska, there can be no doubt that this Tabula Smaragdina cannot be directly traced back to a Greek original. It so happens that Holmyard has also discovered in some Arabic writings of Ğabir a similar text. We have thus three recensions—the Arabic two and the Latin, but they differ slightly from one another. This points to an older original of which these three are as many variants although they do not touch the fundamental character.

The last part of the book deals in the same manner, not

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so fully, however, with the further development of the alchemistic speculations and operations from the time when the Tabula became known in Europe down to the end of the eighteenth century.

There are one or two points in which the author has in addition put forward some new theories. In the first place he contends against Greek influence upon Arabic science, especially astrology, alchemy, and medicine. The whole merit belongs, according to him, to Persian scholars and he gives a long list of men of Persian origin who flourished under various Khalifs and greatly enriched the Arabic literature with their writings. These be believes to have been possibly connected with the old Babylonian and Indian. He will, furthermore, not admit anything as having come from Aramaic sources, in which language, according to him, no such treatises have been preserved. There is a simple answer to this, that with the rise of the Arabic literature all the others practically perished, so it happened with the old Persian and so it happened with the Syriac, with the exception of the theological literature. But the author goes so far as even to deny the statement of Sagus, that the writing was in Syriac; the reason for this denial being that Aramaic was considered the divine language originally spoken by Adam, a work of this kind, therefore, had to be written in that sacred tongue, but according to Professor Ruska it is all a fiction.

There is now in the air a certain tendency to trace everything back in one form or another to Zoroastrian influences for which there is not the slightest shred of justification, as will be shown by me elsewhere. To deny, therefore, the Syriac influence and the possibility of Syriac intermediary between Greek traditions and ancient Arabic on the strength of such an argument is very far fetched, and it is possible that in the Greek Hermetic literature, and even the old Egyptian literature, some traces will be found leading up to the Emerald Table.

It so happens that my son, Theodore, has drawn my

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attention to the following passage in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, chap. liv (Chapter of the Coming Forth by Day): "This chapter was found at Khmun (Hermopolis) on an alabaster plaque (variant: in real Lapis-Lazuli), under the feet of the Majesty of the venerable God (Thoth) in the writing of the God himself. . . . He (the royal son Hordudef) brought it to the King as being a marvel when he saw that it was something very mysterious which no one had ever seen or set eyes on before." This parallelism between this discovery and that ascribed to Apollonius in the Arabic is too striking to be accidental. The plaque is found under the feet of the venerable God Thoth, the Egyptian equivalent to Hermes, in the town of Hermopolis (the town of Hermes) also covered with the mystical inscription. It could then be left to others to write an inscription according to their own speculations, thus the connection between the Tabula Smaragdina and the mystical plaque cannot be denied. This, however, does not invalidate the other results hitherto obtained by Professor Ruska, nor does it diminish the scientific value of this very fine piece of work. The author is fully conversant with the cognate literature, and the book opens up a new vista in the study of alchemy. Excellent indices also enhance the value of the book.

M. Gaster.

The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea to which are added his Statues. By Ira Maurice Price, Ph.D. 11 × 8. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Leipzig, 1927.

In 1898 Professor Price, at the suggestion of Friedrich Delitzsch, went to Paris, copied and in 1899 published the text of the two well-preserved cylinders of Gudea, patesi of Lagash. Throughout his long career Professor Price has exhibited a peculiar ability for doing what is most useful for scholarship. These two cylinders, which form a continuous text, constitute the longest classical Sumerian inscription

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ever discovered, and there are remarkably few lacunæ in it. He thus made accessible to Sumerologists a text, which for nearly thirty years has been the principal source in the rapid development of Sumerology. No linguistic science has seen such rapid change from the period of vague conception of its syntax and etymology, when the author published his valuable copy of these cylinders, to the present day when its grammar and lexicon have reached the stage of an exact science and Sumerian civilization has taken its place beside the Egyptian as one of the two great factors in the origins of human history.

When the author published his text, hitherto accessible only in the large and unwieldy photographic plates of the *Découvertes en Chaldée* by de Sarrec and Heuzey, he intended to issue a transcription and translation almost immediately. In the introduction to his edition, dated 1927, he explains this long delay. In the meantime Toscane had published another copy, and F. Thureau-Dangin, who had his own private copies, gave a complete and brilliant interpretation of cylinder A in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xvi, 344–62 ; xvii, 181–202 ; xviii, 119–141 (1902–4), with new copy of Col. xvii. In a small brochure, which appeared immediately, Thureau-Dangin gave a translation and transcription of both cylinders without notes, *Les Cylindres de Gudéa*, and again in his *Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Accad*, pp. 134–99, Paris, 1905, of which a German edition appeared in 1907, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 88–140. The same scholar has now given his own copies of the texts, *Les Cylindres de Gudéa*, Paris, 1925, which in many places is more accurate than Price's edition of 1899, a fact which the author conscientiously acknowledges. Thureau-Dangin's copies also contain fragments of a third cylinder. It is, therefore, evident that Price's copies of 1899 have been superseded, but every Sumerologist of the present generation will cherish the name of Ira Maurice Price for placing in their hands a convenient text of this indispensable inscription.

The various editions of Thureau-Dangin not only utilized

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every morsel of information at the disposal of Sumerology up to 1907, but displayed an insight into the structure of Sumerian, and a feeling for the meaning of passages, inexplicable with our present information, wholly remarkable. In undertaking a new translation, such as the author essays in this book, the writer must be expected to utilize all the new information which has appeared since 1907, and not only this, but he must have that profound insight into Sumerian etymology and syntax necessary to apply this vast critical apparatus. All this we are bound to expect from an edition which presumes to supplant and improve the previous French and German editions. On this point, to my great grief, I am distressed to admit disappointment in considerable measure. The notes and bibliography show that Professor Price has bravely attempted to keep pace with Sumerology, but somehow he does not seem to have had time to digest the material as a specialist should. In many passages the correct translation, already made, has been changed to an erroneous one. In others where new syllabaries or parallel passages enable us to make an advance on Thureau-Dangin's edition the sources seem to be unknown to the author. To bring to bear upon this text the huge critical apparatus of modern Sumerology would involve writing a new edition. The reviewer can touch upon only a few passages here. Witzel, in his new translation of Cyl. A, concludes that these cylinders describe the construction of a *ziggurat* (stage-tower) with hanging gardens,[1] and translates *me-gal-la*, A 1, 2, by *das grosse Heiligtum*, and our author renders it by "with a supreme appeal". Have these new attempts to change the normal meaning, "great decrees," really any knowledge of the many passages in which *me-gal* is used? Can *nin-mu* (or *egi-mu*) *me-gal-gal-la sag-sir-bi za-e me-en* mean anything but "My queen, of the great decrees their directress art thou"? Langdon, PBS. x, 260, 6. Witzel, ibid., Heft. 6, 76, translates *me-gal-gal-la* by *grosse Los*(*orakel*), a meaning

[1] *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, Heft. 3.

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which *me* never has, neither has it ever the meaning "appeal". *me-gal šag-bi*, "the meaning of the great decrees," PBS. x, 251, 23; *me-gal-gal-la-ni* "his great decrees", ibid., 254, 21, certainly not "his great appeals". The text refers to the decrees of Enlil. "When Anu, Enlil and Ea, *galga-ne-ne gi-na-ta me-gal-gal-la-[ta] má-gúr* ^{d}*sin-na mu-un-gi-ne-eš*, in their sure counsel, by great decrees fixed the crescent of Sin," King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, ii, pl. 49, 1–3. *me-gal-gal-la pa-mu-ni-in-è*, "The great decrees he glorified," PSBA. 1918, 20; *me-maǵ-a me-sak-ki-a-ba*, ibid., 25, certainly "mighty decrees, chief or foremost decrees." Cf. the gloss on ^{d}*Me-maǵ* = ^{d}*Ninurta ḫāmim parṣê ṣîrûti*, CT. 25, 11, 20–21, "he who controls (guides) the far-famed decrees". Ninurta is not a "guide of appeals", or of stage towers, or of oracles. *sikil-bi me-gal li-eš dug-ga*, "commanding its purification by great decrees," said of Marduk who consecrates the scape-goat, Haupt, ASKT. 105, 31. See *Expository Times*, xxiv, 1912, p. 11, *me-gal-gal-bi é-a ám-gi*, "Its great ritual orders are restrained in the temple," Reisner, SBH. 60, Rev. 12 = Radau, BE. xxx, 12, 19. *me* has, of course, the meaning "oracle", *tertu*, and "cry, lament", *ḳûlu*, but its use with *gal* is fixed.

It is this lack of wide reading and first-hand acquaintance with Sumerian texts which is severely lacking in Witzel and Price's new editions. A 2, 1, Price renders *ensi-kú zu me-te-na-mu*, "O my brilliant interpretress, the wise, the exalted". Here *ku(g)-zu* is separated and taken as two words against every previous interpreter. But how is *kug-zu* used in the inscriptions? It has invariably the meaning *emḳu* wise, as the author himself enters this compound in his vocabulary for this passage, p. 115. Then, following Witzel, *me-te-na-mu* is said to mean "exalted" and this is defended by referring to KS. Heft. 1, p. 108. Here *me-te* = *simtu*, "what is fitting", is said to mean "exalted". *nir-gál me-te-na* in A 2, 17, obviously means *mālikat simati*, "she that advises what is fitting" as Thureau-Dangin says. Cf.

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nir-gál urú-bi, "adviser of his city," Frank, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte*, 3, 8. In A 2, 17, *nir-gál me-te-na* is rendered by "predestined princess", and Witzel renders, "herrliche Fürstin", both contrary to the vocabularies. In 18, 4, where the text is now known to read *me-te-ni mu-gi*, Witzel renders, "he set up his watchman," reading *gal-te-ni* and he is followed by Price. In other words Witzel's confident statement that *me-ten* means "exalted" is defended by comparing only one other passage, 2, 17 + 29, and here it has the ordinary meaning. The new translations are both erroneous and reject the correct rendering long since given by Thureau-Dangin.

There are, of course, passages where new material, or new phonetic readings, enable us to advance the interpretation. For example, A 3, 17, *ù-ru* is probably phonetic for *uru* = *naṣāru*. *šu-maǵ-za sa-ga a-zi-da-bi egi-mu* ^{d} *Gatumdug ma-ra ǵa-mu-ù-ru*, "May thy mighty hand, whose valiance is supreme, O my queen Gatumdug, give me protection." Here *uru* is construed with *ra*. A 6, 12, *ANŠU-DUN* and *ANŠU-NITAH* 5, 10, have the value *du-ur*; cf. CT. 12, 31, 38177, 8, Accadian *mûru*, colt, young ass. See Meissner, SAI. 3389; *ANŠU-NITAH-úr*, i.e. *dur*, IV Raw 18*, No. 6, Rev. 1; but *ANŠU-DUN-úr*, Cyl. B 9, 16; 13, 19; DUN-*úr*, i.e. *du(n)-ur* > *dur*, Cyl. A 7, 20, without determ. *anšu*. *ANŠU-DUN-úr*, SAK. 60, vi, 3. Note the variant ^{anšu}*tun*, *dun*, AJSL. 40, 191, 2. Hence all these various Idgrs. are read ^{anšu}*dur* < *dun*, or without determ. *dur*. Only a few examples of how new material enables us to complete or correct Thureau-Dangin's edition can be given in a review; in A 22, 5, the verb is *SAL-e-de*; this is a phonetic reading for *SAL-UD-DU*, read *mi-è(d)* = *kunnû*, RA. 11, 146, 47. Translate, "with precious preparations of best ointments he adorned it." A 26, 10, the sign *URUD* here and *passim* is clearly a verb; Thureau-Dangin renders it by "to abide". From A 28, 21, *kun-nagga úr-šú da-a-bi*, "a leaden reservoir, which was set upon a platform," the value seems to be *da*.

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The sign *URUDA* is known to have the value *da* from A 5, 1, and *Deimel, Fara* III, p. 2, No. 12745 I 4, *maš-dá* = *ṣabîtu*, for usual *maš-dà*, Br. 1908. But in A 29, 1, *dá-ba-bi*, the original value is apparently *dab* < *dag*, hence perhaps same verb as *dag* = *ašābu*, causative *šušubu*, "to cause to sit," "erect." The author translates 26, 10, by ".exalted companion-piece of bronze". *ku-li* means "companion" only; *URUD-bi* is a relative adjectival clause and the old rendering, "Companions which abide in heaven" is strictly literal and alone possible. In CT. 15, 42, K. 4864, 14, *ku-li-an-na* = *kuliltu*, with *kusarikku*, the goat-fish, Capricorn.[1] [*ku-li*]-*an-na* = *kulilitum*, CT. 14, 2, A 38 in list of insects. Cf. ^{ilat}*Kilili*, ZA. 30, 192 n. 1; 36, 211 n. 1; RA. 14, 172, ii, 4. In any case *ku-li-an-na* is possibly a mythical figure, and *kulili* is Aquarius.[2] Note that in CT. 15, 42, *ku-li-an-na* occurs also with *magilum*, and in Cyl. A 26, 13, after *ku-li-an-na*, come *má-gi-lum* and *gud-alim*. Now *gud-alim* is a name of Capricorn, variant of *kusarikku*.[3] Cyl. A 26, 9–14, therefore, describe three astronomical monsters whose images were placed in the temple. A. 26, 15–16 is rendered, "His deceased heroes, who were truly (*interred*) at the temple, their words at the drinking-fountain he placed." Naturally we have to do here with the well-known rite of pouring water for the souls of the dead, and *KA* must mean "mouth", not "words". Thureau-Dangin (whom Witzel follows) is clearly right here. *me ša-ge*[4]*-šú* in l. 15 is left untranslated by Thureau-Dangin, a far better procedure than Witzel's impossible guess, "*auf dem Tempelplatz*."[5] Now *ša-ge* is probably a phonetic form of *sag-gi*(*g*), *sag-ge* = "the black headed", and *me-ša-ge-šú* = *ana parṣi ṣalmat ḳaḳḳadi*. A 26, 15–16 then mean, "The dead heroes—according to the ritualistic decrees of the black headed people (i.e. Sumerians)

[1] See my *Epic of Creation*, 89, n. 7, and p. 224.
[2] Ibid., 89, n. 6.
[3] Ibid., 88, 141.
[4] So I read for *é*.
[5] See above, the same impossible rendering of *me-gal-la*, A 1, 2.

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their mouths at the place of drinking water (i.e. place of mortuary offerings) he placed."

In A 27, 19 there is the earliest reference to the myth of *Zû*, the eagle, and the serpent who passed over the mountain. From KB. vi, 104, 16, or Frank, *Studien*, 107, 18, *ǵe-bad-du* should mean *etēḳu* or *zakāpu*. In 27, 18 *urin* has obviously the meaning " spear ", as Thureau-Dangin rendered it. Here again Price has followed Witzel's erroneous translation. *urin* = *urinnu*, spear, is often associated with door-posts. See RA. 5, 133–4; note the ^{gi}*urin-gal ša šarri*, set up in the *bit rimki*, Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 126, 24; ASKT. 104, 13; Ebeling, KAR. 91, Rev. 19; Nies, ii, 22, 194; Lutz, PBS. i, 121, 9–11; Sm. 678,[1] ^{gi}*urin-gal* of gypsum, which are drawn on the right and left of a gate, and the same ritual in Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 166, No. 53, 14. All this is, as Heuzey says, reminiscent of the tradition of the spear or two spears, set by a gate, symbolic of divine protection. A 27, 18–19, then, mean, " The spear, which was fixed beside the temple, was like *Zû*, who with the serpent passed over the mountain."

Cyl. B 10, 23, restore *a-gim ù-mi-gar*[2] [*šag* ^{d} *En-lil-lá*] *gú-bi gí-a-ni a-rin* (?) *sud-da*, that he may inundate like waters, that the flood of Enlil, which returns to its bank, wash with bright (?) water. Cf. B 7, 18 and A 1, 5.

The notes indicate a wide and conscientious endeavour to assimilate Sumerian literature and there is a useful vocabulary at the end of the volume. The author has also included the statues A–L of Gudea, but had no opportunity of studying the new statues from Lagash, numbered M-N-O by the writer, *JRAS.*, 1927, 765–8, which see for literature on M and N. Statue B 3, 15 probably contains an unusual writing KA + Ú for *udugga* = *utukku* as in Cyl. A 13, 14. St. B, 3, 15–4, 7 and Cyl. A 13, 14–15 are clearly parallel and describe the expulsion of demons, evil minded persons and witches from the city.

S. Langdon.

[1] Unpublished.

[2] *A-gar* = *mê raḫāṣu*, Br. 11707.

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NEUBABYLONISCHE RECHTS- UND VERWALTUNGSURKUNDEN. By M. SAN NICCOLÒ and A. UNGNAD. Band I, Hefte 1 and 2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929.

These first two parts of what must, when completed, be a very voluminous work, contain the translations of 371 New-Babylonian contracts, without transliteration of the texts, but provided with necessary notes, and short legal comments, where requisite, to the individual documents, as well as general juristic introductions to the classes into which the material is divided. Thus is begun the New Babylonian counterpart to *Hammurabis Gesetz*, with which one of the authors has long been associated, and the method is that of Part VI rather than of the earlier parts in that collection. The authors have undertaken a task which has long been urgent, for publication of texts of this kind has been very copious, and yet hitherto studies of only limited scope have been devoted to them, though these contracts are by no means simple. As a whole the translator's and commentator's work is admirably done; particularly useful is the practice of citing the Babylonian text *in extenso* as notes where difficulties of interpretation arise, for this does much to make up for the absence of full transliterations. Owing to the necessarily piecemeal appearance of the parts the preface is reserved for the completion of the first volume, so that the general plan of the work is not disclosed. But since Vol. I is to confine itself to contracts published from the Berlin collection, and since we are told that the second volume is to comprise all the texts of this class from Warka, it seems as if there will eventually be considerable dispersion of material of similar purport, so that he who wishes to go through all the documents concerning (for example) marriage or adoption will have to search through several volumes. Perhaps, however, no purely theoretical grouping was possible, and this difficulty can be met by the full indexes which will certainly have to be provided. It is agreeable to hear that each volume will be completed by a glossary.

C. J. G.

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NEUE KEILSCHRIFTLICHE RECHTSURKUNDEN AUS DER EL-AMARNA ZEIT. By PAUL KOSCHAKER. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1928.

A new work by Professor Koschaker in the field of Assyro-Babylonian law, of which he is at once so learned and so acute an exponent, is an event of the highest interest, from which both jurisconsults and philologists may depend upon learning not a little, particularly (as regards the latter and humbler herd) when he has had the collaboration of Professor Landsberger. Here he appears among the pioneers in the study of new material with no less than his usual distinction, even if not always superior to the weakness of differing from his predecessors in the text and relegating their modest achievements to the footnotes.

By mere chance there have appeared together within the last three years publications of legal material from two different places, but of approximately the same date (fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.), the middle-Assyrian "contracts" from Ashur, and the "Kirkuk tablets" from Kirkuk (ancient Arrapḫa) and the site of Nuzi. This work is not, indeed, a study of all the material available at the time it was written, but confines itself to a general discussion of the character of the new documents, followed by two chapters concerning (*a*) alienation of real property, and (*b*) *Haftungsrecht*, concluded by specimen translations and indexes. That the differences in legal practice between places so near geographically as Ashur and Arrapḫa should be more striking than the similarities is only what might be expected from the racial difference of the populations which were not then, as later, united in one great empire, for Assyrian authority was then non-existent at Arrapḫa, though Assyrian cultural influence was already strong, as appears most obviously in the writing of the Kirkuk tablets, concerning which we are bound to differ from the author's opinion. Many difficulties and possible points of variance which at present subsist in these documents will undoubtedly disappear with the publication of more of

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the extensive material which has now been recovered, and discussion here would be premature. It seems improbable, however (to cite but two particulars), that the last has yet been said about the so-called "sale-adoptions", and it will be interesting to see whether the large inferences made from a possible, though still uncertain, explanation of the word *šudutu* are confirmed or invalidated by new evidence.

C. J. G.

L'ARMÉNIE ET LE PROCHE ORIENT. By FRIDTJOF NANSEN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 364 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1928. 30 frs.

Armenia is fortunate in having as her friend and helper a man of such eminence, ability, and energy as Dr. Nansen, and the publication, in 1927, at Oslo, of his *Gjennem Armenia* (Through Armenia), of which the work before us, with a title in better accord with the contents, is a translation, is a piece of excellent propaganda for the Armenian cause and a well-reasoned plea for the re-settlement of a greatly suffering dispersed people. With political views and economic schemes of irrigation, etc., this is not the place to deal; they have been referred to in periodicals which reviewed the English version.

In the original Norse some misprints were made and it is a pity that few of them have been corrected in the French ("burried", p. 25, Mkimvari, pp. 64, 97, Mktari, p. 65, and, worst of all, "Ve sjviss," p. 67 in the Norse, becomes "Ve Schviss" in the French, p. 104, which is a deplorable distortion of the name of the great Georgian epic poem).

It is not easy to discover from either the original or the translation the date of Dr. Nansen's journey, but it was apparently 1925. The translator, M. Arne Omtvedt, seems to follow the original in some places with almost too scrupulous fidelity; but he omits Jacobsen's verses (p. 172 in the Norse text), turns "'Djemshid" (p. 123 of the translation) into "Samshid", and what purports to be a passage from

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Rusthaveli (p. 77) is hardly a good quotation. The photographic illustrations and maps are clear and helpful.

Such a book is naturally not to be judged as an original contribution to the study of the languages, literatures, and histories of Armenia and Georgia, but it is certainly a most valuable piece of work, an attractive, well-written book by a great man capable, through the force of his name and personality, of recruiting throughout the world, new students to work in the vast rich field of Transcaucasian lore. Chapters iv, x, xi give brief summaries of the history of Georgia and Armenia.

O. W.

Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya. By Paul Schebesta. Translated by Arthur Chambers. 9 × 6, 288 pp., 142 photographic illustrations, 7 sketches in the text, 1 map. London: Hutchinson & Co., n.d. 21*s.* net.

The author of this book has written a very vivid and detailed account of his experiences, extending over many months, of life among the Negritos of the North of the Malay Peninsula. He lived in close contact with them in their shifting camps, accompanied them in their wanderings in the jungle, and gained the confidence of these extremely shy people at the cost of many hardships and some risks. He is therefore able to speak as an eye-witness, and his account of their habits and behaviour is based on direct observation. He also acquired a working knowledge of their language (of which he has given a grammatical sketch elsewhere); and owing to the intimacy that grew up between him and the Negritos, he gathered a good deal of information about their religious beliefs, a matter which obviously required careful and delicate investigation. I do not propose to discuss his conclusions on this subject; he gives us, at first hand, the statements made by the aborigines themselves and it is open to anyone to interpret them as best he can.

Apart from such scientific data, some of which are new,

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while others confirm or to some extent modify the reports of earlier investigators, the book is a very entertaining account of the author's travels and adventures. He had an eye for scenery as well as for the special objects of his quest, who enlisted his warmest sympathies. These Negritos are among the most primitive human relics of prehistoric ages, their numbers are dwindling, and they deserve thorough investigation, although a great deal has already been written about them. The present work is cast into a popular mould. It does not give a bibliography of the extensive earlier literature, nor does it strictly discriminate between newly discovered facts and others that were already well known. A casual reader of it would not realize how much had previously been done by earlier explorers; but the author has certainly added a good deal of fresh information.

The translation is very readable and is in the main a faithful rendering of the original (which is in German). But a careful scrutiny reveals many minor inaccuracies. In the East we do not as a rule speak of Tamuls, ox waggons (or wagons), bamboo reeds (particularly when they happen to be of the giant bamboo species), cocoa palms, Spanish pepper (i.e. chillies), and mandioka bushes (generally known as tapioca plants), nor do we use "Malay" as a place-name, though this error is common enough in English journalism. The Malay words in the original have undergone a certain amount of revision, partly in order to adapt them to the Romanized spelling recognized in British Malaya, but the process has not been consistently carried out, and a number of minor variations, as well as a few misprints, still remain unchanged.

The German original is not altogether easy, as the author's vocabulary is extensive and contains a number of rather uncommon words; and though evidently well versed in German, the translator has made a good many mistakes. Sometimes his translation is rather of the nature of a paraphrase. Thus, "modern roads" (p. 12) and "up-to-date

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roads" (p. 19) are not a translation of "betonierte Strassen". I pass over many such cases. More serious are such renderings as "Further India" (p. 13) for "Vorderindien" (which in spite of the similarity in sound, means the very opposite), "at midday" (p. 19) for "zu Mittag" (to lunch), "never under any circumstances" (p. 27) for "unter Umständen . . . gar nicht" (which can, in its context, be rendered "perhaps . . . never"), "counted" (p. 35) for "zahlte" (paid), "supervened" (p. 63) for "herrschte vor" (predominated), "sympathy" (p. 74) for "Mitteilsamkeit" (communicativeness), "pests" (p. 85) for "Qualm" (thick smoke), "evident" (p. 91) for "zuwider" (offensive, objectionable), besides a great many more which there is no space to set out here. Altogether, in the first hundred pages of the book, I noticed about half as many errors, and having previously read the work in the original text, I did not consider it necessary to carry this collation any further.

C. O. Blagden.

Le Temple d'Angkor Vat. (= Mémoires Archéologiques publiés par l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Tome II.) Première Partie. L'Architecture du Monument. 2 parts, $14\frac{1}{2} \times 11$. (1) pp. 42, 73 plates, 2 plans; (2) pp. 3, 78 plates. Paris et Bruxelles: G. van Oest, 1929.

Among the wonders of the world, Angkor may fairly be said to hold a high place, and naturally many fantastic legends, both ancient and modern, have clustered round it. Even within the last forty years a serious and respectable writer dated its origin in 447 B.C., and added that Angkor Vat, the temple with which the work under review is concerned, was begun in A.D. 57, and completed some time before A.D. 638. Native legends attribute its construction to the celestial architect Viśvakarman, acting on the direct instructions of the god Indra. These fanciful notions are mentioned, and duly disposed of, in M. Louis Finot's learned

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and lucid Introduction, which gives a history of the temple from its foundation, somewhere about the middle of the twelfth century A.D., to its restoration under French auspices in our own times. He makes it clear that during pretty well the whole of this period it remained a recognized sacred site. Originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, it was soon, apparently, devoted to the worship of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara), and eventually used for the cult of Pali Buddhism ; and it continued throughout to be a pre-eminent object of veneration, a great national shrine, and a resort of pilgrims.

The photographic plates give a good idea of its architectural grandeur, and some of them also show, though perhaps less satisfactorily, the low reliefs with which parts of its walls are decorated. The work has been produced in the excellent style which we are accustomed to expect from the École Française and the publishers who have issued it.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

HIKAJAT PELANDOEK DJINAKA, een Maleisch Dwergheert-verhaal vertaald door C. A. MEES. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, XXV + 125 pp., 7 plates. Santpoort : C. A. Mees, 1929.

This is a translation of eleven stories from the Malay cycle of beast fables in which the tiny antelope, commonly known as mouse deer, plays the part of hero, on the lines of Reynard the Fox and Brer Rabbit. By his superior cunning, and the magic power gained by ascetic practices, he usually outwits the bigger animals, and is therefore properly styled the monarch of the forest. In the recension on which this translation is based, this title (*shāh-i-'ālam*, in Malay commonly pronounced *shah alam*, *di-rimba*) has been modified to *shaikh 'ālim di-rimba*. The translator has worked on H. C. Klinkert's *Hikajat Pelandoek Djinaka, of de Reinaert de Vos der Maleiers* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1885), but has also used Klinkert's other text, published by the same firm in 1893

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under the title of *De Pelandoek Djinaka, of het guitige dwerghert*. The former recension is represented by several MSS. of the Leiden University Library, the latter by a MS. in the India Office Library. Not having had access to the originals, I cannot express any opinion as to the accuracy of the translation, but, so far as I am able to judge, it reads well, and the book is of handy size and nicely produced.

An introduction deals with the sources and with the subject of the tales, which in a sense form a composite unit and are of native origin, though modified in their present form by foreign, particularly Islamic, influences. An appendix gives a short analysis of the stories, and compares some of them with other specimens of Indonesian folklore published by Professor J. de Vries in his *Volksverhalen uit Oost-Indië* (Zutfen, 1925–8). The plates reproduce scenes, mostly of animals, from the sculptures of several old Javanese temples.

C. O. Blagden.

The Land of the Lama. By David Macdonald. A description of a country of contrasts and of its cheerful, happy-go-lucky people of hardy nature and curious customs; their religion, ways of living, trade, and social life. With illustrations and a map. 9 × 5½, 283 pp. London: Seeley, Service and Co., 1929. 21*s*.

Though there is a considerable literature in existence dealing with Tibet, it is safe to say that in no existing book or article have the country and its people been so exhaustively treated as in the present volume.

Hitherto our information has been drawn from travellers who visited the country in disguise, and if they remained in it, did so at the risk of their lives, or from explorers who described its geographical features, recorded their impressions of its people and such information as to their customs and habits as they were able to pick up in most cases through an interpreter.

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Some of these writers have given us valuable information on certain aspects of Tibetan life; notably Dr. Filchner, whose friendly relations with the Lamas enabled him to give in his book—*Das Kloster Kumbum*—a detailed picture of the monastic life which is such a curious feature of Tibetan civilization.

But none of these authors had the special qualifications of David Macdonald who, for fifteen years, was British Trade Agent at Gyantse and Yatung, has besides this, as Lord Ronaldshay tells us in his Foreword, an intimate knowledge of the Tibetan language—a rare accomplishment in a European and an immense advantage to him in studying the life and customs of the people—and above all enjoys the friendship of the present Dalai Lama, the thirteenth of his line. When compelled to flee to India in 1909 it was to Macdonald that His Holiness owed his safe passage over the frontier, a fact he has never forgotten. In his fifteen years of office in Tibet, Macdonald has, as he tells us, made friends with high and low, so that he can describe equally well the life of the wealthy noble or burgher and of the poorest hovel-dweller.

For the comparative study of anthropology the book contains an immense amount of interesting matter. For the student of culture stages in the history of mankind it is particularly instructive. Tibetan civilization reminds us in many of its aspects of the Europe of the sixteenth century. Without pushing the parallel too far, do we not find here as there the same gulf fixed between rich and poor, the same ferocity in punishing the criminal, gorgeous garments on bodies not over clean, filth and vermin in the dwellings of the poor, desperate epidemics sweeping off multitudes in the absence of the barest elements of sanitation?

Guarded by moor and fen, crag and torrent from inquisitive and warlike neighbours, the Tibetans have been, except in the case of India and China, without those contacts with the outer world on which progress in ideas depends. But this, though a loss in one direction has been a gain in others.

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Mr. Macdonald tells us that "with the crudest materials and apparatus Tibetan weavers can turn out a product which will compare favourably with any similar article made elsewhere". And his description of the clothing, ornaments and furniture of the upper classes makes one regret that the advancing tide of western fashion—so devastating in its effects elsewhere—is rapidly leading the Tibetans to discard their picturesque costumes for European garb. Where the Homburg hat has already made its appearance, coat and trousers of European pattern are likely to follow.

The photographs illustrating the book are an excellent supplement to the text and fully worthy of it. As frontispiece we have a portrait of the present Dalai Lama presented by him to Mr. Macdonald for use in his book.

For anybody intending to visit Tibet this book is indispensable. It would be difficult to name a phase of Tibetan life which has escaped Mr. Macdonald's observation. The whole existence of the people, domestic, social, political, and religious, is passed in review by one who has not only had unique opportunities for studying it, but also the gift of making the best of these.

C. Mabel Rickmers.

The Desert Road to Turkestan. By Owen Lattimore. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xiv + 331 pp., 48 illustrations and 2 maps. London: Methuen and Co. First published 1928. 21*s*.

Every now and again Western civilization throws up a traveller who reverts to a type common perhaps among his forefathers in far distant ages, a type in whom the roving instinct is strong, love of adventure and the lure of the unknown making a stronger appeal than the amenities of a life which tends everywhere in civilized centres to become more and more standardized.

The Buddhist would have no difficulty in explaining such a character in terms of rebirth and the ease with which

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men like the German Filchner and the American Lattimore fraternize with his countrymen in Tibet and China would be but fresh proof to him of the truth of his theory.

" A longing to travel the caravan ways in the old manner of caravans . . . to go somewhere a long way off to countries where men do things as they were done uncounted years ago because their fathers did things in that way," is what led Mr. Lattimore to make his adventurous journey along the least known of the caravan routes, the so-called Winding Road from Kuei-hua in China through Inner Mongolia to Ku Ch'eng-tze in Chinese Turkestan.

The outcome of his travels is an unusual book in that it contains information of the kind that few travellers are in a position to give. Lattimore's knowledge of Chinese put him at once on an intimate footing with the camel men. Joining in their conversations, listening to their talk among themselves, he picked up much interesting lore about the age-old caravan trade, the ways and habits of camel men, their traditions, legends and superstitions. The caravan leader is a picked man, for only the fittest survives the hard school in which he learns his trade and gains that intimate knowledge of the camel and its ways which is indispensable to anyone aspiring to own a caravan.

But we learn much else as we accompany the author on his desert wandering. Whether he is describing a ride under the stars of an eastern sky or the rhythm of the camel bells of the caravan or the desert drenched in sunshine—always he makes us feel the spell which travel in the East casts on the traveller. But his appeal is not only to our emotions. He is a keen observer and has many interesting remarks on the political conditions of the countries and peoples with whom he comes in contact, while his knowledge of the literature dealing with the geography of Central Asia enables him to identify places on his route mentioned by previous travellers like Prjevalsky and Douglas Carruthers.

The only untoward incident of the journey was Mr.

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Lattimore's detention at San t'ang Hu by a Chinese border patrol. But this interference with his freedom which might have been serious, did not last long, and on the 2nd of January, 1927, after a journey of 130 days from Kuei-hua he reached his goal, the city of Ch'eng-tze.

The book is well illustrated, the photographs giving an excellent idea of the desert landscape with its vast illimitable spaces. There are interesting pictures, too, of scenes from camp life and of the types of the population met with on the way. The author gives in an appendix a detailed summary of his route day by day, with the distances traversed between the different stages of the journey.

C. Mabel Rickmers.

The Rim of Mystery. By John B. Burnham. A Hunter's Wanderings in Unknown Siberian Asia. $9 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xv + 281 pp., with 60 illustrations and a map. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929. 15*s*.

This book is an account of an expedition undertaken to find specimens of the mountain sheep, believed to inhabit the Chukotsk Peninsula in the north-eastern corner of Siberia, separating Bering Strait from the Arctic Ocean west of the Strait.

The existence of a former land bridge between Asia and America has been assumed in order to account for the striking likeness existing between human and animal types in these two regions and American biologists hoped that the discovery of mountain sheep in the Chukotsk would throw still further light on this interesting problem.

The expedition was of the kind to appeal to a hunter like Burnham, susceptible as he is to the "call of the wild". Perhaps the lure of the adventure was an even stronger motive than the hope of success, his subsequent experiences going far to prove that he was right in his theory that the sheep have been all but exterminated by the natives of the coast.

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With infinite pains the author and his companion Andrew Taylor scoured every corner of the country where sheep were likely to be found, one specimen only falling to Burnham's gun. As the expedition has given us this book, however, we cannot regard it as having been made in vain.

Besides being exceedingly entertaining, it gives a great deal of varied and interesting information about a little known part of the world. The author describes for us the dwellings of the inhabitants, their garments, food, manner of living and eating. He paints the glories of colouring on the mountains, the gorgeous carpets of flowers to be found here and there in a country that yet has its great stretches of treeless desolation. He has something to say too about the political activities and aspirations of the various nations concerned in Siberian trade. On the way from Seattle to Nome in Alaska he met men who told him startling tales of their own adventures and of the activities of dare-devil traders in the far North, men for whom human life has no value, whose spirit is that of the buccaneer of the Middle Ages. There are grim tragedies connected with the whaling trade—stories of native populations wiped out by starvation owing to the rapacity and unscrupulous character of white traders.

Mr. Burnham gives full play to his excellent sense of humour in describing his experiences among the Eskimo and the Chukchi of that remote region. A sense of humour seems to be a very necessary part of one's outfit in dealing with these remarkable races whose unhygienic habits far outdo those of the Tibetans as described by Dr. Filchner and Mr. Macdonald.

There is one point in Mr. Burnham's comparison of the Eskimo and the Chukchi which is worth noting. He attributes to the Eskimo the custom of killing off their aged relatives. The article on the Eskimo in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* does not mention this custom as prevalent among them, whereas the article on the Chukchi in the same edition quotes Harry de Windt (*Through the Gold Fields of*

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Alaska to Bering Strait, 1898) as its authority for the existence of the custom among these people. Possibly the Asiatic Eskimo have copied the custom from their Chukchi neighbours, Mr. Burnham's description tallying in every point with that given by De Windt in his book.

A study of the illustrations along with that of the text gives the reader an excellent idea of this part of the world, of its landscape, of its inhabitants and their manner of life. There is also a good map with which it is possible to follow every phase of Mr. Burnham's interesting quest.

A word as to the vocabulary of American writers. That of Mr. Burnham and that of Mr. Lattimore prove the soundness of the argument that much of the difference between the American language and the English is due to the Americans having retained words which have dropped out of use in England. With the exception of terms of local usage, nearly all the words of both writers which sound unfamiliar to English ears, are to be found in an English dictionary. We must exclude the picturesque word "discomboberate", possibly invented by Mr. Burnham on the spur of the moment and in any case very effective in the circumstances in which it was used.

C. Mabel Rickmers.

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I: Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions, with the exception of those of Aśoka. Edited by Sten Konow, Ph.D., Professor in the Oslo University. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10$. cxxvii + 193 pp., 1 map, and 36 plates. Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929.

This volume, beautifully printed and illustrated with collotype plates by the Oxford University Press, appears soon after the centenary of the publication of Lassen's *Commentatio geographica atque historica de Pentapotamia Indica* in 1827; and it is therefore very appropriately

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dedicated by Professor Sten Konow to the memory of his distinguished fellow-countryman, the founder of the study of ancient Indian history.

A comprehensive and scholarly collection of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of India has long been a desideratum. Ever since the alphabet was deciphered from the bi-lingual coin-legends of the Græco-Indian kings, now nearly a hundred years ago, a great number of descriptions and editions of individual inscriptions have appeared in the Oriental Journals of India, Europe, and America, and in the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India; and in the course of time this literature had grown to an extent which made it almost unmanageable. It was important in the interests of further research that all this widely scattered information should be condensed and put together in a convenient form; and this need has now been satisfied by Professor Konow. In this volume he has traced the history of each inscription. He has described, whenever it has been possible to do so, the place and circumstances of its discovery; and he has recorded and examined the opinions and suggestions of previous editors before proceeding to state and to justify his own conclusions. He has thus placed the study of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions on a new basis. Our hope for future progress must now lie in the discovery of fresh records; and for the interpretation of these the chief source of help will be found in the vast store of facts and observations which have been so carefully accumulated and arranged in this volume. For this great achievement Professor Konow will receive the gratitude of all his fellow workers, even if some of the readings which he has adopted and some of the views which he has expressed fail to meet with the same unanimous approval.

Unfortunately many of the records known at present have been very badly preserved; and an editor has frequently to deal with letters which are partially or totally effaced. Many words therefore can only be restored conjecturally;

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and it is important to remember that such readings ought not to be treated as if they were certain. Professor Konow too often neglects this caution; and he occasionally arrives at far-reaching historical conclusions on very insufficient evidence. His treatment of a passage in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription affords an instance. As we are told on p. 57—

> "Cunningham remarks that 'as the stone has been used for many years, perhaps for centuries, for the grinding of spices, all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether'."

Professor Konow reads the first part of line 5 as *erjhuṇa Kapasa puyae*, and translates "in honour of Prince Kapa" (p. 62). On the meaning and the historical significance of this passage he comments as follows:—

> "Here *erjhuṇa* is evidently the same word which we find as *alysānai*, *eysānai* in the language of the ancient Iranian population of Khotan, the same language which the great Kushāṇa ruler Kanishka later on employed in his coin-legends. And Kapa is probably another and older Kushāṇa, who on his coins is called Kadapha, Kaphsa, Kapa, etc. In the inscription he is designated as *erjhuṇa*, and as the corresponding *alysānai* is used to translate Skr. *kumāra*, we may infer that he was then a young prince, and perhaps without any official position" (pp. xlviii–ix).
>
> "If Kujūla Kadphises is the same person who is mentioned in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, i.e. probably A.D. 19, he had not then reduced the four other *hi-hou*, and it is even possible that he had not yet risen to the rank of *hi-hou*. In such circumstances the designation *erjhuṇa* characterizing him in the inscription is quite intelligible" (p. lxii).
>
> "We have no further dates to guide us. If we assume, however, that the *erjhuṇa* Kapa was about twenty years old at the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, we should be entitled to conclude from the Hou Han-shu that his death must have taken place about sixty years later, i.e. about the year A.D. 79" (p. lxvi).
>
> "It seems to me that we have to do with the same person who later on conquered the remaining *hi-hous* and then started on his career of conquest, which first led to victory over An-si, i.e. the Parthian empire of the Guduvhara dynasty, and subsequently to the Kushāṇa empire" (p. 62).

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Now, on what does all this elaborate historical reconstruction rest? It rests on the acceptance of a reading, nearly every syllable of which has been called in question by one or other of the editors who have dealt with this most obscure passage. The matter will be made clearer if we transcribe the debatable portions of lines 4 and 5 as they appear in Plate XII and in the photograph reproduced by M. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1890 (XV) :—

(4) mi ra bo ya ṇa sa . .

(5) e [rjhu] ṇa [ka] [pa] ——— . . . . . sa pu ya e

In the first place, it is by no means certain that the *e*, which comes at the beginning of line 5, is the initial syllable of a word. Professor Konow has not noticed that there is an indistinct syllable at the end of line 4; and, if the stone has been broken at the edge, as is by no means unlikely, it is quite possible that another syllable may have been lost through the rough usage to which the stone has been subjected. In the circumstances a conjectural restoration [*puya*]*e* would not be improbable, especially since the word seems to be required by the genitive which precedes it.

The next syllable [*rjhu*] is indeed a puzzle. M. l'Abbé Boyer read it as *jhṣu* : M. Senart preferred to leave it doubtful, and this is perhaps the wisest course. Can this strange form possibly be the result of the confusion of two syllables ?

The *ṇa* is certain ; the [*ka*] was read as *bh*[*u*] by M. l'Abbé Boyer ; [*pa*] was regarded as doubtful by M. Senart, whose photograph seems rather to favour the reading *pu*.

"After *Kapa* follows a wide gap, which," according to Professor Konow (p. 62), "has never carried any writing, having been left open on account of the roughness of the stone." Sir Alexander Cunningham was, however, evidently of a different opinion (v. sup., p. 188). In any case there are traces of writing—apparently of three syllables—coming before the *sa* which Professor Konow regards as the complement of *Kapa*. These traces seem to be certain ; but they are more distinctly visible in M. Senart's photograph than

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in Plate XII. They are not sufficient to justify any attempt at restoration; but they at least show that the *sa* does not belong to the *Kapa*.

In these circumstances it is difficult to believe that Prince Kapa is anything more than a phantom; and with his disappearance there vanishes also the supposed reference to Kujūla Kadphises in the inscription of Gondopharnes.

Equally uncertain are the reading [*ka*]*ï*[*sa*]*rasa* and its identification with the Roman title "Cæsar" (Ārā inscription, p. 165).

It might well have been supposed that this matter had been settled once for all by Dr. Fleet, who, after the most careful examination of a number of impressions specially made for him by Dr. Spooner, wrote :—

> "I can only say that not one of the syllables is certain, except the second *sa*. . . . The first syllable may be either *ka* or *pa*, damaged in either case. What comes next seems to stand rather too low to be an *i*: it might be the lower part of a conjunct consonant (perhaps *sta*) of which the top is damaged. The next mark certainly looks like part of a *sa*. The next one after that might be, I think, a *ta* or *da* as much as a *ra*" (*JRAS.*, 1913, p. 101).

In the face of these observations, which appear to be fully justified when they are tested by the photo-lithograph in Plate XXXII, is it still possible to maintain that Kanishka (II) is called "Cæsar" in the Ārā inscription ?

Professor Konow attaches great importance to his reading and interpretation of the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 (or 184), since he believes that this inscription "furnishes the proof that the historical Śaka era was not instituted by Kanishka" (p. 80).

The year 187 of Professor Konow's "old Śaka era" (84–83 B.C.; v. inf., p. 192) would be equivalent to A.D. 103–4; and if the Mahārāja whose name appears in the inscription can be identified with Wima Kadphises, it is evident that Kanishka who was undoubtedly the successor of Wima Kadphises cannot have founded an era in A.D. 78. The only

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question to be determined is whether the inscription has been rightly attributed to Wima Kadphises or not.

Professor Konow reads the genitive of the king's name as *Uvima Kavthisasa* (p. 81), and as meaning "of Wima Kadphises" (p. 80). Some of the syllables are admittedly doubtful. To judge from the photograph of the inscription which is reproduced in Plate XV, the first syllable must be *u* or *a*; the second *ve* or *vi*; the last certainly *sa*. But here all certainty and all likelihood come to an end. Professor Konow's reading *ma Ka* is only obtained by ignoring "a curved line running downwards from the point where *ma* touches the angle of *ka* and apparently continuing to the left bar of *ma*"; and the following *vthi sa* might with equal probability—or improbability—be read as *ṭhu syo*. But it is futile to indulge in further conjectures until trustworthy impressions can be obtained of this inscription: the play of light and shade in a photograph is notoriously apt to mislead. All that can be said at present is that Professor Konow's reading is very far from being certain, and his identification of this Mahārāja with Wima Kadphises very far from being proved. Moreover, it may be suggested that mere considerations of geography make it extremely improbable that any record of Wima Kadphises could be found in Ladakh! (v. inf., p. 199).

Professor Konow has formulated a scheme of chronology which is almost entirely his own. In his Historical Introduction he arranges the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of India into two main groups (pp. lxxxii–iii)—A, an Older Group, dated in his "older Śaka era"; and B, a Later Group which, starting from the year 1, was first used by Kanishka and continued afterwards by his successors. But, in the course of his discussion of the problems raised by various dates in the inscriptions of the period with which he deals, he finds evidence of the use of three other eras, viz. the Vikrama era, 57–56 B.C.; a Parthian era, 7 B.C.; and the historical Śaka era, A.D. 78. As to the existence of the Vikrama

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era and the historical Śaka era, there is, of course, no question. The only doubt which can arise in connection with them is whether Professor Konow's explanation of their origin can be regarded as satisfactory or not. The three other eras have been invented by Professor Konow.

The arguments which he brings forward in support of his views deserve the most careful consideration. But, from the very nature of the subject, they are necessarily somewhat complicated, and they could scarcely be discussed in detail within the limits of a review. All that can be attempted here is to give some account of each of these five eras, and to point out some of the consequences which must necessarily follow if the proposed system of chronology were adopted.

1. The old Śaka era, 84–83 B.C., established in commemoration of the conquest of the Indus country by the Śakas of Seistān (pp. xxxii, xc–i).

Professor Konow's theory depends on the validity of two assumptions—(1) that Maues (Moga), the earliest known Śaka ruler in India, who admittedly came from Seistān, once a province of the Parthian empire, could not have borne the imperial title "Great King of Kings" before the death of Mithradates II (88 B.C.); and (2) that this era records the date of the conquest of the Indus country by the Śakas. Of these assumptions the former is most probably justified: the latter is by no means necessarily correct. It is at least possible that the invading Śakas may have brought with them into India the era to which they had been accustomed in their own country, even as did the Muhammadan and the European settlers in India.

Dr. van Wijk has most carefully calculated in terms of B.C. and A.D. the equivalents of all the Śaka dates occurring in inscriptions; but, if these calculations are based on an assumption, viz. that the starting point of this "old Śaka era" cannot possibly be earlier than 88 B.C., they cannot be used as independent tests of the correctness of Professor Konow's theory.

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Moreover, if this theory be valid, we must suppose that Maues (year 78 of the Taxila copper plate) was alive in 6 B.C., and that he can scarcely have taken part in the Śaka conquest which was commemorated by the era of 84–83 B.C. It is quite true that, as is suggested, there may be earlier inscriptions dated in the same era ; and it is even possible that one of the slabs of the Maira inscription of the year 58 (pp. 11–12) may actually have borne the name of Maues. Unfortunately the reading is doubtful, and this fragment, like so many other inscriptions described in this volume, has been lost. But in any case we should be forced to believe that there is a blank of at least half a century between the date of the Śaka conquest and the earliest traces of the existence of Śaka rulers in India. Is such a blank probable ? Oriental conquerors have generally struck coins immediately after their victories as a notification to their new subjects of the change of masters ; and in accordance with this rule the coins of Maues, if we may judge from their style, seem to follow closely on the coins of the Greek princes whose types they continue to bear. So late a date as 6 B.C. for Maues appears from the numismatic point of view to be impossible.

Moreover, the very short interval—twenty-five years at the most—which is all that this theory would permit between coinages so far removed in style as those of Maues and Gondopharnes (year 103 = A.D. 19 ; p. xlviii) is another very weighty objection : a much longer interval is postulated by those scholars who believe that between Maues and Gondopharnes there came Azes I, Azilises, and Azes II. Professor Konow, indeed, reduces the three reigns to one by regarding " Azes " and " Azilises " as merely different names for one and the same king, and by denying the existence of a second Azes ; but it is doubtful if this somewhat drastic procedure can be justified. The conclusion that " Azes " and " Azilises " must be respectively the shorter and the longer forms of the same name has evidently been deduced from those coins on which the two names are found, one on either side ; but it

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is a mistake to assume that they must necessarily denote the same person.[1] And the hypothesis of a second Azes certainly seems to be required in order to explain the numismatic facts.[2]

2. The Vikrama era, 57–56 B.C., founded by Vikramāditya, who ousted the Śakas and "celebrated his victory by establishing an era of his own" (p. xxxvi).

In order to account for this well-known era which begins in 57–56 B.C. or, according to Dr. Fleet, in 58 B.C., Professor Konow has revived a story which has long ago been relegated to the region of legend. He accepts as true the tradition preserved in the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka*, "a work of unknown date," that—

> "after some time Vikramāditya, king of Mālava, ousted this Śaka dynasty (i.e. the dynasty which was established in Ujjain, the capital of Mālava, after the overthrow of the last of the Gardabhilla kings), and established his own era" (p. xxvii).

But surely this fiction was disposed of finally by Dr. Fleet in this *Journal* (1913, p. 997).

> "Current appellations are no proof of origins. The present name of the era of B.C. 58 is, and has been for centuries, 'Vikrama-saṃvat'; due to an Indian belief that the era was founded by a king Vikrama, Vikramāditya, who began to reign at Ujjain in that year: and European scholars at first accepted that belief, and acted on it in shaping their views about ancient India. Later research, however, has shown that there was no such king Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A.D.:

[1] In support of his opinion Professor Konow quotes Professor Thomas and the authorities to whom he refers in *JRAS.* 1906, p. 208; but see Whitehead, Cat. Lahore Mus., vol. i, *Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 132, note 1: "In connexion with the joint coinage of Azes and Azilises, I may mention the theory of G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 142—that the names are the same, one being a contraction of the other. He apparently was led to this erroneous conclusion because he did not recognize the existence of what is really a joint type. Such types are well known in the Indo-Greek series, e.g. joint types of Lysias and Antialkidas, of Vonones and his relatives, and of Spalirises and Azes."

[2] See the observations of Dr. Vincent Smith quoted by Professor Konow on pp. xxxix, xl.

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and it has shown further that, not merely in A.D. 405, but for nearly five centuries from that time on to A.D. 879, the era was known as 'the reckoning of the Mālavas, the years of the Mālava lords, the Mālava time or era.' "

Dr. Fleet's statement could only be disproved by the production of some definite evidence to the contrary. Is any such evidence forthcoming? Is there a single inscription or coin testifying to the existence of a king named Vikramāditya who conquered the Śakas in the first century B.C.? Is there any mention in the Purāṇas of the dynasty which he is said to have founded? How can the legend be reconciled with the Purāṇas which say that after the Gardabhillas there came eighteen (or sixteen) Śakas? [1]

It is scarcely necessary to point out that, in the course of time, traditions are liable to be perverted, and that a great name is apt to be associated in the popular mind with events in which the bearer of that name played no part. The association of the name Vikramāditya with the era of 57–56 B.C. is easily understood, if we suppose that the memory of the actual founder of the era has been merged in that of the great Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, who became king of Mālava by conquest and put an end to the kingdom of the Śaka satraps of Surāshṭra and Mālava, *c.* A.D. 400.

Of the use of this era in Kharoshṭhī inscriptions Professor Konow finds not a single example. Indeed, he holds that—

"If Indian tradition is right in stating that the Vikrama era was instituted by Vikramāditya in order to commemorate his victory over the Śakas . . . it becomes unlikely that the Vikrama era is used in any of the inscriptions of the Śakas and Kushāṇas" (pp. lxxxvi–vii).

But he is obliged to invoke its assistance in order to explain the supposed year 72 in the Brāhmī inscription on the Āmohinī tablet at Mathurā (pp. xxxiv, xcii). The date of the Great Satrap Śoḍāsa is, therefore, according to Professor Konow, A.D. 15. But—in the opinion of the writer of this notice—the date is clearly not 72 but 42, and is equivalent

[1] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 45–6.

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to 15 B.C.[1]; and it seems not unlikely that this unfortunate misreading of the decimal figure as 70 instead of 40, perpetuated as it has been by its introduction into the text and plates of Bühler's *Indische Paläographie*, has been the chief disturbing cause which has induced some scholars to assign Kanishka to a date early in the second century A.D. rather than to A.D. 78.

3. A Parthian era, 7 B.C., "instituted by Azes, the first Parthian ruler in North-Western India" (p. xci), "one year before the date of the Taxila copper-plate" (p. xxxv).

This era is purely imaginary. It has been invented simply and solely for the purpose of explaining "*varṣ*[*e*] 26" in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of Gondopharnes. There is not a particle of evidence for the existence of such an era. As Professor Konow himself admits: "This Parthian era is not used in other known records" (p. xci).

The natural explanation of "year 26" in this inscription is, of course, that it is the regnal year of the king while "103" is the year of an era. Unfortunately this interpretation would be fatal to Professor Konow's theory which requires that year 78 of the Taxila copper plate and year 103 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription should be in the same era. But is it not possible that the theory may be wrong?

Equally fanciful is the suggestion that this supposed era was founded to commemorate the reassertion of Parthian supremacy over the Śakas. There is no evidence of any such antagonism between Parthians and Śakas in India at this period, and this hypothesis only lands us in further difficulties. One of these is realized by Professor Konow himself, who tries to explain it with his usual ingenuity. He undertakes to show how it might possibly have come to pass that the "Parthian" Azes, who founded an era to commemorate his conquest of the Śakas in 7 B.C., was reigning as King of Kings in one region of North-West India, while at the same

[1] Rapson, *The date of the Āmohinī votive tablet of Mathurā*, in "Indian Studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman", Harvard University Press, 1929.

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time his defeated foe Maues, the suzerain of the Śakas, continued to rule as King of Kings at Taxila until the following year, 6 B.C. (pp. 43–4, 62). Our perplexity increases if we accept a suggestion, to which Professor Konow "cannot see any serious objection", that the funeral solemnities of Maues (Muki=Moga) are actually referred to in one of the inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion Capital which Professor Konow attributes to the period *c.* A.D. 5–10 (pp. 39, 47, 49). It is indeed not easy to believe in the reality of a conflict which thus lasted for twelve years and ended in the transference of the political supremacy over North-West India from Śakas to "Parthians", and which nevertheless has left no trace whatever of any such disturbance in the very abundant coinages of the two protagonists, Maues and Azes. Both of these suzerains struck coins with the same types and of similar style and at the same mints; they bear the same imperial titles both in their Greek and in their Kharoshṭhī coin-legends; the types of their coins are to a great extent borrowed or adapted from those of their Greek predecessors, and appear to be of a not much later date. The numismatic evidence certainly seems to indicate that Maues and Azes belonged to the same dynasty and to an earlier period than that to which Professor Konow has assigned them.[1]

4. The historical Śaka era of A.D. 78, "instituted by the Śaka king who made an end to Vikramāditya's dynasty" (p. xcii), that is to say, by Wima Kadphises (p. lxvii).

Professor Konow finds no instance of the use of this era in any of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions which he publishes: and this dearth of examples requires a great deal of explanation. One hypothesis calls for the support of another, and so on until the situation becomes somewhat confused.

> "This new era," it appears, "was intended for use in the country which had been reconquered, and it was not introduced in the provinces where the old Śaka reckoning had not been abolished. We therefore find north-western inscriptions, and

[1] See "Summary of Numismatic Evidence" in *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, i, pp. 586 ff.

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even the Khalatse record of the reign of Wima Kadphises, dated in the old Śaka era also after the introduction of the second Śaka era of A.D. 78. In Mālava itself the Vikrama era does not appear to have gone out of use. And we have already seen that it was introduced in Mathurā. Here we should expect to find the new Śaka era employed. It is, however, evident that Wima Kadphises did not make his power felt to any considerable extent in Mathurā" (p. xciii).

There remain, therefore, it would seem, only the Western Kshatrapas who beyond question used an era which began in A.D. 78. Now, satraps and other feudatories have in all periods of Indian history used the era of their suzerain. They have followed the example set by their supreme lord. Who was the suzerain whose example was followed by the Western Kshatrapas?

As we have seen, we have been brought by Professor Konow to the extraordinary conclusion that Wima Kadphises was the founder of an era which he did not employ himself. He therefore set no example for the imitation of others. But such self-abnegation is certainly not in accordance with the usual custom of Indian suzerains, and we may reasonably wonder why an exception to the general rule should have been made in this particular instance.

Professor Konow makes great use of the Khalatse inscription of the year 187; and he has decided that this is an undoubted record of Wima Kadphises bearing a date in the "old Śaka era" which is equivalent to A.D. 103–4. But can his belief be substantiated? As we have seen (v. sup., p. 191), the reading of the Mahārāja's name as *Uvima Kavthisasa* is in the highest degree uncertain. It affords a very insecure foundation for the far-reaching conclusions of Professor Konow, who states without any qualification that—

"The Khalatse inscription of the year 187, i.e. A.D. 103–4, shows that Wima Kadphises was on the throne long after the beginning of the Śaka era, which cannot, accordingly, have been instituted by Kanishka, his successor" (pp. lxvii–viii, cf. p. 80), and that "it also shows that the *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushaṇa* of the Taxila scroll, which is dated fifty years earlier, cannot well be Wima Kadphises" (p. 81).

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But altogether apart from this conjectural reading and interpretation, we may well ask if it is in the least likely that any record of Wima Kadphises should be found at Khalatse which is "a village in Ladakh, 52 miles below Leh on the trade route" (p. 79). The latest and best account of this remote region is to be found in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, by Dr. A. H. Francke (vols. xxxviii and l of the *Archæological Survey of India*, New Series). The editor of Part i, Professor J. Ph. Vogel, thus describes the first part of Dr. Francke's adventurous journey:—

> "Starting from Simla on the 14th of June, 1909, he travelled up to Satluj Valley through the hill-state of Rāmpur-Bashahr, and by the Hang Pass (16,000 feet) reached Spiti. He then crossed the Pharang Pass (18,300 feet) and continued his journey through Rubshu along the wild shores of Lake Thsomo Riri. Two more mountain passes, the Phologongkha Pass (16,500 feet) and the Thaglang Pass (17,500 feet), had to be surmounted in order to enable the explorer to reach Ladakh, the real centre of the ancient realm of Western Tibet . . . Owing to the nature of the country to be traversed, the explorer had to march on foot most of the way from Simla to Śrīnagar, except where the rarified air compelled him to mount the yak—certainly not the most comfortable means of locomotion."

After reading the fascinating story of Dr. Francke's long journey, and realizing, however dimly, the difficulties and privations with which he had to contend week after week as he slowly made his way over mountain passes higher than Mont Blanc, we can only wonder if Professor Konow can possibly be correct in supposing that he has discovered traces of the rule of Wima Kadphises in this desolate and barely accessible region on the roof of the world.

Dr. Francke, at any rate, was under no such illusion. He attributes this and other similar inscriptions found in the same locality to "The ancient Kings of Kha-la-rtse" (Part ii, p. 274); and this attribution is no doubt correct.

5. "The era of Kanishka," A.D. 128–9, "the third Śaka era" (p. xciii).

Professor Konow's reasons for determining the starting

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point of the era employed in the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors are best explained in his own words :—

> " An examination of the records dated in the era will show that in two of the inscriptions the nakshatra current on the day when they were executed is mentioned. The Zeda inscription of the year 11 couples the Uttara-phalgunī with the 20th Āshāḍha, and the Uṇḍ record of the year 61 the nakshatra Pūrvāshāḍha with the 8th Chaitra.
>
> Such features do not occur every year, and in the case of these inscriptions, which are not too much removed in time from the Siddhāntas, it seems to be comparatively safe to apply their methods to our calculations.
>
> Dr. van Wijk has done so and arrived at the result that the only set of years within the limits with which we can reasonably reckon which fulfils the conditions is Kaliyuga 3240 for the Zeda and 3290 for the Uṇḍ inscription. The initial year of the Kanishka era would accordingly be A.D. 128–129 " (p. xciii).

There cannot be many Oriental scholars who are fully competent to criticize the abstruse astronomical and chronological calculations of Dr. van Wijk; but both he and Professor Konow have done their best to explain them in articles published in the *Acta Orientalia*, vols. iii and v. Both writers, however, have felt constrained to utter words of caution as to the character of the results. Thus Professor Konow: " I readily admit the hypothetical nature of every conclusion based on such materials " (vol. iii, p. 79); and Dr. van Wijk: " The reader will remark for himself that there remains a good deal of conjecture in these reductions " (ibid., p. 83).

The uncertainty of the results is indeed manifest when we find that the investigators have at different times arrived at different conclusions. In *Acta Orientalia*, iii, p. 78, we were told that " it will be seen that, according to the Sūrya-siddhānta, the initial date of the Kanishka era would fall in one of the years 79, 117, or 134 A.D. "; and the adherents of the view that Kanishka was the founder of the era which begins in A.D. 78 were inspirited by the prospect of encouragement from a totally unexpected quarter; for, as Professor Konow, who himself preferred the year A.D. 134, observed:

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" It might be maintained that the earliest date, 79 A.D., would coincide with the epoch of the Śaka era if the years were counted as elapsed " (ibid., p. 78). But now their hopes are dashed : year 79 seems to be out of the running, and a dark horse, year 128–9, whom no one ever thought of, is the favourite (*Acta Orientalia*, v, p. 169).

It is only fair to state that Professor Konow does not regard his theory as proved beyond all question : it is, in his opinion, the best working hypothesis. But he has not strengthened his case by one of the arguments which he adduces in its favour :—

> " It is about this time that the Western Kshatrapa Chashṭana evinces an increase in his national pride in reintroducing the Śaka name Ysamotika for his father, who called himself Bhūmaka " (p. xciv).

It would indeed have been a strange way of showing his national pride if he had really changed his father's Indian name back to its Śaka form, and yet had given his son, Jayadāman, an Indianized name. But as a matter of fact, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that there was any connection between Bhūmaka and Ysamotika. If the two names have the same meaning in different languages, it is somewhat rash to assume that they were not used to designate two different people. In ordinary life names are not usually given originally or changed subsequently by philologists. They are intended for the purely practical purpose of distinguishing one person from another. But in the present instance it is unnecessary to insist on general considerations of this kind. It is quite clear from the coins that Bhūmaka and Ysamotika belonged to different families. Bhūmaka was a Kshaharāta : it is with the Rājā Kshaharāta Nahapāna that the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Bhūmaka was connected by family ties and not with the Rājā Kshatrapa (or Mahā°) Chashṭana, son of Ysamotika. The Ksharāta family to which Bhūmaka and Nahapāna belonged was " rooted out " by the Andhra king Gautamīputra ; and Chashṭana was the

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first ruler in a new dynasty. All the genealogical lists begin with his name, and in them his father is never mentioned. When his father's name occurs on the coins of Chashṭana it is not associated with any title. He was therefore a private individual with no official status, for titles are not omitted on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas.[1]

Professor Konow's working hypothesis therefore rests on a very precarious foundation; and it is not made probable by any very strong arguments. If we accept it, we shall be obliged to suppose that this era, after having been used in inscriptions for at least ninety-eight years, took no permanent root, but vanished as if it had never been and left no trace of its existence in the subsequent history of India; whereas the era of A.D. 78 has survived even to the present day.

In conclusion it may be asked: Has Professor Konow shown that the scheme of chronology propounded in the *Cambridge History of India* is untenable? Is there no cogency in the general considerations on which that scheme is based?

> "The chronological difficulties connected with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. and the Śaka era of 78 A.D. are well known; and it is universally admitted that the names which these eras bear were given to them at a later date, and afford no clue to their origin. The view maintained in this work is that the eras in question mark the establishment of the Śaka and Kushāṇa suzerainties. The idea of suzerainty, that is to say, supreme lordship over all the kings of a large region—"the whole earth," as the poets call it—is deeply rooted in Indian conceptions of government; and the foundation of an era is recognized as one of the attributes of this exalted position. Now there is abundant evidence that the Śaka empire attained its height in the reign of Azes I and the Kushāṇa empire in the reign of Kanishka. It is natural to suppose therefore that such imperial eras must have been established in these reigns, and that their starting point in both cases was the accession of the suzerain." (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, i, p. viii.)

E. J. RAPSON.

[1] Rapson, B.M. Cat., *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, pp. cviii, cxii.

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KHAROṢṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED BY SIR AUREL STEIN IN CHINESE TURKESTAN. Part I: Text of Inscriptions discovered at the Niya Site, 1901. Transcribed and edited by A. M. BOYER, E. J. RAPSON, and E. SENART. iv + 1–154 pp., plates i–vi. 1920. Part II: Text of Inscriptions Discovered at the Niya, Endere, and Lou-lan Sites, 1906–7. Transcribed and edited by the same. ii + 155–266 pp., plates vii–xii. 1927. Part III: Text of Inscriptions Discovered at the Niya and Lou-lan Sites, 1913–14. Transcribed and edited by E. J. RAPSON and P. S. NOBLE. With complete Index Verborum. viii + 267–380 pp., plates xiii and xiv. 1929. $13\frac{1}{4} \times 10$. Published under the authority of H.M. Secretary of State for India in Council by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

The first part of this work was reviewed by Professor F. W. Thomas in the *Journal* for April, 1921, but it seemed best to include it again here for the sake of completeness.

This magnificent volume is a worthy companion to the great discoverer's own works. It can very seldom have occurred that any collection of Oriental documents has been edited with such scrupulous care and accuracy as these. Wisely eschewing the practice of prefixing ill-digested prolegomena to pioneer works of this kind, the editors have preferred to add their remarks at the end, and in the Third Part we have two admirable monographs, one on the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet as used in the inscriptions, the other on the regnal years.

If any criticism is to be directed against this work it can take only one form, that the editors have been unduly diffident in expressing their opinions on matters in which they felt that they could not speak with complete confidence, and that they have assumed perhaps too high a standard of knowledge in their readers. Thus they have refrained not only from appending translations to their texts, but even from inserting a summary or indication of contents in the

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headings. Similarly, in the Index Verborum they have refrained from adding either translations or even the Sanskrit equivalents of the words recorded.

It may be that this decision was a wise one, but it is patent that other students must begin the study of these texts at a point very little ahead of that at which the surviving editors began years ago; we cannot but express the hope that they will regard it as an obligation of honour to complete their work by rendering the contents as well as the texts of these inscriptions available to their fellow students as soon as possible. For here we have great riches. To the historian, this mass of 764 official, business, and private documents which were written in towns on the great Eurasian silk-route, when it was at the height of its importance, cannot but be of the most profound interest. Even the Classical scholar must feel his curiosity aroused when in the recesses of Central Asia he finds such words as *drakhma* (δραχμή), *sadera* (στατήρ), and *milima* (probably μέδιμνος) in current use. The student of Iranian philology, too, must look forward to a rich feast when the Prakritists have disentangled from the intricacies of this unfamiliar dialect the rich substratum of local Iranian words, and when he has done his best with the remainder, who can tell whether there may not still be a residue for the students of other Central Asian languages? It may seem ungracious, immediately the products of nearly thirty years' work are laid before us, to clamour for more, but we do. G. L. M. Clauson.

Glossary of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese Versions of the Daśabhūmika-sūtra. Compiled by J. Rahder. (Buddhica. Documents et Travaux pour l'Etude du Bouddhisme, publiés sous la Direction de Jean Przyluski. Deuxième Série: Documents, Tome I.) $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, viii + 202 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

The word "Glossary" in the title of this book is somewhat misleading, since the words listed are not translated into any

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European language. It is, in fact, a list of Sanskrit words with Tibetan, Mongol, and Chinese equivalents.

Such works make a poor show compared with the enormous amount of labour which their preparation entails and the compiler is to be congratulated on the result. It is, however, sincerely to be hoped that the promised Indices of Tibetan and Chinese words will shortly be forthcoming, since without them the work is deprived of much of its value.

Even so, however, the book is of considerable importance, particularly to the student of Chinese Buddhism, since the various terms used by the Chinese translators of different periods to translate the same Sanskrit word are carefully distinguished.

The compiler's avowed object is to collect material which will in due course render it possible to reconstruct lost Sanskrit originals of which translations have survived. It is perhaps questionable whether this ambition for reconstruction is a laudable one. The collection of equivalents between the various languages is a matter of considerable importance, since without such assistance some translated Buddhist texts are almost unintelligible, but surely the immediate necessity in the field of Northern Buddhism is not the reconstruction of further texts to add to the enormous mass of existing literature, but the translation of the existing texts.

Perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book is the collection of Mongol equivalents. The compiler had much to compete with in the way of typographical inadequacy, but even so words printed from left to right in Mongol characters, i.e. for practical purposes, upside down, are a sore trial to the eyes and the temper. It is surprising that the compiler did not follow the practice adopted for the Tibetan equivalents and transliterate the Mongol; this would have saved space and a good deal of trouble.

Nevertheless, the compiler is to be congratulated on producing a valuable piece of pioneer work.

G. L. M. Clauson.

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CUSTOMARY LAW OF THE MONGOL TRIBES (MONGOLS, BURIATS, KALMUCKS). Parts I–III. By V. A. RIASONOVSKY, Professor of the Harbin Faculty of Law (China). $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, 310 pp. Harbin, China: "Artistic printinghouse," 1929.

This interesting book is apparently an English translation by the author himself of a book written originally in Russian. Russian scholars of Mongol in the past have been so much accustomed to enshrining the products of their researches in the comparative obscurity of their own language, that we owe a considerable debt of gratitude to the author and his "printinghouse" for this courageous attempt to appeal to a wider audience. The book is stuffed full of misprints, as might have been expected, but even so it cannot be said to compare so very unfavourably with the output of some of the Indian presses. The solution of most of them is not a matter of great difficulty, but the reviewer thinks it well to put it on record for the benefit of other readers that the word "columns" in a list of offences on page 35 is to be read "calumny".

A more tiresome failing of the book is the failure, in most cases, to give the necessary means of identifying the various works quoted. A number of references occur in the foot-notes, but, if no more is given on the first occasion when a book is quoted than the author's name without initials, the short title of the book and occasionally the date of publication, and on further occasions than the short title, the process of identifying the work quoted may be a long one, particularly if the title is no more distinctive than, say, "History of Jengiz Khan". It is much to be regretted that a full bibliography was not given. Other examples of lapses from the usual canons of scientific accuracy could be given.

Nevertheless the author has made a valuable contribution to the literature not only of Mongol studies but also of comparative jurisprudence, since his work contains a summary, more or less full according to the circumstances, of the contents

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of all the most important surviving codes of Mongol law. As that law is an admirable specimen of the traditional law of a people living in a purely nomadic state, it is easy to realize that the account is full of interest.

It is not difficult to see that the author is more at home in law than in Mongol, for instance, in his translation of the famous Minussinsk *pai-tzŭ* on p. 26, he has accepted a translation, the inaccuracy of which was demonstrated over sixty years ago. In details of translation, therefore, the book should not be accepted as one requiring no further verification, but as a general introduction to the subject it can be recommended without reserve.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

MEMOIRS OF THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF THE TOYO BUNKO. No. 2. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$, 146 pp. Tokyo, 1928.

This number consists of the first part of an article "Of P'u Shou-kêng" by Dr. Jitsuzō Kuwabara and "A Study of Su-tê or Sogdiana" by Dr. Kurakichi Shiratori. The first is buried in an overwhelming mass of notes which, however, contain an extremely interesting series of quotations from Chinese authors. P'u, whom Chinese biographers call a native of Ch'üan-chou, was in fact, it seems, a foreigner and superintendent of foreign trade at Ch'üan-chou at the end of the Sung dynasty. And so Dr. Kuwabara is able to attack at great length the old familiar questions of the date of foreign trade at Ch'üan-chou, the equivalence of Zaitun, and of Kinsay, etc. Zaitun, he concludes, is "of course" Tz'ŭ-t'ung; but he produces only two examples of Tz'ŭ-t'ung ch'êng, both from poets, and one of them not a case of the name of the place at all, but a playful remark that at Ch'üan-chou they make their city walls of trees and their bamboo sprouts of stone. What the *Ch'üan chou fu chih* says is that the place might be called (as indeed it sometimes was called) T'ung ch'êng. As far as I can see neither T'ung ch'êng nor Tz'ŭ-t'ung

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ch'êng is in the *P'ei wên yün fu* or in *Giles*, and *Tz'ŭ yüan* has only T'ung ch'êng. It seems to be quite possible that Zaitun was, as Andrew of Perugia says, the Persian name, and not a Chinese word at all. So Ibn Batūta was prepared to accept Khansā (Hang-chou) as a Persian word, "just like the name of the poetess," but had not troubled to find out what it really was. Dr. K. is sure that Khansā, Kinsay, or the like, is the Chinese Hsing-tsai, unconscious that he has been anticipated in this suggestion by Professor Vissière and Mr. Waley. Here again he produces no evidence that Hsing-tsai was ever a popular name which foreigners would be likely to pick up, nor does he give even as much evidence as was given in this *Journal* in 1917, to show what Hang-chou was actually called in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

By correcting the translation of 甲令 *chia ling* from "Kling?" to "According to the regulations", Dr. K. transfers the priority in the use of the mariners' compass from the Arabs, to whom Hirth had assigned it (*Chau Ju-kua*, p. 30), to the Chinese. Hirth, who is very diffident about his Kling, remarks, however, that the ships were "certainly" not Chinese.

Other subjects upon which very interesting quotations will be found in these learned notes are the export of coin and precious metals, medieval extraterritoriality, the intermarriage of foreigners with Chinese, black slaves in China, paddle-wheel boats (omitting their use at the siege of Hsiang-yang), and many more. The printing both of English and Chinese might be more accurate.

The second paper is in form just the opposite of the first. That is to say that Chinese texts are not quoted in the original, and that notes are reduced to the briefest possible remarks or generally references to books. It is impossible here to deal in any detail with the writer's closely reasoned and very important argument for the identification of Sogdiana (either the whole district or one particular part of it) with various

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Chinese names which appear in the histories from the *Shih chi* to the *T'ang shu*, but it must be obvious at once that we have here a very important contribution to the subject with which all future students must make themselves familiar.

This whole number brings home to us the extent and value of the research work which is being done in the Far East and of which we in England are too often unaware.

A. C. MOULE.

SINICA FRANCISCANA, Vol. I. Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV collegit, ad fidem codicum redegit et adnotavit P. ANASTASIUS VAN DEN WYNGAERT O.F.M. 10 × 7, vii–cxviii + 3–637 pp., with map. Quaracchi, apud Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929.

The travels, stories, and letters of the Franciscans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries form, as is well known, not merely a history of wonderful missionary enterprise, but the principal medieval source of information next to (and sometimes superior to) Marco Polo about Central Asia and China, and so this volume which gives all the most important texts in the best critical form which has yet appeared will be of the utmost interest and service to students. *Sinica* is not limited to China Proper, for the complete texts of Carpini and Rubruquis who never reached China are included, but it is interpreted to exclude authors who deal solely with the Near East, Persia, and India. Each text is printed from the best available manuscript, with the variants of other important MSS. and brief explanatory notes at the foot of the page, and with Prolegomena which deal with the writer, the source, and so forth. For Odoric the author records ninety-four MSS. as against Cordier's seventy-six, but he does not profess to have examined, far less to have collated, this large number. His dependence (always acknowledged) on his predecessors is sometimes too great. Thus in his first Latin MS. at Berlin he repeats Yule-Cordier's number 131, for 141; and he has naturally misunderstood the obscurely

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worded note. They did not mean that the MS. contained the "Hakluyt text" in the technical sense, but that it contained the "Henry de Glatz text" of Odoric's *Itinerary* (as opposed to another book) which Hakluyt printed. Hakluyt is introduced to make clear which *book*, not which *text*, is referred to. On the other hand, Sir Thomas Phillipps's Latin MS. is correctly transferred from Cheltenham to Berlin. We are grateful for having here printed at last the famous Assisi text of Odoric which for awhile enjoyed the undeserved reputation of being the actual original of 1330. No explanation of the "Minor Ramusian" Italian text is offered. Some progress has at last been made towards explaining the Ramusian text of Marco Polo, but the origin of the shorter Odoric seems to be as elusive as ever.

Enough will have been said to make clear the very great importance to students and to general readers (of Latin) of this collection into one convenient and very well printed volume of authoritative texts of all the great Franciscan missionary travellers to the Far East from Carpini to Marignolli, and the succeeding volumes of the series will be eagerly awaited.

A. C. M.

THE MONKS OF KÛBLÂI KHÂN EMPEROR OF CHINA OR THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF RABBAN ṢÂWMÂ, ENVOY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE MONGOL KHÂNS TO THE KINGS OF EUROPE, AND MARḴÔS WHO AS MÂR YAHBHALLÂHÂ III BECAME PATRIARCH OF THE NESTORIAN CHURCH IN ASIA. Translated from the Syriac by Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, with 16 plates and 6 illustrations in the text. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, xiii–xvi + 1–335 pp. London: Religious Tract Society, 1928. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The book with this portentous title is the well-known history of Mar Jabalaha III and Rabban Çauma (to adopt the less ferocious-looking French spelling of Dr. J.-B. Chabot, who published a complete French version in 1893, 4). Nothing can

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deprive the book itself of its importance or of its fascinating interest, but it could have been wished that when at last it appeared in English it might have been in a more attractive and worthy form. The long introduction, though not without merit, gives the impression of having been rather hurriedly made, and the author has been occasionally content with a low standard of accuracy, and the text itself is sometimes made unreadable by the objectionable modern habit of introducing notes in square brackets being allowed to go absolutely mad. Take this from p. 144: "Ye shall go to King ABGHÂ [or ABÂGHÂ KHÂN, or ABÂKÂ KHÂN, the son and successor of HÛLÂGÛ KHÂN, and great grandson of Chingiz Khân, who ascended the throne of Persia as the second Mongol Khân in 1265], and obtain for us PUḲDÂNÊ (*i.e.* written orders, or letters patent confirming his appointment as Catholicus)." And the two monks said unto him, "Thus shall it be, but let Mâr our Father send with us a man who shall take the *Puḳdânâ* [from the king] and give it to him (i.e. the Catholicus), and we will go on from there to JERUSALEM." On the very next page we have "ABHGHÂ KHÂN" and "the written orders (*Puḳdânê*)". One cannot but admire the consistency with which the author uses his very elaborate transcription of Syriac, but Chinese has its own troubles and must not be asked to bear such extra burdens as Shânsi or Hô-tchung-fu (p. 130). On p. 135, in "sons-in-law of the King of Kings, ḲÛBLÂI KHÂN", Kublai Khan is not in the Syriac and is erroneously added from Chabot's French. Nor was Kaidu (p. 139) a nephew of Kublai Khan, whatever Marco Polo may say to the contrary.

The description of the cross on the "Nestorian Stele" (plate x) reads: "It stands in the middle of a dense cloud which is symbolic of Muḥammadanism, and upon a lotus, which symbolizes Buddhism; its position indicates the triumph of the Luminous Religion of Christ over the religions of Muḥammad and the Buddha." The statement of this kind of fanciful speculation as an ascertained fact is to be depre-

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cated. Why should so common an ornamental feature as the cloud symbolize Muhammadanism, which seems to have been little conspicuous at the time? And when Buddha sits upon the lotus he does not triumph over but is supported by it; and why should this not be true of the Cross also?

But, once more, nothing can deprive the story of its fascination or importance, and we hope a second edition may soon let us read it, freed of its little faults and of the square brackets, with unimpeded enjoyment.

A. C. M.

Tu Fu the Autobiography of a Chinese Poet, A.D. 712–770, including an Historical Year Record, a Biographical Index, and a Topographical Note, as well as Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. Arranged from his poems and translated by Florence Ayscough. I: A.D. 712–759. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 450 pp. London: Jonathan Cape; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929. 21*s.* net.

This is a book of great interest and importance, for in it Dr. Florence Ayscough has chosen to give us in a considerable volume a sustained example of her special method of translation applied to the beautiful and difficult poems of so great a man as Tu Fu. The translator's views on the right way to translate Chinese are too well known to need detailed description. A special feature of this book is that the type is spaced so as to show which word or words of the English represent one word of Chinese:—

The day I went out from door is already far off;

a device which, without spoiling the look of the page as one might have guessed it would do, is of the greatest help to any who wish to test the translation by comparing it with the original. The impression made by a first reading is that the method of translation is destined to make good its claim to be a serviceable and even an admirable way of representing

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Chinese poetry to English readers. But at the same time it will be obvious that the translator who uses the method is peculiarly liable to be deceived about the intelligibility of the result. Dr. Ayscough has read the original, pored over it and over the commentaries, copied it out, looked out each word in the dictionary, translated and retranslated it all, till even the baldest of her literal versions recalls to her the meaning and the beauty of the original quite adequately, and it would need a very great effort to see that for a reader who knows no Chinese the same words may have no meaning or beauty at all. What for instance is the meaning of :—

> " Golden lotus, lengthened by the wind, stretch kingfisher girdles "

(p. 297) ? Whether a " golden lotus " is a torch, a lady's foot, or a " goolden zummer clote ", the line remains mysterious in sense and grammar, and the context does not help. Dr. Ayscough repeats her defence of the use of analysis of the written word as a means of adding " overtones ", and an interesting test case will be found on p. 292 : " sun sinks through grass at earth's rim." This phrase is the version of one Chinese word which is mentioned in the Preface (p. 9) as a typical instance of the use of analysis ; but here Tu Fu is in the high-walled palace and can hardly have chosen the word to suggest the picture of the " grass at earth's rim " —unless he was using a periscope. But for one such case of obscurity or of exaggerated analysis the reader will find whole pages of lucid and simple writing which will give even the uninitiated a genuine idea of the feeling and form of the Chinese lines.

The editing is done in a critical and scholarly manner, but there are one or two points which might have been further discussed, and particularly the dates of Tu Fu's birth and death. The dates, 712–770, of Giles's *Biographical Dictionary* are accepted without question as against 708–766 of the *Chiu t'ang shu* (c. 190c fol. 4 r°) which Chavannes preferred.

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The indications in the poems seem to be inconsistent and in any case depend for their value on the accuracy with which the poems have been dated in the *Tu shih ching ch'üan*, the edition which is here followed. Thus on p. 111 the poet says he will be forty (or forty-one ?) when the year 751 begins, but it is not told us why the year is fixed at 751 rather than 750. On p. 344 " my years are half one hundred " apparently in 759. Tu Fu frequently refers to the River Wei, with which he must have been familiar, as clear, and twice at least to the Ching as muddy, in contradiction of the Ch'ien-lung opinion which is followed by both *Giles* and the *Tz'ŭ yüan*. The quotations in the *P'ei wên yün fu* are decidedly against the modern view, and a note on this point also might have been interesting, as the difference between the two rivers is proverbial. Or did the poets call the Wei clear from deference to the accepted explanation of a classical phrase, in conscious defiance of the fact ?

It remains to congratulate the translator and publishers very heartily on the production of so important a book in so delightful a form, where print, paper, illustrations, and covers all add to the reader's pleasure.

A. C. M.

Revue D'Histoire des Missions, December, 1928. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$. Quarterly, 52 Avenue de Breteuil, Paris, VIIe.

The elevation by the Holy See of six Chinese to episcopal rank aptly coincided with the sixth centenary of the death of the first Catholic missionary to China.

John of Monte Corvino, near Salerno, a Franciscan monk, died at the age of 82 at Khan-Baliq (Peking) in 1328, being at the time Archbishop, and head of a community of some 100,000 persons. He received a sumptuous public funeral, and was honoured by members of many races and religions.

An abstract of his career by the Rev. J. de Ghellinck, S.J., is the principal feature of this number. It is well documented, and shows that John of Corvino had that combination of

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courage, tact, probity and physical endurance necessary in a pioneer and leader of men.

The Grand Khans of his day, from the great Kublai (世 祖) to T'ai Ting Ti (泰 定 帝) had to deal with people of many religions, among which Buddhism (presumably of the Lamaistic type) was most notable. Archbishop John and his fellow-Franciscans were aware that China held 42,000 temples and 213,000 monks, and they remarked on the austerity of the Buddhist rule. The Khans themselves were tolerant, being in much the same position as the illustrious K'ang Hsi of later times: but considerable hostility was shown to the Catholics by the Moslems and Nestorians.

The latter had separated themselves from the main body of Christendom after the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, and spread rapidly over Northern and Eastern Asia: in 1289 Kublai established a special government office for the regulation of the exercise of the Nestorian religion. Their virtual disappearance under the Ming Dynasty—for the Jesuit mission of the sixteenth century found no trace of them, apart from the famous Nestorian Tablet—is one of the most curious features of China's religious history.

Archbishop John's account of the reconciliation to Catholicism of George, a "Tenduk" (or Tungus ?) chief, is interesting. George is described as a Nestorian, of the dynasty of the fabled "Prester John": and many of his people followed his example. Still more curious was the proposal to translate the Mass (of the Latin rite) into the vernacular in order to celebrate it in that tongue: but it is not recorded that the application for this important liturgical concession reached Rome. Nothing came of the project, and at the death of George his people apparently drifted into other beliefs.

After a certain amount of experience in Armenia and Persia, John of Monte Corvino seems to have had considerable success among the speakers of Mongol and Uigur in China. He translated, apparently into Mongol, the whole of the

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New Testament and the Psalter: he had six pictures painted, illustrating Biblical subjects, with simple inscriptions in Latin, Uigur and Persian. The only relic that has come down to us, however, is his little Bible in parchment, preserved in the Laurentiana at Florence.

With the fall of the Yüan Dynasty the small band of Alan and Armenian Christians, and the light-minded Mongol converts, ebbed like a retreating flood into the turbulent sea of "Tartary"—and there history loses them. No trace remains of any linguistic or other contact between John of Corvino and Chinese China: the two-and-a-half millions of Chinese who are Catholics to-day represent the work of Matteo Ricci and his successors during the last three centuries.

Only those who can visualize medieval transport can know how John of Corvino was hampered by distance from Europe, by the deaths of his envoys and helpers: by travel on sea and land—camel-riding, as we are quaintly told, "quorum equitatus terribilis est"; and, most of all, by linguistic troubles. We can but wonder that he did so much, and sympathize with a brave, simple, learned, big-hearted man.

The latter part of the "Revue" sheds much light on the real condition of China, as seen by missionaries living in close contact with the people: incidentally it reveals a spirit of hostility to Christianity in the actions of the "government"—where there is any—which belies its professions of an "enlightened Western outlook", and compares unfavourably with the statesmanship of rough old Kublai Khan and his House.

Many of the books and papers referred to on pp. 40 and onwards are likely to be useful to Members of this Society.

G. W. M.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

The Right Hon. Sir E. M. Satow, G.C.M.G.

By the death of the Right Honourable Sir Ernest Mason Satow, G.C.M.G., which occurred on the 26th August last at Ottery St. Mary, Devon, the Royal Asiatic Society has lost one of its most distinguished Honorary Members who enjoyed world-wide fame as a great Far-Eastern Diplomatist and the highest reputation for his exceptional knowledge of the history, language, and literature of Japan.

Sir Ernest was born on the 30th June, 1843, so had reached the ripe age of 86. He was educated at Mill Hill School and University College, London, and in 1861 was appointed a Student Interpreter in H.M. Consular Service in Japan at the early age of 18. Having spent the first six months at Peking in the study of Chinese, he arrived in Japan at a most critical time in her history when the authority of the Shogun, commonly known as the Tycoon, which had been pre-eminent for centuries in the administration of the affairs of the Island Kingdom, was waning and the party of the Mikado was beginning to reassert the rights of the Emperor to real supremacy in the Empire. At this time Sir Harry Parkes was our Minister in Japan, having been appointed to that important post when only 38 years of age, and Lord Redesdale, then Mr. Mitford, was an attaché from the Foreign Office in the British Legation and was closely associated with Sir Ernest. In his interesting Memoirs, which give such a vivid, lively, and interesting account of the stirring times in which Sir Harry, Sir Ernest, and he played such an important part, frequently at the risk of their lives, he says: "Parkes had at his elbow a man of extraordinary ability in the person of Satow. He it was who . . . by an accurate study of Japanese customs and traditions realized and gave true value to the position of the Shogun, showing that the Mikado alone was the sovereign of Japan. Nor was

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this all. His really intimate knowledge of the language, combined with great tact and transparent honesty, had enabled him to establish friendly relations with most of the leading men in the country; thus, young as he was, achieving a position which was of incalculable advantage to his chief." And further he states: "I was nominally the senior and had to draw up the reports of our proceedings, but I may say once for all that his (Satow's) was the brain which was responsible for the work which I recorded. It is difficult to exaggerate the services which he rendered in very critical times and it is right that this should not be forgotten." The part that Sir Ernest played during this time of storm and stress in Japan commenced in 1863 when Kagoshima was bombarded on account of the Richardson affair and he accompanied the British Chargé d'Affaires on board H.M.S. *Argus*. He was also present in the following years at the destruction of the Shimonoseki Forts. The friendly relations which were subsequently established between the Legation and the leaders of the two Clans, which were responsible for those hostilities and which ultimately played the most important part in depriving the Shogun of his authority and re-establishing the power of the Mikado, were chiefly due to the special knowledge possessed by Sir Ernest which enabled him to explain the true situation to his chief, Sir Harry Parkes, who in his turn was able to prevent any attempt at foreign intervention by uniting the representatives of the various foreign powers in a policy of neutrality. In 1868, the year which saw the final triumph of the Mikado's party over that of the Shogun, Sir Ernest was appointed Japanese Secretary to the Legation and remained in that post till 1884, when he was promoted to be Agent and Consul General at Bangkok and Minister Resident in 1885. He was called to the Bar in 1887 and in 1888 was transferred to Montevideo as Minister Resident. In 1893 he was promoted to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Morocco. He received the honour of K.C.M.G. in 1895, having been made a C.M.G. in

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1883, and in May, 1895, he was appointed British Minister in Japan. He found that country much changed from the Japan with which he had been first acquainted. She had just succeeded in defeating China, but owing to the intervention of Russia, Germany, and France, she had been forced to hand back to China Port Arthur and the Kuantung Peninsula. Great Britain took no part in that intervention and was also the first of the European powers to agree to Treaty Revision. He therefore found Japan well disposed towards his own country, and by his ability and tact he was able to still further promote the good feeling that existed and to carry to a successful issue in the summer of 1899 the new arrangements under the revised Treaty, according to which British subjects came under Japanese jurisdiction and extra-territoriality was abolished. In October, 1900, Sir Ernest was transferred to Peking as Envoy Extraordinary and High Commissioner. The Boxer trouble had been suppressed but had left behind it many difficult problems which had to be solved by the representatives of the various Powers at Peking. It was fortunate that Great Britain had at this critical time a representative who was held in such high esteem and whose prestige carried such weight, for it is generally recognized that to his influence, moderation, and advice was in no small measure due the Peace Protocol of the 14th January, 1901.

He was advanced to G.C.M.G. in 1902, an honour which was indeed fully deserved, and in 1906 he retired from Peking, forty-five years after his first visit to it as a Student Interpreter in 1861.

On his return to England he was sworn a Privy Councillor in July, 1906, and in October of the same year he was appointed a British Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague and took part in the Second Peace Conference there in 1907 as one of the British Plenipotentiaries. Honorary degrees, the D.C.L. of Oxford, the LL.D. of Cambridge, the Ph.D. of Marburg, and Honorary Membership of the

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Royal Asiatic Society were conferred on him. He was a great scholar, a devoted student, a lover of books, and an enthusiastic gardener. He was the author or editor of several valuable works dealing with the Far East and a contributor of scholarly articles to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan* and the *Transactions* of other learned Societies. He edited the first and second editions of Murray's *Handbook to Japan*, being assisted by Lieut. A. G. Hawes and in collaboration with M. Ishibashi compiled an English-Japanese Dictionary. He edited for the Hakluyt Society *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan in 1613*; in 1917 he published his *Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, a work distinguished by its learning and research, and was the author of *A Diplomat in Japan, 1921*. When leaving Morocco for Japan in 1895, he presented the Society's Library with a large number, about one hundred, rare and valuable books, mostly of travel. Bishop Gore in a letter to *The Times* of 30th August last states that "he was a scholar of rare distinction, not in Japanese only but in Latin, Italian, and Spanish, and his knowledge of English literature was wide and discriminating. He was also a deeply religious man with a great understanding of the principles of the religious life both in the general and the technical sense. The relation of the one to the other was simply but beautifully expressed in the preface he wrote to Mother Agnes Mason's translation of St. Theresa's *Foundations*. All those who enjoyed his friendship will feel that they have lost a unique privilege. It was characteristic of his sympathy with the various peoples among whom he served in his diplomatic career that he once remarked to me that 'no diplomat should be left for long in any foreign country, for, if he is a decent fellow, he very soon understands their point of view so well as to forget what he is there to represent.'"

And the late Bishop Paget of Oxford in a letter to his son, written on the 19th July, 1911, and which appears in his *Life*, states: "He (Sir Ernest Satow) is quite delightful—a

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diplomatist of the very best type, strong, able, quiet, cultivated, humorous, with great and wide experience. I think I've never met anyone more really attractive."

The writer enjoyed the privilege of his friendship and will always remember the kind hospitality he received from him at Peking at a time when he was busy dealing with the vexed problems that arose after the Boxer troubles. He was a most hospitable and kindly host, whose conversation was full of charm and interest though his natural modesty made him refrain from making himself appear in any way the protagonist in the stirring incidents in which he had played the chief part, and which he could so graphically describe. His excellent personal qualities and his eminence as a scholar and a diplomat will always make the name of Satow one that will be held in the highest esteem by those who know what manner of man he was and realize how devotedly and successfully he served his country.

J. H. Stewart Lockhart.

George Rusby Kaye

Kaye was born in Leicester in 1866 and educated at Wyggeston Grammar School there, and at St. Mark's College, Chelsea. He went to India first to take a mastership at Bishop Cotton School, Simla, and was subsequently appointed Headmaster of the Boys' High School, Allahabad, and afterwards of the Byculla Boys' School, Bombay. From there he went to Lucknow as Vice-Principal of the Government Training College, and in 1903 to Allahabad in a similar capacity. Shortly afterwards he was transferred to the Bureau of Education in Simla, where he began and carried on until his retirement in 1923 the series of publications on Indian mathematics and astronomy which constituted his life's work. His first articles were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* "(Notes on Indian Mathematics: I Arithmetical Notation, II Āryabhaṭa," in

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vol. iii, July, 1907, and vol. iv, March, 1908; "The Use of the Abacus in Ancient India," in vol. iv, June, 1908). His point of view was in the nature of a reaction against exaggerated claims of originality and antiquity for Indian mathematics, and was afterwards summarized by him in his contribution to this Journal (*JRAS.* 1910, pp. 749–60), on "The Source of Hindu Mathematics," in which he underlined suspicions cast on the authenticity of the apparently early inscriptions in which place-notation is used. His attention was naturally drawn to the very old birchbark manuscript of a mathematical work which is named after its find-place, Bakhshālī, and in 1912 he gave an account of it in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. viii, pp. 349–61: "The Bakhshālī Manuscript"), foreshadowing the views which he was to develop as editor of the manuscript fifteen years later. For the time being (his activities for the next ten years were to be directed to Indian astronomy rather than mathematics) he summed up his views on this subject in his book *Indian Mathematics* (Calcutta, 1915). His conclusions have been challenged; most recently by Dr. Walter E. Clark in a contribution ("Hindu-Arabic Numerals") to the Harvard University *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (1929). Into the merits of this controversy a layman cannot go; but it seems not improbable that Kaye went rather further in his reaction against older views than the evidence warranted.

His special qualifications now marked him out for certain work on behalf of the Archæological Department of the Government of India (to which he was appointed Honorary Correspondent), the outcome of which was a series of publications on Indian astronomy and astronomical instruments and observatories. In 1918 appeared his "Astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh" (*Archæological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series, vol. xl); in 1920 *A Guide to the Old Observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Benares* (Calcutta); in 1921 "Astronomical Instruments in the Delhi Museum"

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(*Archæological Survey of India*—Memoirs, No. 12); and finally, in 1924, his general account of the subject, "Hindu Astronomy" (*Archæological Survey of India*—Memoirs, No. 18). In the latter year was also publishedhis *Index to the Annual Reports of the Director-General of Archæology in India, 1902 to 1916*. His services were recognized in 1921, when he received the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal of the First Class.

After his retirement from India in 1923 he was appointed cataloguer of the European Manuscripts preserved in the India Office Library (exclusive of the Temple Collection), so far as these had not already been described in S. C. Hill's catalogue of the Orme Collection and C. O. Blagden's catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection. The "minor collections and miscellaneous documents", which constitute the remainder of the India Office Library's European manuscripts, had been in great part described by him when his sudden death (1st July, 1929) left the work incomplete, though within sight of completion. When Kaye's catalogue is published students of British-Indian history will find that they owe no small gratitude to the untiring industry and power of arrangement which enabled him to deal effectively with (for instance) the Moorcroft papers.

Kaye's last published work was a return to his earliest interest. *The Bakhshālī Manuscript, A study in Mediaeval Mathematics* (Parts 1 and 2) was published in 1927 as vol. xliii of the Archæological Survey of India's New Imperial Series. (There are references in it to a Part 3 which make it apparent that a further volume was at least planned.) The published volume contains an account of the manuscript and of the contents of the work, a transliteration, and facsimiles in xlvi plates. Kaye must have felt when he received the first copies that his memory was perpetuated in a splendid monument.

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Henry Beveridge

DIED 8TH NOVEMBER, 1929

It seems a curious chance that the father of Henry Beveridge, of the Indian Civil Service, should have written a history of British India, and one wonders whether this had any influence on the young Henry Beveridge, born on 9th February, 1837, in his choice of a career. At any rate, after he had completed his education at Glasgow University and Queen's College, Belfast, he had intended to obtain a nomination to the Indian Civil Service, but it happened that at this juncture the system of nomination by the East India Company was withdrawn and appointments to the Indian Civil Service were henceforward thrown open to public competition. In the third of these examinations, which was held in 1857, Henry Beveridge headed the list and on reaching Calcutta, via the Cape, he was posted to Bengal, where he served in various districts down to 1893.

Henry Beveridge had inherited from both his father and his mother a taste for literature and a gift for writing, but I do not find any trace of his appearing as a man of letters until 1876, when he published *The District of Bakarganj (in Eastern Bengal): Its History and Statistics*. From 1884 onwards he was constantly engaged in the intervals of his public duties in writing historical articles which were published in the *Calcutta Review* or in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Among these contributions may be specially mentioned his account of the trial of the Maharaja Nanda Kumar, which he described as a judicial murder, thus controverting Sir James Stevens, who had upheld the action of Impey and Warren Hastings. These articles were afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form in Calcutta in 1886. His earliest contribution to the subject which afterwards engrossed all his attention, namely the India of the Delhi Moghuls, was an article published in the *JASB.* in 1887 on the "Mother of Jahángír". He also contributed a number of articles

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to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, including an interesting discussion on whether the Koh-i-Nur was the diamond which the Emperor Bābur received from his son Humāyūn after the battle of Panipat and then returned to his son as a present. The latest article I have traced is one on 'Azīz Koka contributed to this *Journal* in 1921. But it is by his translations, from the Persian, of three important historical works that Beveridge will be best remembered, and of these far the most important is his literal rendering of the *Akbarnāma* of Abu-l-Faẓl, the monumental and all too flowery history of the great Emperor Akbar, written by his famous minister. It required almost as much of patience as of scholarship to turn this masterpiece of Persian rhetoric into readable English, but Henry Beveridge never shirked his task and every hyperbole of Abu-l-Faẓl's finds its counterpart in the English translation. I cannot refrain from quoting one example from the introduction. "He rends the garments of contumacy which wraps the faces of debts, but draws the mantle of forgiveness over the heads of transgressions; the splendour of power streams from the brow of his benevolence; the lightning of benignity draws lambent lights from the fires of his wrath. His fury melts adamantine boldness; his dread turns to water the courage of the iron-souled; the shrinking of the age is the impress of the wrinkling of his brows; its expansion the reflex of his nature's blossoming." This great work, by which he laid under a permanent obligation all students of Indian history, occupied upwards of fourteen years.

After his retirement in 1893 Henry Beveridge settled in Haslemere, where he and his devoted wife and companion, Annette Susanna Beveridge, gave themselves up to the study of Moghul history and both were spared to carry on their work in England for thirty-five years.

Although the researches of Mr. and Mrs. Beveridge lay within the same period of Indian history (and of course their interests and study were almost identical) the works which Mrs. Beveridge published were totally independent of those

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of her husband and it fell to her lot to do for the Emperor Babur, whose memoirs she translated from the Turki into English, what her husband had done for Babur's grandson.

In 1899 Henry Beveridge re-visited India in search of historical manuscripts which might throw light on the Moghul period, but this expedition does not seem to have led to any important discovery.

Most of those who have been engaged in the study of Indian history have become familiar with the characteristic handwritings of these two scholars who never spared themselves any pains to assist others in the elucidation of difficult problems; and their letters were always characterized by a great enthusiasm for their subject. Nor did this enthusiasm wane with old age, and as long as Mr. and Mrs. Henry Beveridge were well enough to receive visitors in the home they had latterly shared with their son, Sir William Beveridge, on Campden Hill, they were prepared to discuss, in spite of speaking trumpets and slips of paper, as eagerly as ever those topics to which they had devoted their long and useful lives.

E. Denison Ross.

A. S. Beveridge

1. *The Emperor Akbar* [by Friedrich August von Noer]. Translated and in part revised by A. S. Beveridge. Calcutta, 1890.
2. *The History of Humāyūn* (*Humāyūn-nāma*). By Gul-Badan Begam (Princess Rose-Body). Translated, with introduction, notes . . . and biographical appendix . . . by Annette S. Beveridge. (Oriental Translation Fund.) London, 1902.
3. *The Bábar-náma*, being the autobiography of the Emperor Bábar . . . now reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript . . . and edited with a preface, and indexes by Annette S. Beveridge. (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, vol. i.) Leyden and London, 1905.
4. *The Key of the Hearts of Beginners*. A set of tales written . . . in Persian by Bibi Brooke, and translated . . . by Annette S. Beveridge. London, 1908.
5. *The Bābur-nāma in English* (*Memoirs of Bābur*) . . . Translated from the original Turki text by Annette Susannah Beveridge. London, 1921.

(*a*) "Muhammad Husain Khan (Tukriyah)." A sketch of one of Akbar's heroes. *Calcutta Review*, vol. xcviii, 1894, pp. 1–29.

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(*b*) "Life and writings of Gulbadan Begam (Lady Rosebody)." *Calcutta Review*, vol. cvi, 1898, pp. 345–71.
(*c*) "Leigh Hunt's 'Abu ben Adhem'." *Calcutta Review*, vol. cvii, 1898, pp. 214–25.
(*d*) "Notes on the MSS. of the Turkī text of Bābar's Memoirs." *JRAS.*, 1900, etc.
(*e*) "The Haydarabad codex of the Bābar-nāma . . ." *JRAS.*, 1905, pp. 741–62; 1906, pp. 79–93.
(*f*) "The Bābar-Nāma. The material now available for a definite text of the book," *JRAS.*, 1908, pp. 73–98.
(*g*) "The Bābar-Nāma Description of Farghāna," *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 111–28.

H. BEVERIDGE

1. *The District of Bákarganj (in Eastern Bengal): Its History and Statistics.* London, 1876.
2. *The Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar: A Narrative of a Judicial Murder.* [Mainly a reprint of two articles in the *Calcutta Review*.] Calcutta, 1886.
3. *Annual Address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal . . .* Calcutta, 1891.
4. *The Akbarnāma of Abu-l-Faẓl.* Translated from the Persian by H. Beveridge. (Bibliotheca Indica.) Calcutta, 1897–1910.
5. *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, or Memoirs of Jahāngīr . . .* Translated by A. Rogers . . . Edited by H. Beveridge. (Oriental Translation Fund.) Calcutta, 1909, 1914.
6. *The Maaṣiru-l-umarā . . .* by Nawāb Ṣamsāmu-d-daula Shah Nawāz Khān and his son 'Abdul Haqq. Translated by H. Beveridge. (Bibliotheca Indica.) Vol. i, fascicules 1–6. Calcutta, 1911.

(*a*) "The Patna Massacre." *Calcutta Review*, vol. lxxix, 1884, pp. 338–78.
(*b*) "The Mother of Jahángír," *JASB.*, lvi, 1887, pt. i, No. iii, p. 164.
(*c*) "The Administration of Justice in Bengal," *Calcutta Review*, vol. lxxxvii, 1888, pp. 322–44; vol. xc, 1890, pp. 253–70.
(*d*) "On the Study of Indian History," *Calcutta Review*, vol. lxxxvii, 1888, pp. 37–44.
(*e*) "Father Jerome Xavier," *JASB.*, New Series, lvii, i, 1888, pp. 33–9.
(*f*) "Wreck of the 'Ter Schelling' (A.D. 1661)," *Calcutta Review*, vol. xci, 1890, No. 181, pp. 1–13.
(*g*) "Notes of a Holiday Trip to Maldah and Bihar," *Calcutta Review*, vol. xcii, 1891, pp. 147–63.
(*h*) "Old Places in Murshidabad," *Calcutta Review*, April, 1892, pp. 322–45; October, 1892, pp. 195–218.
(*i*) "The Site of Karṇa Suvarṇa," *JASB.*, No. lxii, i, 1893, pp. 315–28.
(*j*) "The Buchanan Records," *Calcutta Review*, vol. xcix, 1894, pp. 1–17.
(*k*) "The Khūrshīd Jahān Numā of Sayyad Ilāhī Bakhsh al Ḥusainī Angrēzābādī," *JASB.*, No. lxiv, i, 1895, pp. 194–236.
(*l*) "Anquetil du Perron," *Calcutta Review*, vol. ciii, 1896, pp. 284–305.
(*m*) "Babar Padshah Ghazi," *Calcutta Review*, vol. cv, 1897, pp. 1–32.

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(*n*) "Humayun in Persia," *Calcutta Review*, vol. cvi, 1898, pp. 175–89.
(*o*) "Bābar's Diamond: Was It the Koh-i-Nur?" *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vii, 1899, pp. 370–89.
(*p*) "The Memoirs of Bāyazīd (Bajazet) Bīyāt," *JASB.*, lxvii, i, 1898, pp. 296–316.
(*q*) "An Afghan Legend," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, xi, 1901, pp. 322–30.
(*r*) "The Emperor Babar in the Habibu-s-siyar," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, xxi, 1906, pp. 79–93.
(*s*) "Akbar," *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by J. Hastings. Vol. i, pp. 269–74.
(*t*) "Sultan Khusrau," *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 597–609.
(*u*) "An Indian Album," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, xxvi, 1908, pp. 327–34.
(*v*) "The Magazine of Mysteries (Makhzanu-l-Asrār)," by Niẓāmī of Ganja, *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 953–62.
(*w*) "The Rashaḥāt-i-'Ainal-Hayat," *JRAS.*, 1916, pp. 59–75.
(*x*) "'Azīz Koka," *JRAS.*, 1921, pp. 205–8.

H. Beveridge, Advocate

A Comprehensive History of India . . . from the first landing of the English to suppression by the Sepoy revolt. Glasgow [1858]–62.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October–December, 1929)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

24th October, 1929

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Sirdar K. S. Noshirvan K. Dastur.
Rai Sahib Lala Nand Lal.
Dr. G. Nakahara.
Mr. M. Ramachandram.
Mr. F. B. Rosenthal.
Mr. Mata Prasad Saksena.

Forty-two nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. K. A. C. Creswell gave a lecture on " The Aqṣā Mosque and the Church of Justinian ".

The lecturer explained the title of his paper by saying that he proposed to discuss the question whether it was possible that the Aqṣā mosque can in any way be part of the church, dedicated to the Virgin, which Justinian built at Jerusalem.

The Crusaders regarded the Aqṣā mosque as the Templum Salomonis, and the idea that it may have been a church does not appear to be older than the end of the fifteenth century, e.g. Felix Fabri and Philip d'Aversa. The theory that it represents the church of Justinian first took form at the beginning of the nineteenth century, e.g. Richardson (1822), Hogg, Edward Robinson, Williams, Barclay, Blackburn, Fergusson, etc.

The lecturer divided his demonstration into two parts: (1) an attempt to show that the Temple Area remained derelict from the time of Titus until the arrival of the Arabs in 638, and (2) an attempt to show on historical and topographical grounds that the church of Justinian was built on another site.

Historians, such as Malalas (John of Antioch), the *Paschal Chronicle*, and Epiphanius, who occupy themselves with the works of Justinian, do not say anything about a restoration

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of the Temple Area, and the latter expressly says that Hadrian " was minded to restore the city but not the Temple ". The only author who says that he touched the Temple Area is Dion Cassius ; we do not possess his actual text, however, but only an abbreviation made by Xiphilin in the eleventh century, an abbreviation which has already been characterized as full of improbabilities by Duruy.

Moreover, we have a series of witnesses all of whom describe the Temple Area as derelict, e.g. the Bordeaux pilgrim in 333, the Persian Barṣauma in 438, Eucherius in 440, and the anonymous pilgrim, usually known as Antoninus of Placentia, in 560–70.

The reason why the Temple Area was left derelict is given by Eutychius (939) as follows : " . . . because our Lord had said in the Holy Gospel ' Behold, your house shall be left unto you desolate ', and again, ' There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be cast down.' On this account the Christians had left it lying waste, and had not erected any church upon it."

Now be it specially noted : Eutychius, who so expressly states that the Temple Area was not built on by the Christians, speaks of the church of Justinian, which must therefore have been built elsewhere. Where ? Two contemporary authors, Procopius and Cyril of Scythopolis, tell us. They say that it was on the highest hill in Jerusalem, and that it was necessary to build out powerful substructures towards the east for the apse. Now the highest hill in Jerusalem is not the Temple Area (the summit of Mount Moriah), but the hill of Zion, i.e. the high ground now occupied by the Jewish quarter, which overlooks the Tyropæon valley. Cyril also says that the church was " in the middle of the Holy City ", an expression which could be applied to the hill of Zion, but certainly not to the Temple Area, which is on the edge of the city.

Finally the church of Justinian is mentioned in a guide book for pilgrims, known as the *Commemoratorium de casis Dei*, which was written early in the ninth century, and it even gives

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its dimensions. It was therefore in existence at the same time as the Aqṣā mosque, so they must have been two different buildings, and as the Temple Area was at this time in Muslim occupation, the church cannot have been visited by pilgrims unless it stood elsewhere.

We now come to the question of the first mosque in the Temple Area. It seems certain that 'Umar erected some primitive structure here, although the exact year is doubtful; the Arabic authors give us no information except an obviously legendary account taken from Eutychius. For the date we are dependent on three Christian authors, Theophanes, Elias bar Shinaya of Nisibis, and Michael the Syrian, who give 643, 638, and 640 respectively. The structure must have been exceedingly primitive, for Arculf (670) describes it as follows: "But in that renowned place where once the Temple had been magnificently constructed, placed in the neighbourhood of the wall from the east, the Saracens now frequent a quadrangular house of prayer, which they have built rudely, constructing it by raising boards and great beams on some remains of ruins; this house can, it is said, hold three thousand men at once." The ruins in question were doubtless those of the Stoa of Herod.

As for the present Aqṣā mosque, the lecturer stated that, as a result of repeated examinations of the structure and of the details brought to light during the extensive works carried out under the direction of the late Turkish architect, Kemāl-ad-Dīn, he was convinced that the oldest part dated from the Fāṭimid Khalif Ẓāhir in 1034.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

24th October, 1929

The Marquess of Zetland in the Chair.

The object of the meeting was to substitute in Rule 65, which refers to the day on which general meetings are held,

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the words " second Thursday in the month " for the words " second Tuesday in the month ".

The change, proposed by Professor Margoliouth and seconded by Sir J. Stewart Lockhart, was carried.

Friday, 8th November, 1929

At a joint meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society held at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Sir Edward Maclagan in the Chair, Sir Aurel Stein gave a lecture on " Alexander's Campaigns on the North-west Frontier of India".

In the introductory remarks Sir Aurel described the long-continued efforts he had made almost since his first arrival in India to visit that portion of the Swāt Valley of which detailed descriptions have been handed down by the early Chinese pilgrims, and which has furnished to collectors so many fine specimens of Græco-Buddhist sculpture plundered from ruined Buddhist shrines.

He referred to the special attraction which this region to the north of the Peshawar district offered as the probable scene of Alexander's campaign preceding the crossing of the Indus and the invasion of the Punjab in 327 B.C. Reference was made to the fact that the Upper Swāt Valley had remained inaccessible to individual European investigation even after the Chitrāl campaign of 1895 had led to a strategic route being kept open through a portion of Lower Swāt.

Since 1923 Miangul Abdul Wahāb Gulshāhzāda, a grandson of the famous Ākhund of Swāt, had established full power over Upper Swāt, Bunēr, and parts of the Indus Kohistān. Thus a chance was offered to Sir Aurel Stein for his long-hoped explorations. In the autumn of 1925 his friend, Colonel E. H. S. James, then Political Agent for Dir, Swāt, and Chitral, obtained the ruler's permission for Sir Aurel Stein's planned expedition. This was approved by Sir Norman Boulton, Chief Commissioner, North-west Frontier Province, and the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

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The Indian Archæological Department, under which Sir Aurel Stein was then on special duty, generously provided the necessary grant. The Survey of India assisted by lending the services of a trained surveyor in the person of Torabaz Khan, an Afridi.

Starting from the Malakand at the beginning of March, 1926, Sir Aurel Stein was able to survey a large number of ruined Buddhist sites, including a number of remarkably well-preserved large Stūpas, both along the Swāt River and in the fertile side valleys opening towards it. At the ruined hill fastness of Bīrkōṭ he identified the stronghold of Baziri (or Beira) prominently mentioned in Arrian's account of Alexander's operations against the Assakēnoi. He subsequently traced a large and ancient mountain fortress above the village of Uḍegrām higher up the main Swāt Valley. At this stronghold, known to the local Pat-ans as "King Gira's Castle", there may be located with very great probability the fortified town of Ōra which Alexander captured before the fall of Bazira.

On his further progress up the Swāt Valley Sir Aurel Stein was able to identify a number of those sacred spots, connected with local legends concerning the Buddha, which Chinese pilgrims visited and described.

Ascending the Swāṭ Valley up to the northernmost border of the Swāt ruler's territory, he was able to acquaint himself with a previously unexplored and interesting mountain region, and with the remnant of the ancient Dard population which had found refuge there from the Pat-an invasion. Specimens of the Tōrwālī speech were recorded, as well as anthropometrical data.

Subsequently he crossed the watershed towards the Indus and was able by a detailed survey of the mountain spur flanking the Ghōrband Valley, to trace the position of Aornos, that famous mountain fastness which prominently figures in the Greek accounts of Alexander's campaign. Converging evidence, topographical, archæological, and philological,

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showed that Aornos must be identified with the high flat-topped ridge known as Pīr-sar, which juts out from the mountain massif of Ūṇra and is washed at its foot, about 5,000 feet lower, by the Indus.

In the course of his lecture, illustrated by very numerous lantern slides, Sir Aurel Stein was able to show how closely all natural features of Mount Ūṇra and Pīr-sar correspond to the details recorded by Arrian. In the name of Ūṇra it is safe to recognize the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient local name which the Greeks endeavoured to render by *Aornos*.

Sir Aurel Stein completed his explorations by the close of May with a survey of an as yet unexplored portion of Bunēr, and by a visit to Mount Ilam. On the top of this peak a famous Buddhist site specially described by Hsüan-tsang could be definitely identified.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Chairman spoke, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

12th December, 1929

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society.

Mr. Kasim Ali.
Mr. M. R. Ry. Balasubramanya Aiyar Avargal.
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.
Mr. W. S. Barlingay.
Mr. L. Bishen Das Batra.
Munshi Md. Ansaruddin Saheb Bekhud.
Babu Hirendra Kumar Bose.
Mr. F. Chand Bugga.
Mr. Hakim Chand.
Miss Susan Clarke.
Mr. Jahangir M. Desai.
Dr. Lal Bhai D. Dholakeya.
Mr. D. D. Dickson.
Mr. R. Ganguli.
Lt.-Col. Hallilay, I.M.S.
Mr. M. Abdul Hamid.
Pandit Viyogi Hari.
Mr. Abu Masr Md. Ali Hasan.
Syed Sabir Hosain.
Mr. Durgagati Bhattacharyya Kavyaratna.
Pandit Anand Lal Koul.
Mr. Lala Chhaganlal K. Mathur.
Rev. Father Mattan.
Mr. A. T. Mukherjee.
Dr. F. W. O'Connell.
Dr. H. Jagannath Pershad.

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Mr. Edward Paul.
Mr. H. C. V. Philpot, I.C.S.
Mr. Lalita Prasad Rathore.
Mr. Sahitya Ratna V. Nath Saraswat.
Mr. Tribhowandas L. Shah.
Mr. H. W. Sheppard.
Mr. S. M. Shihabuddin
Mr. Braj Bhushan Singh.
Mr. Kunwar Prem Pratap Singh.
Mr. O. J. Sundaram.
Mr. Ramkumar Varma.
Mr. C. Venkatesam.
Dr. M. L. Verma.
Dr. Yahuda.
Mr. M. Aziz Bakhash Zia.

Twenty-three nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Professor Langdon gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on "Results of the Excavations at Kish, Season 1928–9, by the Herbert Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum Expedition".

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

The paper will appear in the April *Journal*.

16th December

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Abdul-Wajid Khwaja.
Shaykh Abul' Ala Affifi.
Mr. Wali Ahmad.
Mr. S. Sivarama Krishna Aiyar.
Mr. Azim-uddin.
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji.
Mr. Mark Dineley.
Mr. Ranchodlal G. Gyani.
Herr O. Harrassowitz.
Mr. J. Hoare.
Mr. P. C. Mehra.
Dr. R. S. Menawat.
Mr. Chand Narain.
Mr. Kandaswamy Palaniappan.
Mr. M. Rama Rao.
Mr. Vijayanagar L. Narayana Rao.
Mr. T. R. Gopalakrishna Sarma.
Mr. Amar Sen.
Professor Thakur Rama O. Singh.
Mrs. de Beauvoir Stocks.
Colonel J. Stephenson.
Mr. Damodar Prasad Srivastava.
Rev. G. Houghton Thorne.

The President announced that Professor Bernhard Karlgren, of Göteborg, Sweden, the distinguished Chinese Scholar, had

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been elected an Honorary Member to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Sir Ernest Satow.

Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S., gave a lecture on " The Chittagong Hill Tracts ", illustrated by lantern slides.

Colonel Gurdon and Mr. Grant Brown spoke and the President offered the lecturer the cordial thanks of the meeting.

The following is an abstract of the paper :—

My opportunity of visiting and travelling in the Chittagong Hill Tracts arose from my deputation to the Government of Bengal to inquire into certain matters connected with the three circle chiefs of that area, the Chakma Chief, the Bohmong, and the Mong Raja. In this paper an attempt is made to describe the primitive inhabitants of the district and the more civilized Maghs and Chakmas who migrated into it from the coastal plain, and to indicate how the present peculiar form of chieftainship originated.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts comprise the hinterland of the fertile Chittagong coastal plain. Invaders have come both from south and north, and the Bengalis living along the western boundary have profoundly influenced the culture of the Chakmas and other valley tribes. The Moguls and English, who have held the coastal plain and drawn tribute and taxes from the hills, have greatly modified the politics of the hinterland.

Though the main rivers give easy access to the valleys, the trackless jungles of the hills have kept the true mountaineers wonderfully free from alien influences. Of the hillmen the most interesting and most primitive are the Mros. Their dress is scanty and their customs interesting and closely connected with those of the hill tribes of Assam. Their faces show little trace of Mongolian admixture, and their language is ancient and unique. Undoubtedly they are a very old stock, and probably no tribe in India or Burma would better repay detailed study. Other primitive folk are those of the Old Kuki group, who have apparently been

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driven down by pressure from the North. Examples are the Khyengs, Tipperas, Pankhos, and Bonjugis.

The contrast between these tribes and the Maghs is a sharp one. The Maghs are Burmese from Arakan, and their gay silks, yellow-robed priests, and little Buddhist temples make this bit of Bengal into a corner of Burma. Their villages are invariably on the banks of rivers, and noticeable in some of them are the tiny, low huts built for shelter during hurricanes. By race the Maghs are Tai, who probably covered Central and Southern China about 2000 B.C., and certainly had a kingdom in Yunnan from the seventh century A.D. till it was destroyed by the Moguls in 1234. Later the kingdom of Pegu was founded. This was destroyed by the kings of Burma and Arakan about 1600. From the last king of Pegu is descended the Bohmong, the head of the Ragretsa clan, and leading representative of the Maghs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Like the Maghs the Chakmas invariably build their villages on the banks of rivers. They come up from the coast to their present home on the middle reaches of the Karnaphuli and its tributaries, and are probably by origin the descendants of Mogul soldiers and Magh women. In culture they have been strongly influenced by Bengalis, and their present language is a dialect of Bengali. But some of them spoke Maghi within living memory, and a few old men still know the ancient script, which is said to be of Khmer origin. The present Chakma Chief regards himself as forty-fifth of his line, but this claim is more than doubtful, and the history of his family illustrates the curious way in which the paramount power on the coast has unwittingly but undoubtedly caused the growth of the present type of chieftainship. Its instability in the past has been remarkable and instructive. The first known chief is "Bengali Sirdar", clearly a foreigner. He is followed by men with Mahommedan names, down to Dharam Bux, who died in 1832, and left among his widows Kalindi Rani, the most noticeable figure in Chakma history. There

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can be little doubt that the predecessors of the Chakma and other circle chiefs gained paramount power as collectors of taxes on behalf, first of the Moguls, and later of the British of the coast. This is why to this day out of every rupee collected the Chief receives half, the Mauza headman a quarter, and the Government only the remaining quarter. I am not speaking of the usefulness of these circle chiefs. I am merely saying that the roots of the system are not imbedded in *indigenous* custom. Failure to see this has led to misunderstanding in the past.

Kalindi Rani used British ignorance of custom for her own ends. On her husband's death she seized the power, and, though he had in all probability been a Mahommedan, she obtained control of the family estates as a Hindu widow. Later she turned Buddhist and forced the whole tribe to do so, but later, contrary to Buddhist custom, she suddenly went into purdah in order to avoid a painful interview with Lewin, the famous political officer. Altogether a very remarkable woman! Having obtained the estates, she had her rivals imprisoned and then set to work to fight the Dewans, the heads of clans, who represented the old Indonesian clan system as opposed to this alien tribal chieftainship. Their influence she swamped by creating many new Dewans, so turning an office into a class. Failure to understand the vital position of the clans and their headmen in this Indonesian area and the fact that their authority is over persons and not over territory has led to much confusion in the past. The fact that the territorial basis of authority is the only possible one from an administrative point of view does not make the transition any easier. The authority of the Chiefs has only recently been definitely confined to circles, and clan authority over scattered and intermingled communities has only recently been superseded by a system of *Mauzas* with fixed boundaries, each with its headman. Developments are still taking place, and it is good to know that they are being carefully and sympathetically watched.

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Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to both parts and the index which were issued in a supplement.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

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PART II.—APRIL

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. IV: The Khotan Region

BY F. W. THOMAS

(Continued from p. 94 supra)

IV. PLACES WITH NAMES ENDING IN "-RTSE"

THE word *rtse*, "peak" or "top", is a very appropriate termination for the names of places in a mountainous region; in Tibet there are innumerable place-names of this type. In the Nob region of Chinese Turkestan we have noticed (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 586–8) several such names, e.g. *Klu-rtse*, *Snaṅ-rtse*, *Gyuṅ-druṅ-rtse*. In the case of the last named we have suggested the possibility that *-rtse* may have denoted nothing more than a height in a fort. There may have been instances of such a nature; but in general the position will have been otherwise. The numerous names in *-rtse* will have been due to the occupation of commanding positions by the Tibetan troops for the purpose of observation and control. In the case of Pe̲hu-rtse we shall quote documents which in fact refer to building operations. The actual designations of some of the places, e.g. *Stag-sras-dges-gyi-rtse* "Young-tiger-delight(??)-peak", *H̲phrul-gyi-me-loṅ-kun-snaṅ-rtse* "Magic-mirror-all-vision-peak", while characteristically Tibetan, may also be set down partly to the fancy of those who established the new military posts. The names are naturally all Tibetan, and will not often have been attached to old sites.

Note may be taken of the manner in which the places are mentioned. We have called attention above to various lists of persons residing in certain *tshars*, or "parishes", or in places whose names frequently end in *-rtse*. It will be observed

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that the two kinds of reference do not intermingle, a fact which clearly indicates that the former lists refer to "parishes" in the Khotan district itself, while the latter have in view the military posts outside. Most, however, of the documents are mere wooden labels, showing either simply the name of the place, or the same with references to supplies (*brgyags*), or barley (*nas*) or wheat (*gro*), or soldiers (*so*), and so forth—often with line-marks or notches plainly meant to denote numbers or amounts. They are, therefore, labels for articles kept or dispatched for the use of the places mentioned, or of persons belonging, or travelling, to the same. Usually, where there are notches, the wood is cut away for the purpose of a tally, and the hole for the string, which otherwise is at the right, is at the broader end to the left. An example (M. Tāgh. 0564) is figured on plate cxxx of *Innermost Asia*.

(*a*) *'An-tse.*

Mentioned *supra*, p. 93.

No doubt a place in the Khotan region and quite different from An-hsi (Kva-cu) in distant Kan-su.

(*b*) *Bye-ma-ḫdor-gyi-rtse.*

Mention of this place has occurred in No. 4, p. 55 *supra*.

50. M. Tāgh. 0527 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; wood partly cut away; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; c. 12 lines or notches for numbers).

𑖌 | | Bye-ma-ḫdor-gyi-rtse

(Quite similar are the likewise complete documents *a*, ii, 0073; *a*, iv, 006 (notches, etc.); c, ii, 0051 (notches, etc.).)

51. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0088 (wood; c. 11·5 × 1 cm.; complete, palimpsest; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; hole for string at right).

[A] 𑖌 | | Bye . ma . ḫdor . gyi . rtse | lo . naṅ . Mon .

[B] bsku . bar . toṅ . śig .

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"Bye-ma-ḫdor-gyi-rtse. Send the *lo-naṅ* Mon secretly (*bsku-bar* ?)."

Note

A. *lo-naṅ*: See *supra*, p. 55 (*lo-nan*).

(*c*) *Bye-ri-snaṅ-daṅ-rtse.*

Mentioned in M.T. 0050 (p. 93 *supra*).

(*d*) *Caṅ-laṅ-rtse.*

See above, p. 87 (M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 007), and add—

52. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0066 (wooden tally; c. 11 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 6 notches or lines).

ཨ | : | Caṅ . laṅ . tshe |

Possibly the *Jaṅ-laṅ-rtse* mentioned *supra* (p. 93, M. Tāgh. 0050) is only a variant of this name.

(*e*) *Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse.*

53. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 006 (wood; c. 7 × 2 cm.; complete; hole at right for string; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ཨ | | mṅaḫ . ris . na . [A 2] Dbyild . cuṅ . tseḫi [B] brgyags.

"Supplies for Dbyild-cuṅ-tse on the frontier (*or* in the frontier country)."

54. M. Tāgh. *a*, v, 001 (wood; c. 8 × 3 cm.; imperfect at left and right; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of rather neat, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . [g]sol . na : su . la . gsol . . . [A 2] . . . ṅand . maṃchis . te | | rad . pa . dbyir . n . . . [A 3] . . . Dbyild . cuṅ . rtse . khrom . du . | su . . . [B 1] . . . | ḫtshal . ba . las | | [ch]ad . . . [B 2] . . . | so . glas . stsold . cig . . . . [B 3] . . . po . chir . mdzad | |

. . . "Travelling party . . . to Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse mart. . . ."

It seems therefore that Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse was a market town on the frontier (perhaps only of two provinces or administrations).

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(*f*) *Ḥphrul-gyi-rtse* ("Magic Peak").

See M.T. 0050 (p. 93 *supra*), and cf. the following (*g*) and Mye-loṅ-rtse (*infra*).

(*g*) *Ḥphrul-gyi-me-loṅ-kun-snaṅ-rtse* ("Magic-mirror-all-appearing-peak").

55. M. Tāgh. i, 0020 (wooden tally; c. 9·5 × 2 cm.; complete (?); hole for string at left; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꠰ | . | Ḥprul . gi . mye . loṅ . | [A 2] kun . snaṅ . rtse | [B 1] Glu . gaṅ . gis . phye . khal [B 2] gcig . daṅ . bre . bźi . nos | phyin . bre . phyed.

"Ḥphrul-gyi-me-loṅ-kun-snaṅ-rtse: received by Glu-gaṅ flour, one load (*khal* = *vāha*), four *bre*: later half a *bre*."

56. M. Tāgh. *c*, i, 0011 (wood; c. 15·5 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꠰ : | Ḥprul . gyi . mye . loṅ . du . mchi . ba . ḥdi . riṅs[A 2]s . par . thoṅ . śig . | riṅs . ri . skyel . ḥdi . rnaṃs . sṅa [B 1] byi | ma . non . par . thoṅ . śig | sna . rnam . ma . rjogs . sla . [B 2] gdod . gźan . thoṅ . śig . |

"Going to Ḥphrul-gyi-me-loṅ: send it on quickly. These rapid mountain couriers are to be sent on early or late (*sṅa-phyi*) without hindrance (*ma-non-par*? or *non-par* 'with effort'?). Before (If?) the first lot have finished (do not suffice?), straightway send others."

Mentioned also in M.T. *a*, iv, 0026.

Notes

A 2. *ri-skyel*: "Mountain convoy" (see p. 83 *supra*).

B 1. *ma-rjogs-sla*: = *ma-rdzogs-la*?

sna-rnam: For this use of *rnam* see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 832, l. 4 from bottom; p. 833, l. 17.

(*h*) *Jaṅ-laṅ-rtse.*

See above, under *Caṅ-laṅ-rtse.*

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(*i*) *Mdoṅ-rtse.*

See M.T. 0050 (p. 93 *supra*).

(*j*) *Mṅaḥ-ris-byin-gyi-rtse* ("Two-frontier Peak").

See No. 0564, published in Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085.

57. M. Tāgh. 0016 (wooden tally; c. 13·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; nine notches or lines *recto*, one *verso*).

[A] ꠸ | | Mṅaḥ . ris . byin . gyi . tse | [B] nas . bre . bži . rtsis . nod

"Mṅaḥ-ris-byin-gyi-rtse: four *bre* of barley counted, received."

(*k*) *Mṅaḥ-ris-rtse* ("Frontier Peak").

See M.T. 0050 (p. 93 *supra*, [*mṅah-ri*]*s*).

(*l*) *Mon-rtse* ("Mon Peak").

58. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0058 (wood; c. 10 × 2 cm.; complete; irregular at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] Mon . rtse . gyi . brgyags | [2] so

"For Mon-rtse, supplies."

(*m*) *Me-loṅ-rtse* ("Mirror Peak").

Possibly the same as Ḫphrul-gyi-me-loṅ-kun-snaṅ-rtse (*g*, *supra*).

59. M. Tāgh. *c*, i, 0015 (wood; c. 10·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left broken away; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠸ | | Mye . loṅ . tse . gyi . brgyags [2] [sbaḥ]

"For Me-loṅ-rtse, supplies: secret (*or* remainder, *ḫbaḥ*, *or* some ?)."

(*n*) *Peḫu-rtse* ("Peḫu Peak", cf. *Peḫu-mar* "Lower Peḫu").

60. M. Tāgh. 0615 (wood; c. 23·5 × 2 cm.; nearly

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complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . [s]o . slar . bskyed . par . chad . nas . ẖdi . nas . s[l]ond. brdzaṅs . pa [1] . yaṅ . lags . gyis . || [2] . . sṅa (lṅa ?) . na . ẖbaẖ . Tsheẖu . chag . gi . so . pa . ni . Bsam. cha[*r*] . ẖpos . śig || Peẖu . rtse . sar . paẖi . . .

"It having been settled to dispatch back the soldiers . . . have been sent back from here. In five (*or* First) . . . . some soldiers of Tsheẖu-cag should be transferred to Bsam-cha. Of new Peẖu-rtse . . ."

Notes

On Tsheẖu-cag and Bsam-cha see pp. 266, 279, 282 *infra*.

l. 2, *ẖpos*: Doubtless for *spos*, from *spo-ba*, which has occurred *supra* (*JRAS*. 1928, p. 558, l. 4).

61. M. Tāgh. *a*, v, 0015 (paper, fol. no. 27 of vol., fragmentary at right; c. 15 × 25 cm.; ll. 21 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | . | ż̀aṅ . ż̀aṅ . blon . Khri . bż̀er . daṅ | | naṅ . rje . po . Lha . bz*aṅ* . . . [2] mtshuṅs . pa | Ż̀ugs . ṅam . gyi . ltoṅs | soẖi . mth . . . [3] bż̀ugs . na | thugs . bde . ẖam . myi . bde . | sñun . gsol . . . [4] chi . gnaṅ | H̱u . ten phyogs . na . bkaẖ . mchid . chig . daẖ . . . [5] pa . dag . bż̀ugs . pa . la | bdag . ṅan . pas . rṅo . thog . pa . . . [6] ẖdi . skad . sñan . sñuns . pa . gsol . ż̀es . | bkaẖ . ẖ . . . [7] naṅ . rje . po . Lha . bzaṅ . daṅ | phur . myi . srid . gchig . ste || glo . . . [8] do . gchig . dbyard . Pe . ẖu . rtse . rtsig . du . mchis . tshun . chad . | . . . [9] ẖtsald . de | rab . tu . myi . bde . ste | bro . g-yog . daṅ . phu . ldir . bgyid . . . [10] gi . bran . rkya . rgu[2] . gu . rib . Tran . slebs | so . res . ẖdi . la . mchi . ba . . . [11] bar . g-yra [3] . te . ma . btaṅ . baẖi . skyin . ba | sde . myi . Ña . gram . H̱phan . brod | . . . [12] mchis . pa . |

[1] Or ? *pra* (compendious for *par*) ?
[2] Crossed out.
[3] Compendious for *g-yar*.

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Tran : slebs . kyi . skyin . bar [1] . ri . zug . du . mchi . . . [13] ḥdi . bžin . du . spyan . ris . btsa . žiṅ | so . chad . . . [14] mdzad || bdag . ṅan . pa . bro . cuṅ . zad . tha . gi . | so . sla . . . [15] ḥdrend . daṅ . sku . ṅas . myi . ḥtsal . bar | dusu . phyin . . . [16] ba . daṅ . phur . myiḥi . srid . du . be [2] . mdzad . chiṅ . spyan . . . [17] ma . stoṅs . paḥi . mtshan . ma | spyan . zigs . . . [18] mchis . na . rma . žiṅ . bžes . par . chi . gnaṅ | . . . [19] gñis . thugs . bde . sku . tshe . riṅ . bar . smon . . . [20] so . ñul . Klu . mthoṅ . mchi . ba . la . ḥaṅ . žib . tu . . . [21] chi . legsu . mdzad . par . smon . chiṅ . mchis . . .

Verso : [1] ꣄ | . | žaṅ . žaṅ . Khri . bžre [3] . daṅ | naṅ . rje . po . Lha [2] bzaṅ . la | | Du . dun . skyes . kyi . m-i . . .

[1–4] "That the great Uncle-Councillor Khri-bžer and the Home Minister Lha-bzaṅ, equal to theophanies, while residing at military headquarters on the top of the Žugs-ṅam, should have *written* inquiries after my health, whether I am happy or not, what a favour! [4–6] As regards any talk *at present* going on in the Ḥu-ten quarter, your humble servant, unable . . . begs merely herein to inquire after your health: so . . . commands. [7–9] The Home Minister Lha-bzaṅ and the leading persons are united and intimate (*glo-ba-*[*ñe*]? or *glo-ba-riṅs* 'far-seeing'?). At present since in the summer I went to build Peḥu-rtse, ... sent. [9–12] I am very ill at ease. My house-*servant*, the *gu-rib* Tran-slebs, who renders *me* sick-service and blows the fire (*phu-ldir*?), being lent to . . . , a soldier-relay coming here, was not sent, and his debtor (substitute?), a regimental man, Ḥphan-brod of Ña-gram, . . . went. [12–15] Tran-slebs' debtor (substitute), being taken with mountain-sickness . . . thus spying, caused the soldier . . . to be punished. I, being a little convalescent, fetched the soldier back. . . . [15–18]

[1] *r* crossed out.
[2] Crossed out.
[3] Compendious for *bžer*.

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Though *I* did not personally send . . . arrive in time and in token of not having . . . the proceedings of the leading persons . . . a present . . . comes: inquire and favour me by acceptance. . . . [19–21] pray that . . . both may be happy and live long. . . . Also, when the soldier-spy Klu-mthoṅ comes, I pray *you* to . . . particularly and do what is good."

[B 1] "To great Uncle Khri-bżer and Home Minister Lha-bzaṅ: letter of Du-dun-skyes."

Notes

l. 1. *Zugs-ṅam-gyi-ltoṅs*: See p. 86 *supra*.

l. 7. *phur-myi*: The phrase, which occurred *supra*, p. 55, is found also *infra*, p. 258, and in *a*, ii, 0089 and *c*, iii, 0043 (*phur-myi-stag-rnams-la*).

l. 9. *phu-ldir*: Both *phu* and *ldir* seem to have the general sense of "blowing".

l. 10. *gu-rib*: A not infrequent phrase (M.I. 108*b*, xiv, 0019; xv, 0011; M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 004, 0059; *c*, iv, 002; Ch. fr. 61), denoting perhaps some occupation (a slave ?).

so-res: "Soldier-relay," as *supra*, p. 89.

l. 11. *skyin-ba*: This naturally means a "debtor". Apparently the debtor was required to act as a substitute.

l. 12. *ri-zug*: See pp. 84, 281, and M.T. 001 and *a*, iv, 0014, 0019.

l. 13. *spyan-ris(ras)-btsa*: "Watching or spying" recurs *infra*, p. 274, 278; also M.T. 0516.

l. 15. *sku-ṅas*: "By myself in person."

l. 17. *spyan-zigs*: "A present," as on p. 88 *supra*.

l. 20. *so-ñul*: "A soldier spy," as *supra*, p. 86.

62. M. Tāgh. *a*, v, 0020 (paper, fol. no. 29 in vol., fragmentary; c. 20 × 13·5 cm.; ll. 7 of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . -i . [m]chid . gsol . baḥ | | [2] . . . g . pa . daṅ | Dur . ya . p[ḥ]ur . myi . rgod . kyi . gle . gugs . sug . las [3] . . . mchi . ba | gżi . ṅand . paḥi . steṅ . du | sug . las . ches .

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pas | g-yar [1] . ga[m] . . . [4] . . . ri . mchis . na | Peḫu . tse . rtsig . paḫi . bsel . du . yaṅ . mchi . bar . mchid . stsald . . . [5] . . [d]ab . ḫam . chen . tags | rṅa . mo . gcig . g-yar . por . gsol . žiṅ . mchis . na . . . [6] . . . ž[i]ṅ . g-yar . por . thugs . rje . ji . gzigs ||

"Letter of . . . *I* and the chief men of Dur-ya went . . . work on wild uncultivated land. The work upon the bad land being heavy, orders were sent that, having gone up . . . we should be engaged in safeguarding those who were building Peḫu-tse . . . . . beg for a camel on loan . . . . have the kindness to lend . . ."

Notes

Concerning *Dur-ya* see below, p. 268. It is evidently to be presumed that Peḫu-rtse was in the vicinity of that place. The reference to the building of Peḫu-rtse in this and the preceding document is in harmony with the mention of New Peḫu-rtse in the one first quoted (M. Tāgh. 0615, p. 256).

l. 1. *rgod-kyi-gle-gugs*: *Gle* is said to mean "a small uncultivated island", and *gugs* may mean "a corner" (*angulus terrae*). Cf. p. 266 *infra*.

l. 4. *bsel*: This may mean either "guard" or "clear up". In *JRAS.* 1928, p. 566, we have had it used, apparently, of defending a citadel.

(*o*) *Seṅ-ka-tse*

By this name no place is otherwise known. But it seems not unreasonable to equate it to the Śaṅkā-giri, near to the Śaṅkā-prahāṇa *vihāra*, both of which are mentioned in the Tibetan accounts of Khotan (see *Ancient Khotan*, p. 584; *Asia Major*, ii, p. 267; and *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, iii, pp. 32, 45). We can readily understand that into a native designation *Seṅ-ka* the monks may have interpreted the Sanskrit *śaṅkā*, though, of course, the Sanskrit may have actually been the *prius*. Assuming the identity,

[1] Crossed out.

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we learn, however, no more than the name itself reveals, to wit, that the place lay in the mountains to the south of the Khotan region.

63. M. Tāgh. 0574 (wood ; c. 12·5 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of rather square, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꠸ | . | khyar . mkhan . gyi . ḫbaṅs . myi . Lo . ci . brgyag [A 2] snod . [myin] . du . Seṅ . ka . tse . la . mchis : | dbyar . [B 1] sla . tha . chuṅs . kyi . brgyags . nas . bre . gsum [B 2] daṅ | | phye . bre . gsum . ma . stsald |

" The lagging slave Lo-ci has come to Seṅ-ka-tse without the basket of supplies. Supplies for the last summer month, three *bre* of barley and three *bre* of flour, have not been sent."

Note

A 1. *khyar-mkhan-gyi-ḫbaṅs* : *khyar* is given in the dictionaries as a synonym of *khyams*.

64. M. Tāgh. 0583 (wood ; c. 13·5 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of rather square *dbu-can* script, part of *verso* in a different, round, hand).

[A 1] ꠸ | : | brgyags : : snod : pa : Tsa : daṅ : lhan : dpye : dbyar : sla : tha : cuṅs : tshes : ñi : śu : bźi : gdugs : res : [B 1] na . mchis : so (*A different hand*) | Guṅ . beg . Guṅ | legs | gi.

" Supply-basket-man Tsa and mate came at noon on the 24th of the last summer month. For Guṅ-beg Guṅ-legs."

Note

A 1. *lhan-dpye* : Since *dbye-ba* is synonymous with *ḫbyed*, the phrase may = *lhan-ḫbyed* " an assistant " or " auxiliary ", a " mate ".

65. M. Tāgh. 0517 (paper ; c. 25·5 × 10 cm. ; fragmentary at right (ll. 3–9) and left (ll. 3–6) ; ll. 9 of square, formal, *dbu-can* script).

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[1] ꣾ | : | jo . bo . Stag . mt[o]n . gyi . sñan . du . | | Myes . tshab . gyi . mchid . gsol . baḫ | | so . pa . dag . la . rmas . na . jo . bo . sñuṅ . sbagla[1] . žiṅ . [2] ba . de . s[k]ad . g-yar . du . mjald . ste . glo . [b]aḫ . rab . tu . myi . dgaḫ . žiṅ . mchis . bdag . gsun . mar . mchi . ḫo . sñam[2] . glo . ba . l . . [3] . . . glaḫ . ni . ma . sñed . bdag . mchi . yaṅ . smad . yon . myi . thog . ḫdaḫ . yaṅ . sñuṅ . nad . [*las*] . chuṅ . tha . [kyi] . [yaṅ] . -i . . . [4] . . . . . pab (par ?) . nog . tshil . -wu . [ḫi]s . daṅ . ḫbras . ḫpul : gaṅ . glo . ba . myi . ḫriṅs . paḫi . skye . . . . . [5] . . . [*n*] . Myes . kol . la . sñan . sñuṅs . bgyis . ste . yar . gśegs . par . smond . s[*ñu*]n . na[d] . . . . . [6] . . [n]ad . las . gsos . śiṅ . žal . mjald . par . smond . ciṅ . mchis | | g . . . . . [7] ba . bdagi . ḫpha . rgan . ñam . noṅsu . gyurd . na . rul . bu . ma . khyams . pa . tsham . sñan . [sñuṅ] . . . . . [8] chir . mdzad . | | tsha . bo . Seṅ . gaḫ . tse . la . | | Lha . lod . gyi . mchid . gsol . baḫ . bdag . ṅan . . . . . [9] bdag . yas . mchis . na . mzind . par . thugs . dpags . chir . mdzad . žal . bzaṅ . [p]o . . . .

[1–2] "For the hearing of the chief Stag-mton: letter-petition of Myes-tshab. The tidings having reached me up here upon inquiry of the soldiers that the chief is in anxiety as to his health, I am very uneasy in mind, and I apprehend that I am to be blamed. [3–4] Without having received . . . wages I cannot, even if I come, be of any help at all. When a little recovered from the illness . . . hump-fat and a full offering of fruit. A not very clever person . . . . . [5–6] With good wishes for health to Myes-kol . . . pray to come up. Illness . . . when cured of illness I pray to meet face to face . . . . [7–8] my aged father being in bad health, will you . . . a little note without delay . . . . health."

[8–9] "To grandson Seṅ-gaḫ-tse: letter-petition of Lha-lod. Will you be so kind as not to . . . . . your humble servant . . . is beside . . . self ? . . . . your good countenance."

[1] Apparently crossed out.

[2] *lkam* ?

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Notes

This is one of the not infrequent documents in which a letter from one person shows a postscript in the form of a letter from another, addressed either to the same individual (as in M. Tāgh. 0430, edited in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1087) or to a member of his family and so forth. In some instances the writer of the postscript is a woman, which, since names ending in *lod* are generally feminine, is probably the case here. The person addressed in the postscript as Seṅ-gaḫ-tse is probably the Stag-mton addressed in the same letter, Seṅ-gaḫ-tse being a residence name, such as we constantly find (see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 79, and *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 47, 71–2); or perhaps it is his son.

The term "grandson", as has been suggested in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1088 (M. Tāgh. 0436), need not be taken literally: it may be a politeness on the part of a senior friend, no doubt the wife of the writer of the main letter.

l. 3. *smad-yon*: For *sman-yon* (*JRAS.* 1927, pp. 816, 826).

tha-kyi: = *tha-gi*.

l. 4. *gaṅ*: Cf. the phrases noted in *JRAS.* 1928, p. 586.

glo-ba-myi-ḫriṅs (= *riṅs*): Cf. *JRAS.* 1928, p. 557.

l. 7. *rul-bu*: I have taken this as = *ḫdrul-bu* "a short letter".

l. 9. *mzind*: For *ma-zind*?

(*p*) *Snaṅ-daṅ-ḫphrul-gyi-rtse* ("Vision and Magic Peak"). The name bears a likeness to *Hphrul-gyi-rtse* and *Ḫphrul-gyi-me-loṅ-kun-snaṅ-rtse*, *supra*, p. 254.

66. M. Tāgh. 004 (wooden tally; c. 11·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; three notches *verso*; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠰ | | Snaṅ . daṅ . ḫprul . gi | [2] rtse

(M. Tāgh. 0158 is similar.)

67. M. Tāgh. *a*, i, 003 (wood; c. 17 × 1 cm.; broken

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away at right and at bottom (without loss ?) ; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, clear).

ꣳ | | Snaṅ . daṅ . ẖphrul . gyi . rtse . na . Bod . bži . tshugs. gcig . la | -yi

"In Snaṅ-daṅ-ẖphrul-gyi-rtse for four Tibetans, one squad, . . ."

Notes

On *tshugs* see *supra*, p. 53.

(*q*) *Snaṅ-luṅ-rtse* ("Vision-Valley Peak"). Mentioned in *c*, ii, 0065, *infra*, p. 281.

(*r*) *Stag-ẖdus-dges-kyi-rtse* ("Tiger-gathering-rejoicing Peak") and *Stag-sras-dges-kyi-rtse* ("Tiger-son-rejoicing Peak").

Stag-sras has occurred as a place-name in M. Tāgh. 0050 (p. 92 *supra*).

It is perhaps doubtful whether in these names the word *dges* or *dgyes* really means "rejoicing" (see *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 817–18, and M.T. 0351, *a*, ii, 0097, *c*, ii, 0017). The word *Stag* evidently alludes to the common application of the term to soldiers.

68. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0043 (wood ; c. 20·5 × 1 × 1 cm. ; cut away at one side ; ll. 1 + 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script ; on one side about 19 notches and lines).

[A] H̱j- . 'a (ma ?) : nas | | Stag : ẖdus : su : gtad : paẖi | ri . skyel : khraṃ [B] khram : bu : yaṅ : Stag : ẖdus : pa : tsugs : pon : la | gtad | do | |

"List of mountain escort supplied from H̱j- -'a to Stag-ẖdus. A list-ticket has also been supplied to the Stag-ẖdus sergeaunt."

Notes

On *khram* in connection with notched lines see *JRAS*. 1928, pp. 69–70, and *supra*, p. 65.

Ri-skyel has occurred *supra* (pp. 83, 254).

Tsugs-pon : See *supra*, p. 53.

69. M. Tāgh. 0589 (wooden tally ; c. 14 × 2 cm. ; com-

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plete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, clear; groups of notches *recto* and *verso*).

[1] ꠰ | | Stag . ḥdus . dgyes . | [2] kyi . rtse

(M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0031 is similar.)

70. M. Tāgh. 002 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; c. 6 notches and lines *recto*, c. 6 *verso*).

[1] ꠰ | . | Stag . ḥdus . dges . gi . [2] rtse | nas

"Stag-ḥdus-dges-gi-rtse: barley."

71. M. Tāgh. 0012 (wooden tally; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 *recto* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, 1 *akṣara verso*; 2 notches or lines *recto*, 2 *verso*).

[1] ꠰ | | Stag . ḥdus . dgyes | nas | [2] gi . rtse | [B] pye

"Stag-ḥdus-dges-gi-rtse: barley, flour."

72. M. Tāgh. *i*, 0018 (wooden tally; c. 14 × 2 cm.; slightly broken; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 6 notches or lines *verso*).

[1] ꠰ | : Stag . sras . dges | [2] gyi . rtse

(*s*) *Stag-rtse* ("Tiger-Peak").

73. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0025 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 *recto* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; l. 1 *verso* in another hand; 4 notched lines).

[1] ꠰ | : | Stag . rtse . Khri . skugs | [2] ḥjor . | [B] . pye . bre . do . bžag |

"Khri-skugs *ḥjor* of Stag-rtse: two *bre* of flour left."

74. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0032 (wooden tally; c. 13·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; 6 notches *verso*; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

꠰ | . | Stag . rtse . Khri . skugs |

"Khri-skugs in Stag-rtse."

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75. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0031 (wooden tally; c. 13 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script; clear).

[1] ꠸ | | Khri . skugs . hjor . gyi . so . pa . Li [2] gchig . chad

"One soldier of Khri-sgugs *hjor*, a Khotanī, punished (executed)."

On the expression (*Khri-sgugs*) *hjor* see p. 56 *supra*. It may be noted that in M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0031 (p. 269 *infra*) Khri-skugs is made to be a part of Hbum-rñugs.

(*t*) *Stag-skugs-bye(gye)-ri-rtse* ("Tiger-in-wait-mountain Peak"). Sometimes the name appears as *Stag-sgugs* (*skugs*) only, e.g. in M.T. 0050 (p. 93) and *infra*.

76. M. Tāgh. 005 (wooden tally; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 3 notches or lines *recto*, 2 (?) *verso*).

[1] ꠸ | : | Stag . skugs | [2] bye . ri . rtse

(M. Tāgh. 0011 is similar, but seems to have *gye* in place of *bye*.)

77. M. Tāgh, *a*, iii, 0038 (wooden tally; c. 11·5 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, partly smudged; 4 notches or lines *recto*, 4 + 1 *verso*).

꠸ | . | Stag . skugs . bye . *ri* . -rtse | - - nas

"Stag-skugs-bye-ri-rtse: barley."

78. M. Tāgh. 0010 (wooden tally; c. 10 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ꠸ | : | Stag . skugs | [B 1] nas . bre . drug . ma . nos . te . [B 2] pyi[su] . nod

"Stag-skugs: barley, six *bre*, not received: deliver later."

79. M. Tāgh. *i*, 0026 (wood; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; pointed at left; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

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𑖀 | Stag . skugs . kyi . so . pa

"Soldier of Stag-skugs."

80. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0019 (wood; c. 12 × 2 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] | [S]tag . skugs . gyi . rgoṅ . yan . cad . du | peḫu . lṅa : | [A 2] . . . bži . ṅos . cig . la : ḫdom . bži : | gnam : | [B 1] . . . . . m(y ?)an . cad . | drug . stoṅ . bži [B 2] . . . . . k(g ?)yi . ñi . stoṅ . |

"As far up as the wilds of Stag-skugs, five *peḫu* . . . . four; on one side four fathoms straight (?): as far down as . . . six thousand, four . . . of . . . two thousand."

Notes

A 1. *rgoṅ*: Perhaps we should read *rgod*, comparing the phrase *rgod-kyi-gle-gugs*, p. 259 *supra*.

Cf. *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 817–18 ?: *peḫu*: the word recurs *b*, i, 00113 and 0552 *infra*, also in *c*, iii, 0087.

V. Other Places presumably in the Khotan Region

(*a*) *Bsam-cha* (*Sam-cha*).

See *infra*, p. 279, 282.

(*b*) *Bya-maṅs-tshal* ("Many-Bird Wood").

81. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 001 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; several notches *verso*; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 𑖀 | : | Bya . maṅs . tshal . | [B] . . . rta . chas . . . .

"Bya-maṅs-tshal . . . horse-trappings (*or* a party of horse ?) . . ."

(*c*) *Bya-rig-skugs*.

See *infra*, p. 269.

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Note

Bya-rig-skugs can hardly be different from Stag-skugs-bye-ri-rtse, *supra*, pp. 266–7.

(*d*) *Bya-tshaṅ-smug-po* ("Bird-Copse (?) Reeds").

82. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0042 (wood; c. 13·5 × 2 cm.; slightly fragmentary at top left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] [| . | D]graḥi . śakri . yan . chad : Bya . tshaṅ . smug . phor : Ṅam . ru . pag [A 2] sum . tshugs : | gchig . ḥkhyam . żiṅ : so . tshor . stsald : | [B] paḥi . dgra . thabs : |

"In Bya-tshaṅ-smug-po up to Dgraḥi-śag mountain three Ṅam-ru-pag [soldiers], one squad, gone astray—report to the soldiers of the enemy's chance (*dgra-thabs ?*)."

Notes

A 1. *Ṅam-ru-pag* is the name of a regiment several times mentioned (p. 275 *infra*).

tshugs: See *supra*, p. 53.

so-tshor: On *tsho* see *supra*, p. 65: with *dgra-thabs* it recurs in *a*, iv, 0011.

(*e*) *Byi-glaṅ-pam.*

In M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0098 (paper) occurs the sentence—

83. | Byi . glaṅ . [*paṃ*] . ya[ṅ] . khrom . du . ni . khral . phran . . . . bton . . . .

"Send to the market town Byi-glaṅ-paṃ also small levies . . . ."

The place is otherwise unknown. On the Keriya river Sir Aurel Stein's maps note a place called Bilangan, which might be **Byi-glaṅ-gam*.

(*f*) *Del-ge* or *Hel-ge.*

See *supra*, p. 69, and *infra*, p. 270.

(*g*) *Dmu-mur.*

See *infra*, p. 291.

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(*h*) *Dur-ya.*

See *supra*, p. 259. As pointed out in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 260–1, this is probably the modern Duwa.

(*i*) *Ḥbog-la-tham.*

Associated pp. 281–2 *infra* with Yol-ba-ri and Sam-cha.

(*j*) *Ḥbrog-lig-yan-cag-tsa.*

84. M. Tāgh. 0334 (wood; c. 20·5 × 2 cm.; broken away at right; hole for string at left; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] [1] ꠸ | . | Ḥbrog . lig . yan . cag . tsa . gyi . so . pa . la . spriṅ . ṅo . s-ags . . . [2] yig . ḥdi | tshes . bcu . dguḥi | nam . . . . na (ba ?) . Śiṅ . . . [B] ñin . tsod . mdzan . tsod . dam . | du . zuṅ . śig |

"Sent to the soldiers of Ḥbrog-lig-yan-cag-tsa.

"This letter . . . *when received* on . . . of the nineteenth, is to be taken promptly, day-time or night-time, to Śiṅ-*śan*."

Notes

Concerning this place we have no information: it was in some region of nomads (*Ḥbrog*). *Cag* recurs in *Byeḥu-cag* and *Tsheḥu-cag*.

[B] *ñin-tsod-mdzan-tsod-dam-du*: See *supra*, p. 82.

(*k*) *Ḥbum-rṅugs.*

85. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0043 (wood; c. 14 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꠸ | : | Ḥbum . rṅugs . su . Li . Pu . god | myi . ḥjigsna . mchis[1] [A 2] Ho si (?)[2] | Gyu . mo . na . mcis . Śir . ḥdo . mgo . śu . [cun] | [B] Ltag . bżi . naḥ . mcis ||

"In Ḥbum-rṅugs is the Khotanī Pu-god, under safe-conduct (*myi-ḥjigsna* ?); Ho-si (?) is in Gyu-mo. Śir-ḥdo Mgo-śu-cun (?) is in Ltag-bżi."

[1] Below line.
[2] Above line.

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Note

The reading Ho-si Gyu-mo, "Gyu-mo West of the river" (*supra*, pp. 47, 90 sqq.), is incorrect.

86. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0031 (wooden tally; c. 13 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

ཨ | : | H̱bum . rṅugs . Khri . skugs | [2] ẖjor.

"Khri-skugs *ẖjor* (*cor*) in H̱bum-rṅugs."

From this reference to Khri-skugs *ẖjor*, which is also in Stag-rtse (q.v., pp. 264–5), it is clear that these two places are in the same region as H̱bum-rṅugs.

(*l*) *H̱bu-śaṅ or H̱bu-żaṅ.*

Mentioned above, p. 92 (M.T. 0050), and also in pp. 282–4 *infra*, this name is found in connection with a Yol-ba hill. In the following it occurs along with Śiṅ-śan and Bya-rig-skugs. It was probably the hill of which Śiṅ-śan was a part.

87. M. Tāgh. 0442 (wood; c. 18 × 2 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and rubbed).

[A 1] [H̱bu . śaṅ . gi . Sluṅ]s : tsun . chad . Bya : rig : skugsu : H̱or . chig | | [A 2] . . . G[ño]s . Snaṅ . rtsan . [n]i . [sṅ]ar . dgras : gtord . pas . tshegs . che [B 1] . . . [*gyis . sñar*] [mchi] : bar . ẖtshol . ch[ig] | Śiṅ . śan . phan . cad . kyi . so [B 2] . . . [Śiṅ] . śan . na . ẖdus . śiṅ . . . . . -na(u ?)ms : | Gño[*s*] : Snaṅ . rtsa[*n*] [B 3] . . . . . bar . du . żog : la : gż-n : | |

"In Bya-rig-skugs this side the Sluṅs of H̱bu-śaṅ one H̱or (Turk) . . . The Gños-Snaṅ-rtsan having first been scattered by the enemy, with great effort (?) make *them* go forward. The soldiers as far as beyond Śiṅ-śan . . . . being mustered in Śiṅ-śan . . . . leave the Gños-Snaṅ-tsan . . . between . . . and . . ."

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Note

A 2, B 3. *Gños-Snaṅ-rtsan*: On *Gños* as a tribal name see *JRAS.* 1928, p. 577–8. The Gños-Snaṅ-rtsan may be a regiment.

88. M. Tāgh. *c*, iv, 0024 (wood; c. 12 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of scrawled cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ꠰ | Ḥbu : śaṅ : pa(?)ḥi.

[B] Ḥbu : śaṅ.

(*m*) *Hel-ge* (*or Del-ge*).

See *supra*, p. 69. No information, except that the place, being associated with Nag, was probably in the Mdo-lo district. It is mentioned in Ch. 73, xiii, 8, as *Hel-ke.*

(*n*) *Ḥjag-ma-gu.*

Mentioned in p. 92 *supra* (M.T. 0050). Since *ḥjag-ma* is the name of a kind of grass, the place probably exhibited that feature.

89. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 003 (wood; c. 13 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

꠰ | | Mjag . ma . mgur . na . Bod . gñis . mchis . |

"In Mjag-ma-gu are arrived two Tibetans."

(M. Tāgh. 009, a wooden tally, complete, reads *Mjag-ma-gur* only.)

(*o*) *Ḥo-ni.*

Mentioned p. 73 *supra* and *JRAS.* 1928, p. 568 (M.I. xiv, 23). It occurs also in M. Tāgh. 0494 *a*, i, 0012, M.I. x, 9, and p. 278 *infra*. Whether it was in the Nob region or in the Khotan region does not appear.

90. M. Tāgh. 0575 (wood; c. 14 × 2 cm.; broken away at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠰ | . | Spaṅ . rje . Rgoṅ (rgod ?) . koṅ . yaṅ . | -i . . .

[2] btaṅ . gis . | | Ḥo . nir . mchis . saṃ . .

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"Spaṅ-rje Rgoṅ-koṅ . . . sent: is in Ḥo-ni or . . ."

(*p*) *Jeg-śiṅ.*

Mentioned p. 276 *infra*, where it is associated with Par-ban in a manner showing that it was in the same district and that it was a valley.

91. M. Tāgh. 0552 (wooden stick; c. 32 × 1·5 × 1·5 cm.; somewhat curved, with the edges of the four sides somewhat flattened; several notches, etc.; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and partly illegible).

[1] ꣿ | | tsa . bo . Btsan . bżre . daṅ . Ḥphan . bżre . daṅ . . . legs . la . stsogs . pa . la | Rdzi . legs . kyi . gslo . ba : | d . . .

[2] Jeg . śiṅ . gi . laṃ . naḥ . ḫpyu[ṅ . *baḥi*] : laṃ : du: byu[ṅ] : ste . [m]chis | pyu [*g*] . . pon . . . . . [*gyi*] [steṅ . *du*] . . .

[3] su . mchis . pa . las . . . . gy- . . . lag . myi . peḫu . stag . par . gyurd | : bdag : cag . brg-g- : m . p- .

[4] . . rnaṃsu . . .

"To grandsons Btsan-bżer and Ḥphan-bżer and — legs and the rest: letter of Rdzi-legs. I am on the road *leading to* (?) the Jeg-śiṅ road . . ." (*the remainder too illegible to allow of a continuous rendering*).

(*q*) *Khri-skugs hjor.*

Associated with *Ḥbum-rṅugs* and Stag-rtse: see p. 259 *supra.*

(*r*) *Liṅ-sked-chad.*

See p. 281 *infra.*

(*s*) *Lho-lo-pan-ro-rbog-skyes.*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 004, as a townlet (*mkhar-bu*).

(*t*) *Mdo-lo* and its town (*mkhar*).

Mentioned in No. 20 *supra*, p. 70.

Mdo-lo, always associated with Me-skar, is named in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 583), and also in the two other Tibetan accounts of Buddhism in Khotan

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(*Sir Asutosh Mookerjee . . Jubilee Volumes*, iii, pp. 37 and 48). The two latter rather contradictorily speak of Mdo-lo in Me-skar and of taking from Me-skar the road to Mdo-lo "traversing mountains and valleys". But it is easy to reconcile this by supposing Mdo-lo to be the mountainous, further, part of Me-skar, and the general probability is that it lay in the Polu direction. It was on the route of the Buddhists who fled from Khotan to Tibet, which was perhaps the ordinary route of communications between the two countries.

(*u*) *Me-nu.*

Mentioned *infra* (p. 291) in the name *Me-nu Ña-gzigs.*

(*v*) *Mjag-ma-gu.*

See *Ḥjag-ma-gu*, *supra*, p. 270.

(*w*) *Nag.*

Mentioned *supra*, p. 69, where the place appears to be in the Mdo-lo district of the Khotan king's dominions: accordingly it is different from the Nag-śod of *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 561–2.

92. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0063 (paper, fol. 13 in volume; c. 27 × 7 cm.; complete; ll. 5 *recto* of rather small cursive *dbu-can* script, partly faint; ll. 3 *verso* in another hand).

[A 1] ꠸ | | [j]o . co . Stag . bżre [1] . gyi . [ża . sṅar] | | [sr]id . drugi . mchid . gsol . baḥ | jo . co . lha . dpal . thugs . bde . bar [2] s[m]o[nd . ciṅ] . mchis | tses . ñi . [śu] . dguḥi . nub . mo . | Skyaṅ . ro . nas . | rkya . gsum . daṅ . rkaṅ . [*bcu*] . gcig . mchis . pas . pho . ña . [*Ph*]od . kar [3] mtshan . ma . mchis . pa [2] . brkas . te . ḥtshal . nas . | bdag . daṅ . [tha]ṅ . Nag . tu . mjald . nas [3] . rkun . por . ṅo . ma . ḥtshal . te . mchis . na[ḥ] [4] rgya[*n*] . kun . tu . glo . ba . cuṅ . żiṅ . mchis . na . żib . bkas . rma . bar . thugs . rje . chir . gzigs | . | ḥtshal . baḥi . spu . stag . bżi . khon . ba . -u .

[1] Compendious for *bżer*.
[2] *pa* below line.
[3] *s* crossed out.

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[5] mtshal . ser . daṅ . mtshal ག (*bre?*) . daṅ . [kuṃ] . ser . daṅ . | [*gsum*] mchis . [na]g.

[*B—a different document.*]

[B 1] ཨ | : Ḫu . ten . ban . nog . Ro . [*żaṅ*] . legs . kyi : gñen | | Sum . pa . Gsas . slebs . rma . ste . spyan [2] ras . kyis . btsaḫ . bar . żaṅ . lon . la . bsgu[l] |

[A 1–2] "In the presence of the chief Stag-bżer: letter-petition of the Six Estates. We pray that His Highness the chief may be happy. [A 2–3] On the evening of the twenty-ninth there came from Skyaṅ-ro three loads (*rkya* ?) and eleven bundles. Upon our sending orders the messenger, who had the mark of a Phod-kar, joined us in the Nag plain. We do not make him out to be a robber. [A 4–] The . . . is very stupid: have the kindness to question him closely. The persons sent are four soldier brothers: their rations are . . ."

[B 1—*a different document.*]

"A kinsman of the Ḫu-ten *bande* Ro-żaṅ-legs, stated to be the Sum-pa Gsas-slebs, sent on to the noble councillor for examination (or 'as being a spy' ?)."

Notes

The translation is dubious in places.

l. 2. *Skyaṅ-ro*: Name of a locality, on the lines of *Cog-ro*, *Ḫgreṅ-ro*, etc. A *Skyaṅ-po*, i.e. a man of the *Skyaṅ* tribe of *Skyaṅ-ro*, was mentioned in *JRAS.* 1928, p. 562, and another p. 583.

Phod-kar: This local tribe name will come up for consideration later.

l. 3. *rkun-por*: It is interesting to see that a suspicion of robbery (of the grain) was promptly aroused in the Nag district, which above (p. 67) was mentioned in connection with robberies.

l. 4. *rgyan*: ? for *rkyaṅ* "wild ass" ?

Altogether this incident, in which an up-countryman, arriving with a convoy of grain, naturally in the circum-

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stances arouses the suspicion of the local Tibetans, is not without a certain human interest : unable to make anything of him and baffled by his stupidity, the embarrassed officials send him on, with an escort, to headquarters—a Tibeto-Turkestan idyll of the eighth century A.D.

l. 4. *spu* : Cf. *spun-dmag* (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 581) ?

mtshal-ser . . . : This passage is obscure.

B. 1. *ban-nog* : For the suffix *nog* (forming a plural of honour ?) used in cases of *bandes* cf. the document edited in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains*, pp. 402–3.

Sum-pa : Cf. *JRAS.* 1927, p. 85 and reff. The Sum-pas are stated in the dictionary to be the people of Amdo in north-eastern Tibet.

spyan-ras-kyis-btsaḥ-bar : On this phrase see p. 258 *supra* and p. 278 *infra* and M.T. 0516 : *btsaḥ* recurs also p. 283.

(*x*) *Ña-gram.*

A place-name used as a surname : it occurs in *a*, i, 0015 ; *a*, iii, 002 ; *a*, v, 0015 (p. 256 *supra*).

(*y*) *Par-ban.*

Mentioned p. 85 (M.T. *c*, iii, 0025) *supra*, in an urgent letter directed to be sent down (i.e. no doubt from Tibet) to Par-ban on the one hand and Dru-gu *hjor* on the other for forwarding to Śiṅ-śan. The implication is that for the sake of security duplicates were sent. Since certainly the Dru-gu *hjor* lay, as will be shown later, to the east, it seems clear that the Par-ban route must have led to a descent *via* Cer-cen or Polu ; and this is confirmed by a document (given below, p. 281) in which Par-ban is associated with [Ho-toṅ] Gyu-mo. The name does not seem to be Tibetan, and so is probably older than the Tibetan rule. Its non-occurrence in the Mīrān documents suggests that the place lay rather in the Khotan region than in that of Nob. Might it be the Parvata which in the Kharoṣṭhī documents (see now Professor Rapson's index) is several times mentioned in connection with Caḍota (Niya region) ?

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94. M. Tāgh. *c*, iv, 0036 (wood, pointed at left; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꣾ | . | Par . ban . gyi . th[o]d . ka'. gyi . śo . rtsaṅ . [2] ḥgram . du . Ṅam . ru . pag . gi . [*gsuṃ*] [B] [*ron*] . rṅu . mchis . paḥi.

"In the upper toll-station of Par-ban are arrived three of Ṅam-ru-pag with a *ron-rṅu* (?)."

Notes

Ṅam-ru-pag is a frequently mentioned regiment (and district ?): see *Innermost Asia*, pp. 1084–5, and p. 267 *supra*.

Śo-rtsaṅ-ḥgram: "Toll-granary-bank." The same phrase occurs in 0522 (*Innermost Asia*, loc. cit.) and in 0015 (*chu-ḥdus-kyi-rtsaṅ-ḥgram* "granary bank of the confluence"): *śo-rtsaṅ* is found in the *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa*, fol. 354, ll. 4 and 7. The meaning probably is a granary for storing grain taken as toll at a crossing. On *rtsaṅ* see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 69. In some cases *ḥgram* is perhaps confused with *gam* (ibid., p. 57).

ron-rṅu: The reading is uncertain. Perhaps the meaning may be soldiers with an officer: with *ron-rṅu* (if correct) cf. *ce-rṅu* or *tsa-rṅu*, *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 563, 571. The genitive *mchis-paḥi* at the end either implies a continuation in another document (which was not unusual) or is like some genitives in Indian inscriptions and means merely that the wooden tablet belonged, or related, to the persons named. The usage is highly natural, and not rare in these documents.

95. M. Tāgh. 0523 (wood; c. 7·5 × 2·5 cm.; broken away at left; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꣾ | : | Par . ban . gsar . gy . . . [2] gyi . tshu . roldan . [*dr*]ogs (tshugs ?) . gcig . . . [3] gyi : sno[n . *sde*(du ?)] . stsald . . .

"Sent to reinforce (*snon-sde* (*du?*)) . . . this side of . . . New Par-ban and . . . one squad."

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Notes

l. 2. *tshugs*: See p. 53 *supra*.

l. 3. *snon*: See p. 65 *supra* and add M.T. *a*, iii, 0034.

96. M. Tāgh. 0497 (paper; c. 18·5 × 9 cm.; fragmentary at right and below; ll. 6 of rather large rough cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠸ | | Naṅ . rje . po . Khri . bże[r] . las . [sts]o[g]s . pa . la . . . [2] daṅ . Khyuṅ . bżer . gyi . mchid . gsol . ba | | naṅ . [rje] . . . [3] thugs . bde . ḥam . myi . bde . mchid . yige . las . g[so] . . . [4] cag . gyaṅ . Par . ban . daṅ . Je[g] . śiṅ . gi . mdo . [tshu*n*] . . . [5] tog . dpon . [*ḥsog*] . . [6] la . śi . . .

"To Home Minister Khri-bżer and the rest: letter-petition of . . . and Khyuṅ-bżer. [*Then after the usual compliments.*] We also . . . . as far as Par-ban and the lower valley of Jeg-śiṅ . . ."

Note

On Jeg-śiṅ see p. 271 *supra*.

(*z*) *Peḥu-mar* (cf. *Peḥu-rtse*).

Mentioned p. 56 *supra*.

97. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 001 (paper, fol. no. 43 in vol.; c. 28 × 13 cm.; rather fragmentary and discoloured; ll. 12 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠸ | | żaṅ . po . Ḫphan . bżre[1] . la . | | Gsas . [*sle*]bs . gy[*i*] . [*mchi*]d . gsol . baḫ . | mchid . gyis . rmasna | thugs . bd[e] . . . [2] | thos . te . bdag . ṅan . pa . yaṅ . smon . pa . las . ma . gal . te : glo . ba . ra[b . tu] . dgaḫ . żi[*ṅ* . m]ch[i]s . | bkaḫ . phrin . daṅ . śul . du . mjal . te . | nan . phabs . [*gli* ?] (phri ?) . . . [3] dbul . bar . bgyis . pa . | ñuṅ . śas . żig . mchispa . [la]s . | . . d . po . la . g-es . par . mchi . kar . phyag . las . g-o . ma . nas . slar . lus . te . . . [4] bdag . kyaṅ . rab . tu . gnoṅ . te . bkaḫ . chad . ḫtshal . . slad . gyis .

[1] Compendious for *bżer*.

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phyogs . gyi . . . . na (cha ?) . bkaḥ . myi . ḥbab . [*b*] . . . . ṅ . ga . cir . [5] mdzad . bdag . . . . . -n . cig . ma . mch[i]s . [par] . [s]ṅa . s[l]ad . -i . . . [*thu*]gs . pag . mdzad . [par] . . . . . bskur . ciṅ [6] mch[i]s . | da . yaṅ . ḥdi . skad . sñan . sñuṅs . gsol . te . [*bkaḥ*] . [*tsh* .] [m]yi . ḥbab . | bdag . kyaṅ . Peḥu . mar . gyi . so . par . mchis . pa . sug . rj[e]d . Li . [g]sum . [7] la . cig . ni . bro . ḥtshal . cig . ni . riṅ . sdod . ḥtshal . . . . ch[i]g . tshal . ma . nod . du . btaṅ . žiṅ . mchisna . Ḥo . ni . dag . du . ḥkhor . bar . rgyur . na . . [8] tshal . brgyags . kyaṅ . gtoṅ . la . thugste . rab . tu . poṅs . śiṅ . mchis . na . ḥdi . žal . ta . tsam . mdzade . -re . yaṅ . [*r*]gyad . daṅ . sgyu . dag . mchis . [9] śe[s . g]daḥ . na . sgyu . ma . śor . bar . spyan . ras . gyi[s] . btsa . žiṅ . [m]noste | lis . ci . theg . pa . . sa (s–a ?) . ma . brtsaṅ . | slad . ma . žaṅ . poḥi . phyag . tu . phyag [10] rgyas . btab . te . bžag . nas . slar . len . par . ḥtshal . na | ḥdi . tsam . žig . spyan . ras . gyis . btsa . bar . thugs . rje . cir . zigs . | ma . | [11] bskyud . gyi . mtshan . ma . sman . sna . gsuṃ . [ži]g . sug . rgyas . btabste . bskur . ba . daṅ . spyan . zigs . ja . tor . gñis . śig . ḥbul . ži[ṅ] [12] mchis . na . bžes . par . ci . gnaṅ . chuṅ [b] . ś[*a*]s . bkaḥ . myi . ḥbab . par . gsol . žiṅ . mchis . |

[1–2] "To Uncle Ḥphan-bžer: letter-petition of Gsas-slebs. [*Then after the usual compliments*] [2–5] Encountering your missive on the way, I made earnest endeavour to deliver . . . only a little having come, and . . . left of the hemp (? *gro-ma*) from the present (*phyag* ?) on the occasion of coming to . . . to . . . I am very much ashamed and ought to be reprimanded. Hereafter, if . . . . , would you do . . . not sending a reprimand. [5–6] I . . . no . . . having come, first and last giving attention to . . . shall be sending. For the present, merely on this occasion asking after your health, may *I* not be reprimanded. [6–9] I also am come to the soldiery (as a soldier ?) of Peḥu-mar. Of the three Khotanīs in the hand-list one is laid up, one is indolent, one, having been sent to get his rations, has (will have ?) to return to Ḥo-ni-dag. Even if he succeeds in getting the food-supplies

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sent, he is quite destitute, and, as he is only acting as a servant, it is possible that . . . and deception may come about. [9–10] In case deception may escape, I have determined to keep my eyes open. What a Khotanī is capable of, the earth has not . . . Later having sent him with a sealed letter to the hand of the Uncle, I beg (you ?) to receive him back. For the moment will you please be so good as to keep your eyes open ? [10–12] As a sign of not having forgotten, I am sending some three medicines with a seal attached, and I am offering as a present two *ja-tor*. Please accept them. I beg you for a little while not to reprimand (me)."

Notes

l. 6. *sug-rjed* : "hand-list" recurs in M.T. 0193.

l. 7. *Ḥo-ni-dag* : This seems to be a dual or plural of *Ḥo-ni*, which in that case would be double. Or can the meaning be "the Ho-ni people" ?

l. 8. *-re-(yaṅ-)rgyad* : This might perhaps be for *ḥdre-(yaṅ-)brgyad* "eight devils". One of the documents (M.I. xiv, 002) uses the phrase "a *ḥdre* is in my mind", meaning "I am depressed".

l. 9. *lis-ci-theg* : Some proverb disrespectful to the native Khotanīs is perhaps intended.

spyan-ras-gyis-btsa : The phrase recurs in l. 10 and pp. 258, 274.

l. 11. *ja-tor* : Is this = *ja-phor* "tea-cup" ?

(*aa*) *Rgya-ḥdrug-ḥdul.*

This seems to be a place-name *infra*, pp. 282–3.

(*bb*) *Roṅ-liṅs.*

This seems to be a place-name in ——

98. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0060 (wood ; c. 13 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at left ; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

𑖌 | : | Ḥbro : ḥi | Roṅ . liṅs . yul . bzuṅ |

"Roṅ-liṅs in Ḥbro taken."

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Note

Ḥbro: In N.E. Tibet; recurs in *Bstan-ḥgyur* colophons.

(*cc*) *Sam-cha.*

Mentioned p. 256 *supra* and pp. 272–3 *infra.*

99. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0022 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; several notches *recto*; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; a different hand *recto* l. 2 and *verso*).

[A 1] ꣿ | . | Bsam . cha . Mdo . gchod | [A 2] ḥ[bu]l

[B 1] ꣿ | | Mṅal . ḥpan . gi . sde . rag [B 2] Ḥpan . rogs . gyis . pye . bre . do . bs[*ts*]is . ba . slad . gis.

"[To] Mdo-gchod of Bsam-cha: offered. By *rag* Ḥphan-rogs of the Mṅal-ḥp[h]an regiment, two *bre* of flour, after the census."

Notes

B 1. *Mṅal-ḥpan-gi-sde*: This might be the "sick-assisting regiment": see *supra*, p. 94.

In another document also (M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0098) *Bsam-cha* is used as a surname.

(*dd*) *Śel-than.*

Mentioned p. 71 *supra.*

(*ee*) *Snaṅ-hu-ḥa.*

This is described as a townlet (*mkhar-bu*).

100. M. Tāgh. ii, 1 (wood; c. 13·5 × 2 cm.; broken away at top left; l. 1 (+ lower part of another) *recto* + 1 (+ upper part of another) *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . . . .

[A 2] . . . [*la*] . | | gros . mṅan . gi . ḥbaṅs . Kho . lho

[B 1] . . n . Snaṅ . [hu] . ḥa . mkar : bu . na . | Bod . bži . tshugs [B 2] . . . [ḥ] . [bar . tse . s-ir . tsh-gs . po-.]

"To . . . Kho-lho, servant of the authorities in council.

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. . . In the townlet Snaṅ-hu-ḫa two Tibetans, . . . squad . . . in . . . bar-tse-s-i sergeaunt."

The same place may be mentioned below, pp. 282–3.

(*ff*) *Sta-gu* and *Ta-gu*.

Some references to this place, which was a *khrom* "mart", have been given in *JRAS*. 1928, p. 589, and Ta-gu, which is, no doubt, the same, has occurred pp. 57–8 *supra*. The fact that the place is mentioned in documents both from Mīrān, where it is definitely brought into connection with Tshal-byi, and from Mazār Tāgh suggests that it lay on the confines of the two administrations, and it seems likely that it was somewhere in the valley of the Cer-cen river.

101. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 002 (wooden stick; *c*, 39 × 1 × 1·5; nearly complete; ll. 1 [A] + 1 [B] + 1 [C] + 1 + 2 [D] of square *dbu-can* script, two sizes).

[C] . . . zla . Khyi : tsa : ṅan : rj^{e}e : pho : Stagu : gaṅs : gram : mkhan : zeḫu.

"Friend Khyi-tsa, . . . *żehu* of Sta-gu *gaṅs* bank (?)."

102. M. Tāgh. 0491 (paper; c. 7 × 10 cm.; fragmentary at right; ll. 4 of ordinary square *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꣸ | : | żaṅ . cig . Stag . gu . -i . . [2] ḫam . myi . bde . mchid . yi . . . . [3] stsal . par . ci . g . . . [4] mtho . dbu . rmog . . .

This is sent to a councillor in Sta-gu with compliments and good wishes.

103. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0017 (wood, curved; c. 16 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of rather square *dbu-can* script, blurred).

[A] ꣸ | : | Li . Śirdad | Stags : gur . ri . zug | [B] . . . -u . ru . chog . . .

"Khotānī Śir-dad is in Sta-gu with mountain sickness . . ."

(*gg*) *Ta-ha*.

The existence of a place so named appears from the following

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documents, one of which associates it with [Ho-toṅ] Gyu-mo and Par-ban.

104. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0065 (paper, fol. no. 52 in volume; c. 14 × 7 cm.; fragmentary at right; ll. 4 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | | Ta . ha : naẖ | Sna : nam . Zla . bz̀re[1] | ri . zug | Tshu . . . [2] Snaṅ . luṅ . rtse . naẖ | Khyuṅ . po . Myes . skyes : ri : zug . . . [3] Liṅ . sked . chad . naẖ | Gz̀e . ma : Sman : lod : ri : zug | Ḫbog . . . [4] Drugu . ẖjor : naẖ | Po . si : -o | : Pyi : slebs : ri : zug | | . . .

" In Ta-ha the Samarkandī Zla-bz̀er, *ri-zug*. In Tshu . . . In Snaṅ-luṅ-rtse Khyuṅ-po Myes-skyes *ri-zug*. . . . In Liṅ-sked-chad Gz̀e-ma Sman-lod, *ri-zug*. In Ḫbog . . . In the Dru-gu *ẖjor* Po-si-o Phyi-slebs *ri-zug*."

Notes

On *ri-zug* " mountain-sick " (?) see *supra*, pp. 84, 258; on Snaṅ-luṅ-rtse, p. 263; on Liṅ-sked-chad, p. 271; on the Dru-gu *ẖjor*, p. 56; on Sna-nam, p. 291 *infra*; on *Khyuṅ-po*, p. 93 *supra*.

Tshu . . . is, no doubt, part of a name: *Ḫbog* . . . is very likely the *Ḫbog-la-tham* of p. 282–3 *infra*.

Sman-lod, in virtue of the syllable *lod*, should probably be a woman, and the name Gz̀e-ma reinforces the probability (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 582).

105. M. Tāgh. 0064 (wood; c. 12·5 × 1·5 cm.; complete; l. 1 *recto* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; some traces of erased writing *verso*).

[A] ༄ | . | Ta . haẖ |

106. M. Tāgh. 0524 (wood; c. 16 × ·75 × 1 cm.; fragmentary at left; l. 1 of ordinary, square *dbu-can* script, in 3 compartments; 5 notches in B).

༄ | Ta ha | Gyumo : tshugs : ñis | Par : ban | | | | |

" Ta-ha | Gyu-mo, two squads | Par-ban."

[1] Compendious for *bz̀er*.

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When publishing this document in Sir A. Stein's *Innermost Asia* (p. 1085), I had not realized that both *Ta-ha* and *Par-ban* were certainly place-names, and hence the document was declared "unintelligible". The other occurrences suffice to make all clear.

On Par-ban and Gyu-mo see *supra*, pp. 90 sqq., 264–6.

(*hh*) *Tshe̲hu-cag.*

107. M. Tāgh. 007 (wooden tally; c. 9 × 1·5 cm.; slightly broken away; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 5 notches or lines *recto*, 3 *verso*).

ཨ | . | Tshe̲hu . chag . |

108. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0033 (wood; c. 9 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

Tshe̲hu . cagi . so . pa̲h

"Soldier of Tshe̲hu-cag."

Under the variant form *Rtse̲hu-cag* this name has occurred *supra*, p. 93, and with the above spelling, p. 256 (M. Tāgh. 0615).

(*ii*) *Yol-ba-ri* ("the Yol-ba hill").

The name may retain a memory of Yol (Yeula), the early king of Khotan (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 237). It is associated with H̲bu-śaṅ.

109. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0027 (wood; c. 25/1 × 1 cm.; fragmentary right and left, one side (D) broken away for purposes of a tally (?) and showing 6 notches, C also showing a number of independent notches; A, ll. 2 (one compartment), B, l. 1, (6 compartments) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; C, l. 1 of a strange script, apparently a derivative of Brāhmī).

[A] [1] sde . rjes . bre . bdun . kyaṅ . [A 2] h̲tshald (*also independently*) [1] brgyags : [2] h̲tshald.

[B] | : lyiṅ : | H̲bog . la . tham | Rgya : drug . h̲dul | Yol : ba : ri | Sam : cha̲h | [S]na[ṅ] . -u . -ya . (-gya, -gra ?).

[C] *Illegible.*

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The four compartments probably contain only place-names, although the third name "China- and Drug-taming" or "Six-Chinese-taming" would be more appropriate to a regiment—perhaps it is the name of a hill-station (*rtse*).

Lyiṅ may have something to do with *Liṅ-sked-chad*, while *Sam-cha* certainly, and perhaps *Ḥbog-la-tham* and *Snaṅ--u--ya* (*Snaṅ-hu-ḫa*), have been noted above (see pp. 279–281).

110. Khad. 052 (paper, originally folded in a long slip, like a modern Tibetan letter; complete; ll. 6 *recto* + 6 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, exceedingly faint).

(A for the most part illegible—a different document.)

[B 1] . . m | rta . gi . loḫi . dpyid . sla . ra . baḫi . ṅo . la | so . btsas . de . Ḫbu . žaṅ . Yol . ba . ri . ḫi . byan . g-yog . Li : naṅ . g[l]eg [B 2] ḫi . Li . Su . dad . ces . kyi . lan . ma[ṅ] . mo . žig . snogs (sphrogs ?) . de | Li . phuṅ . du . chad . pas . dgum . žes . bgyis . na . khon . ḫi . tshe [B 3] nas . kyaṅ . dgum . ri . zu . du . yaṅ . gžag . ces . bgyis . na | tshug . pon . las . bsogs . de . rog . po . cha . gsum . la . doṅ . tse . bži . s[t]oṅ . lña . rgya [B 4] so . rog . bskaṅ . sña . rold . mo . d[ṅo]s-e . . so . . ru . cha . . . dbul . bar . bgyis . de . [*der*] . ḫam . gyu . bgyisna . . [B 5] gcig . las . gñisu . bsgyur . ba . [*ra*]d . gos . yan . chad . phrogs . de . rgya[b] . chad . gyis . gyaṅ . chad . la . ri . zu . du . yaṅ . gžag . par . bgyis . [B 6] paḫi . dpaṅ . laḫ | tshugs . skyu . daṅ . gñis [*gya* | *gya* | *gya*] [la] s . bsogs . pa . ḫi . dpaṅ . rgyas . bthad.

[B 1–2] "At the beginning of the first spring month of the Horse year, on examining the soldiers, a Khotanī *gleg*, named Su-dad, one of the Khotanīs serving as cooks in Yol-ba-ri in Ḫbu-žaṅ, having many times caused annoyance(?), it was decided that he should be put to death in the Khotanī troop. [B 2–4] It being decided that even after his death (though he must die ?) he should be put in the *ri-zu*, his comrades, the sergeaunt and so forth, three parties, agreed to pay one thousand five hundred *doṅ-tse* as ransom of their comrade, the first quota at once (?) . . . [B 4–5] In case the parties prove tricky, for each [*doṅ-tse*] two shall be substituted,

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and they may be deprived of everything down to their travel-clothes and punished as far as flogging and also put in the *ri-zu*. [B 6] In witness whereof the signatures of the squad-leader and the two . . . and the rest are appended."

Notes

This is one of the not infrequent cases where we have mention of punishment or execution of Khotanīs by the Tibetan authorities; cf. *supra*, p. 49. They show that the Tibetan control was sternly maintained.

B 1. *byan-g-yog*: The phrase is found also in M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0059, "cook-service," and M.I. xiv, 124, 0070.

l. 3. *ri-zu*: Sense uncertain. Is it "torture" or "prison", of "left in the mountains"? Recurs in *c*, iv, 0038.

doṅ-tse: A frequently named coin.

gyu: Usually *gya-gyu* "trickery"; cf. *sgyu* "deceit".

111. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00131 (paper fragment, fol. no. 21 in vol.; c. 15 × 6 cm.; ll. 5 of clear *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . tshuṅs . tshes . ñi . śu . la | chab . rgyud . ched . poḥi . so . pa . bthus . te | dgun . sla . . . [2] . . daṅ . | Stag . Klu . bžer . daṅ . | blon . Mtsho . bzaṅ . gis . | so . bskos . nas . | m . . . [3] . . gs . chig . daṅ . | rṅa . dkog . ñul . tshugs . bži . ni . so . byaṅ . gi . . . [4] . . *Mtsho* . bzaṅ . Śiṅ . śan . du . mchis . nas . | rṅa . s-o . . . [5] . . śaṅ . Yol . ba . ri . . .

[1] ". . . on the 20th day of the last . . . . the soldiers of the great government having been called up, in the winter month . . . [2] . . . and Stag Klu-bžer and Councillor Mtsho-bzaṅ having made the levy of soldiers . . . [3] . . . one *company* and of secret camel spies four companies. Of the soldier missive . . . [4] . . . Mtsho-bzaṅ having come to Śiṅ-śan, the camel . . . [5] . . . *Ḥbu*-śaṅ, the hill Yol-ba."

Notes

l. 4. *so-byaṅ*: See *supra*, p. 84, and *infra*, p. 292.

l. 5. . . *śaṅ-Yol-ba-ri*: This is, no doubt, *Ḥbu-śaṅ*, on which see *supra*, pp. 269–70.

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We have the impression that the Yol-ba hill and Ḫbu-śaṅ belong to the hills of which Śiṅ-śan is the most easterly part, abutting on the Khotan river.

(*jj*) *Zugs-ṅam.*

On this place see *supra*, pp. 86, 248.

VI. Places or States adjacent to, or connected with, the Khotan Region

(*a*) *Bru-ża.*

Assuming that it was proved in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 258–9, that the name *Bru-ża* was originally attached to a part of the Khotan territory, it may still be a question what the term denoted in later times. In the Tibetan chronicle we have the following notices :—

112. *Chronicle, ll.* 223–4 ; *year* 66 (Ox) = A.D. 737 :

blon . Skyes . bzaṅ . Ldoṅ . tsab . gyis | Bru . ża . yul . tu . draṅs | dgun . pho . braṅ . Brag . mar . na . bżugs . te | Bru . żaḫi . rgyal : po : phab . ste . phyag . ḫtshald |

" Councillor Skyes-bzaṅ Ldoṅ-tsab having marched into the Bru-ża country, in the winter, when (the Tibetan king) was residing in the palace at Brag-mar, the Bru-ża king was reduced and sent homage."

113. *Chronicle, ll.* 230–1 ; *year* 69 (Dragon) = A.D. 740 :

Btsan . po . chen . po : po . braṅ | dbyard . Mtshar . bu : snaḫi . Ṅaṅ . mo : gliṅ . na . bżugste | je . ba : Khri . ma . lod . Bru . ża . rje . la . bag . mar . btaṅ |

" The Btsan-po being resident in his palace in Ṅaṅ-mo-gliṅ of Mtshar-bu-sna during the summer, the princess (*je-ba* ?) Khri-ma-lod was sent to be wife to the Bru-ża king."

The facts made known from Chinese sources by Chavannes (*Documents*, pp. 149 sqq.), and summarized in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 6–7, especially the marriage with a Tibetan princess, make it plain that the above quotations relate to " Little P'olü " or Gilgit. The slight difference, if any, in date may

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be explained on another occasion. But this circumstance does not in the least invalidate the definite evidence of the Khotan chronicle attributing the name *Bru-so-lo-ña* (= Bru-żal) to a part (at least) of the Khotan territory, namely that in which were Mdo-lo and Me-skar. In that district is Polu, through which passes one route to the great north-western Tibetan plain, the Byaṅ-thaṅ ; and the name reminds us of the Chinese *P'olü* and the *Paloyo*, which Sir Aurel Stein reports as applied by the Dards of Gilgit to the people of Baltistan. This may be remembered in support of the other indications previously (*Asia Major*, pp. 25, 270 ; *Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 73) cited in favour of some early ethnic connection between populations of Western Tibet and of Khotan.

(*b*) Gliṅ-riṅs ("Long Meadow"), Gliṅ-riṅs-tshal ("Long-Meadow Wood"), Gliṅ-riṅs-smug-po-tshal ("Long-Meadow-Bamboo (Reed ? Cane ?) Wood").

A reference to a Gliṅ-riṅs has been quoted *supra* (p. 84). Such a name might occur anywhere in Tibetan territory ; but the additional terms *tshal* "wood" and *smug-po-tshal* "Bamboo (*or* Reed *or* Cane) Wood" justify us in identifying the place so named with the Gliṅ-riṅs-tshal mentioned previously (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 816), as noticed in the Tibetan chronicle (ll. 59, 101) and in a document from Mīrān. It belonged to the district of Skyi, which must have been a region of northern Tibet communicating with Mīrān and, as we see, also with Khotan. In spite of its not belonging to the latter country the number of references to it, suggesting that it was a centre for relations with Khotan (*via* Cer-cen or Polu ?), no doubt justify a citation of some or most of them here.

114. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0041 (wood ; c. 17 × 3 cm. ; complete ; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and rubbed).

[A 1] ꠸ | | Stag . btsan . daṅ . Mdo . btsan . . .

[A 2] [*Gyu*] l . st[ag . sog]s . baḥ . la : | . . .

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[A 3] l . baḥ . phyogs . su . [th]ugs . [bde] . . .
ཨ | |

[B 1] yi . ge . las . sñun . gsol . žiṅ . mchis . Gliṅ . [riṅs]. [B 2] gi . Li . la . nas . bre . gaṅ . skur . ḥam . ma . skur. [B 3] | Stag . rtsan . gi . Ma[n] . žu . stagi . sbul . *sbur* . tsir . s . . .

" Petition of . . . to Stag-btsan and Mdo-btsan, [*Gyu*]l-stag and the rest. [*Then after the usual compliments.*] To the Khotanīs of Gliṅ-riṅs has a full *bre* of barley been sent or not ? Offering of Man-žu Stag of Stag-rtsan [regiment]. . . ."

Notes

l. A 3. *phyogs-su* : This phrase, which recurs, means " on [your] side ", " on [your] part ".

l. B 3. *sbur-tsir* : " chaff and millet " ?

115. M. Tāgh. 006 (wood ; c. 11 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at left ; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ | : | Gliṅ . riṅs . smug | [2] po . tshal.

Similar are M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0045 (notches *recto*) and 0017 (8 notches or lines *recto*) ; also 0016, which, however, omits *tshal.*

116. M. Tāgh. 0151 (wood ; c. 15·5 × 1 cm. ; complete l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

ཨ | | Gliṅ . riṅsu . gśen . Ḥphan . legs . la.

" In Gliṅ-riṅs to the *gśen* Ḥphan-legs."

Gśen, as a personal or official designation, occurs also in M. Tāgh. 0266 and *a*, iii, 0026.

117. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0013 (wood ; c. 21 × 3 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ཨ | | Gliṅ . riṅs . smug . po . tshal . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gñis . la | Bzaṅ . Ḥo[rd . gyi . sde] [2] Mñan . Ji . hu . tshugs . phon | Laṅ . myi . ḥi . sde . Dbyild . [Chas] . legs . ḥog | . -g

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" In Gliṅ-riṅs-smug-po-tshal two Tibetans, two Khotanīs, namely, Mñaṅ Ji-hu, of the Bzaṅ-Ḫor regiment, sergeaunt, Dbyild Chas-legs, of the Laṅ-myi regiment, corporal, . . ."

Notes

The two regiments, Bzaṅ-Ḫor and Laṅ-myi, are mentioned elsewhere ; they will be noted again subsequently.

l. 2. *tshugs-phon* and *ḫog-phon* : See *supra*, p. 53.

(*c*) *G-yar-skyaṅ*.

The *G-yar-skyaṅ* regiment is mentioned on p. 53 *supra*, and in M. Tāgh. 0280 (*Innermost Asia*, p. 1085) we have a *Yar-skyeṅ* regiment and in 0544 one named *Yar-skyaṅ*. The three are, no doubt, identical and designate a Tibetan force raised in, or serving in, Yarkand.

(*d*) *Kha-ga-pan*.

The single document being addressed to a *khri* " throne " or " dīvān ", the place named will have been an independent, or quasi-independent, state. The only state that can come into question is that which in old writings, Kharoṣṭhī, Chinese, Tibetan, and Buddhist Sanskrit, is cited as Cugapan, Cugopa, Cakoka, Che-chü-chia, Chu-chü-po, Chu-chü-pan, Bcu-gon-pan, and the inhabitants of which are by the Chinese designated *Tzu-ho* (see Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 89–93, 582 ; M. Sylvain Lévi in *BEFE-O*, v, pp. 255–6, 263, 267 ; notes in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, vi, pp. 184–5 ; *Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 47, and the sources cited in those connections). The syllable *pam*, which probably means " road ", recurs in the old name (*Kilpam* or *Gilpam*) of Kilian, lying more or less in the same region west of Khotan. The place having been shown by Sir A. Stein to be identical with the modern Karghalik, it seems likely that in the name *Kha-ga-pan* we have in fact the oldest form of that designation, which may have resulted merely from an addition of the Turkish suffix *lik* to the *Kha-ga* apparently seen in the document. As

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regards the difference between *Kha-ga* and *Kargha* (if the latter spelling is fully authorized), neither the *r* (see the remarks in *Asia Major*, ii, p. 262) nor the variation of the aspirates need trouble us in our documents.

It seems quite possible that another form of the name *Cu-gon-pan* is recorded in the Tibetan chronicle, which relates (l. 72) that in the year 26 (Bird) = A.D. 697

Ce . dog . pan . gyi . p[h]o . ña . phyag . ḫtsald |

"An envoy of Ce-dog-pan did homage."

The date is not unsuitable, and the name needs only a transference of a vowel mark in order to become *Ce-dgo-pan*, which would be a fair approximation for the Tibetans in their early acquaintance with Karghalik. Also, if not Karghalik, what country is denoted? In a Mīrān document (a paper fragment M.I. vii, 83*a*) the form *Cu-chu-paṃ* seems to occur, unfortunately without further information.

118. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 00104 (paper, fol. no. 39 in vol., fragmentary at right and at bottom; c. 25·5 × 15 cm.; ll. 11 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꠸ | : | Kha . ga . pan . khri . la | | Rmaṅ . rogs . gyi . mchid . g . . . [2] . m[chi]d . kyis . rmas . na . thugs . bde . žes . thos . | te . glo . ba . rab . tu . dgaḫ . žiṅ . mchis | | g . . . [3] baḫi . slad . nas . | | naḫ . niṅ . kha . chag . gis . kha . phyar| bth[*oste*] | Še . ḫo . [ḫ (?) d]as . zur . nas | bdag . [gi] . . . [4] dbon . ma . gchig . bgyis | | Gñag . yul . du . yaṅ . tsha . bo . ḫi . tshe (?) | lo . . daṅ . lo . gro . yu . gi . . . [5] go . skyes . gza . bran . gñis | khyim . puṅ . du : ṅog . paḫi : sriṅ . ba . daṅ . . . rta . bab . paḫ . . . [6] myi . blas . bab . ste | las . ḫdi . rnams . | daṅ . ḫdom | ste . mchi . . m . . . . śad . mar . . . [7] pa . daṅ . bgyis . pa | daṅ . | jo . mo . pas . žal . mch[u]s . rgal . ste | dmar . sraṅ . gsum . . . [8] paṅs . kyi . slad . nas | bdag . la : žal . mchu . chig . . . mchis| | rta . seru . ḫi . slad . nas . . . [9] ris . chibs . mchis . pa . skad . bgyis . nas . | deḫi . slad . nas . kyaṅ . bdag . chag : nor . ḫjald | gže . ni . m . . . [10] su . žaṅ . |

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Rgyal . bżre[1] . gi . ḫbaṅs | Me . nu . Ña . gzigs . kyis | | gla . żo . bdun . chags . paḫ . Kha . ga . daṅ . chu . . . [11] gi . rgya . byuṅ . nas | Dmu . mur . du . bsgugs . nas | żo . bdun . las | bcu . bżir . bsgyurd . nas | phrog[s] . . .

" To the Kha-ga-pan dīvān : letter-*petition* of Rmaṅ-rogs—[*then after the usual compliments.*] Last year having heard of slanders by abusive persons, I retired to Śe-ḫo. Then in my . . . a grand-daughter was born. Also in the Gñag country it was the . . . birthday of my grandson and presents of . . . pieces of satin with unavoidable detainment in the families of the two wives, and . . . . a horse fell . . . man fell off. Preoccupied by these affairs I made . . . and, the lady having made a complaint against me, I lost three *sraṅ* of copper. Then a . . . complaint was made against me : it was stated that after the rotten (*seru*) horse there had come a riding horse. So then again I paid money. The year before last in . . . a servant of Uncle (*żaṅ*) Rgyal-bżer, Ña-zigs of Me-nu, whose wages were agreed at seven *żo*, after the Kha-ga and . . . . , waited in Dmu-mu, and from seven *żo* it become fourteen. Seizing . . ."

Notes

l. 1. *Rmaṅ-rogs* : As suggested above (p. 73), this is one of the cases where a doubt exists as to whether we are dealing with a proper name or a professional designation. *Rmaṅ-rogs* means, no doubt, a " horse-attendant ", and the drawing of horses published by Sir Aurel Stein in *Innermost Asia*, plate vii, has a Tibetan dedication by a person so named. Hence the likelihood is that in this document also, which relates to such a person, the phrase denotes his occupation. It occurs also in M.I. 0054 : in M.T. *a*, ii, 0097, *rta-rogs*.

l. 3. *Śe-ḫo : ?* = *Si-ho*, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 215.

l. 4. *Gñag* : This also has not been traced, since we can hardly think of Gñag " a place in Tibet ".

lo-gro : This may = *gro-lo-ma* " a kind of satin ".

[1] Compendious for *bżer*.

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l. 5. [*s*]*go-skyes*: A special present.

l. 7. *żal-mchu*: See *supra*, p. 70.

l. 8. *seru*: This seems to be = *ser-ru* "rotten". It is used of "sheep" in M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00128.

l. 10. *Me-nu*: A place-name; see *supra*, p. 272.

Kha-ga: Apparently = people of Kha-ga-pan.

l. 11. *Dmu-mu*: Noted *supra*, p. 267.

(*e*) *Sna-nam*.

Mentioned p. 281 *supra*.

Sna-nam is the ordinary Tibetan name for Samarkand, and there seems no objection to its being mentioned in a document belonging to a time when the Tibetans were co-operating with the Arabs and had during over a century been in relations with the Turks. The person in question has a good Tibetan name, *Zla-bżer*, so that he would have to be a Tibetan belonging to Samarkand; and the occurrence of the phrase *sna-rnam* (p. 254 *supra*) in another sense suggests that the surname *Sna-nam* is without geographical reference.

(*f*) *Su-lig* (= Kashgar).

This well-known, ancient, designation of Kashgar occurs in the Tibetan accounts of Khotan (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 52; *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee . . . Jubilee Volume*, iii, pp. 38, 45, 49) and probably also in the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 661.

119. M. Tāgh. *c*, 0028 (paper, fol. no. 51 in vol.; c. 9·5 × 21 cm.; ll. 7 *recto* + 7 *verso* (a different hand) of ordinary *dbu-can* script; *recto* faint).

A [1] . . . Bzu . ru . ḫi . mchid . gsol . baḫ | . . .
[2] . . . braṅ | yaṅ . Śu . lig . nas | dgu[n . sl] . . .
[3] . . . po . du . Bu . lod . Stoṅ . chuṅ . Koṅ . sle[*b*] . . .
[4] . . . hb-i- . se (mo ?) . ña . tsam . na . Ḫu . te . du . pyin . . .
[5] . . . [*ni* . *ma*] . ku-s . Ḫpan . le[gs] . . .
[6] . . . rta . po . la . s[*la*]d . du . yaṅ . na . ni . m . . .
[7] . . . [t]ab . ste . Legs . tsan . la . bsku . ba . lagso.

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B [1] ༄ | . | jo : cho : Stag : bż̀re [1] : l . . .
[2] ma : la | so : rims . kyaṅ . chu . . .
[3] de : slan : chad : kyaṅ : so : byaṅ . chu . ñu (?) . . .
[4] bdagi : so : skal : ẖ[b]ab . pha . . .
[5] de : bż̀in : gż̀ag : phaṅ . gslo [2] : | so . . .
[6] na . yaṅ . zor . ba . bdagi : byeẖu : yog . . . .
[7] chig | |

These two separate letters are too fragmentary for translation, though most of the words and phrases are familiar and have been noted above (e.g. *so-byaṅ*, *so-rims* = *so-res*). The first, a letter from a person named Bzu-ru, speaks of going from Śu(Su)-lig (= Kashgar) and arriving at H̱u-te (= Khotan).

VII. Personal Names of Khotanī People

Most of the personal names occurring in the documents are either Tibetan or names of persons belonging to quasi-Tibetan peoples (*Sum-pa*, *H̱a-ż̀a*, and so forth) of the Tibeto-Chinese regions and in Tibetan service. The provenance of the documents, which were nearly all excavated in or near the Tibetan fort at Mazār-Tāgh, accounts sufficiently for this fact. That the Tibetans had not displaced the native Khotan rulers, but were content to hold the military control of the country, is evident from the above quoted references to the *Li-rje*, or Khotan king. The matter of the documents is also largely military.

Naturally, however, there was multifarious intercourse with the native Khotanīs, and names of such persons were sure to occur. Since the Tibetan names are easily recognizable, more especially in the light of the experience gathered from Mīrān and elsewhere, the non-Tibetan names might with a fair probability have been discriminated as belonging to Khotanī people. But the writers of the documents have placed us in a still more favourable position. The discrimination between Tibetan and Khotanī was in their curcumstances

[1] Compendious for *bż̀er*.
[2] Compendious for *gsol*.

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naturally an explicit one; and in mentioning a Khotanī person they usually show his nationality by prefixing the word *Li* "Khotan" or "Khotanī". The following names are in that way guaranteed as Khotanī :—

Bat-nag (*a*, iv, 00121).
Bu(Cu)-de (0513).
Bu-god (*a*, iii, 0062).
Bu-h̲ñog-dag (*b*, i, 0038).
Bun-dar-ma (*b*, i, 0048).
Bu-ñe (ño ? ñi ?)-dag (Domoko 0168).
Bu-ñon (*a*, ii, 0096).
Bẏi — (*a*, i, 0036).
Byi-de (0184 ; *a*, i, 0036 ; *a*, vi, 0063).
Cam-po-la (*b*, ii, 0096).
Ceh̲u-h̲do (*b*, i, 0095).
Chu — (*a*, i, 0036).
Cu(Bu)-de (0513).
De-de (*b*, ii, 0054).
Gi-chog (*a*, iv, 0074).
Gos-de (*a*, iii, 0012).
Gu-dag (*a*, ii, 0096 ; *a*, iii, 0074).
Gu-de (0503).
Gu-h̲dag (H. 2).
Gu-jo (dze ?) (*b*, i, 0048).
H̲dzas (*a*, iii, 001).
Hi — (*a*, iv, 0010).
Hir-bod (*a*, iii, 0012).
Ho(Rho ?)-że (śe ?) (*a*, ii, 0096).
'I-h̲duh̲ (*a*, ii, 0018).
'In-dad (*a*, vi, 0057).
Khrom-śe-dad (*b*, i, 0048).
Khu-le (*a*, iii, 0074).
Ko-h̲ag (h̲eg ?) (*a*, ii, 0096).
Ko-śe (*a*, ii, 0096).
Ku-chi-śi (*b*, i, 0090).
Ku-żu (*a*, i, 0036).

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Meg(Rmag ?)-sur (*a*, ii, 0096).
Nob-żo (*a*, v, 005).
Phu-sgra (*a*, i, 0036).
Phu(Pu)-de (0492 ; *b*, ii, 0054).
Pu-god (*a*, iii, 0043).
Rdz — (*c*, ii, 0011).
Śa — (*a*, iv, 0074).
Sa-bdad (*c*, i, 0050).
Sam-rba (*b*, i, 0048).
Saṅ (0586).
Saṅ-ga(e ?) (0492).
Saṅ-ge (0503).
Saṅ-ge-sur (*a*, iv, 0081).
Śa-rag (*b*, i, 0062).
Sar-dad (*b*, i, 0051).
Sar-rṅoṅ (*b*, i, 0070).
Sar-żon (*a*, ii, 0096).
Seṅ-ge-lag (0336).
Sen-ḫdo (*c*, iv, 0021).
Śin-de (*b*, ii, 0054).
Śi-nir (*a*, i, 0036).
Śir-dad (*b*, ii, 0017 ; *c*, ii, 0017).
Śir-de (*a*, iii, 001 ; *a*, iii, 0012 ; *b*, i, 0048).
Śir-ḫdo (*a*, iii, 0043).
Śi-rhaṅ-za (*b*, 00103).
Śi-ri-bad (*a*, vi, 007).
Su-de (0586).
Sur-de (0287).
'Um-de (*a*, ii, 0096).
'Usag-hven (*c*, i, 0042).
Wi — (0492).
Wi-ne-sa (*a*, iii, 0074 ; cf. -de-sa, 0492).
Ye-ye (*a*, i, 0036).

[The Amacas *Sen-ḫdo*, *Śi-bir* (*sic*) and *Śir-de* mentioned above (pp. 72–4) and the Amaca *Vi-dad* of the Khotan chronicle (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 582) have names obviously

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belonging to the above types. We may also mention a certain *Na-mo-bud* (M. Tāgh. 0512) and a councillor *Na-mo-sa* (*a*, iii, 0034), clearly Khotanīs. The Amaca *Khe-meg* may possibly have been a Chinaman.]

In this list we observe certain recurrent final, or second, members, such as *de* (12 times), *dag* (4 times), *ḫdo* (3 times), *dad* (5 times), *sur* (twice), *ge* (3 times); and the general system, composition of two monosyllables, is quite clear.

It is important to note the correspondences of this nomenclature with evidence derived from other sources. Thus from the Tibetan works I have quoted in the above cited article the names *Phrom-ge-sar* (cf. *Meg-sur* and *Saṅ-ge-sur* above), *Brese Stu-lag* (cf. *Seṅ-ge-lag* and *Śa-rag* above), *Na-mo-ḫbod* (cf. *Hir-bod* above), *'A-ba-ya-rdad* (cf. *'In-dad*, *Khrom-śe-dad*, *Sa-bdad*, *Sar-dad*, *Śir-dad* above). The monosyllabic names *Ḫdzas* and *Saṅ* may be set by the side of the *Ḫjes* and *Ḫji* of the Tibetan works (pp. 252 and 270 of the article). To *Ḫdaḫ-no-ya* and *Za-ro* of the Tibetan works I have as yet no parallel. *Wi-ne-sa* and *Cam-po-la* have many correspondences among the "Names of Places and Persons in Ancient Khotan" discussed in *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, pp. 48–73, names which in consequence of the new light upon the attribution of the kings mentioned in Kharoṣṭhī documents (see *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* . . . . Part III, transcribed and edited by E. J. Rapson and P. S. Noble, pp. 323–5) must now be connected for the most part not with the Khotan kingdom proper, but with the adjacent, and no doubt cognate, people of Shan-shan. The Khotanī names appertain to a date about five centuries later, and, no doubt, to a partly different system.

Again, in a document edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 402–3, we have mention of Khotanī (*Li*) persons with the names *Suḫe-sa Tsadzūgo*, *Gu-tsag*, *Sur-dad*, *Maṅ-bod*, which present obvious analogies or correspondences with those cited above.

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It would be unlikely that in so considerable a list of names of natives of Khotan there should be none of foreign origin, more especially when we remember that the Iranian language, which has been designated variously Tokhārī B, Khotanī, and Saka, had been known in Khotan from at least about A.D. 600 (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 271), while an Indian Prākrit and the Chinese had been familiar from a much earlier period, perhaps from the very foundation of the city. The name *Ku-chi-śi* bears a resemblance to *Śer-the-śi* and *Ka-the-śi*, which in the Khotan chronicle (see Sir A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, p. 582) are given as names of Chinese ministers. Concerning the *'A-ba-ya-rdad* of the same chronicle I formerly suspected that the syllable *rdad* might really represent an Iranian *dāta* " given ", in which case a corresponding suspicion might attach to the occurrences of *dad* in the above list. But clearly an Indian derivation (from Sanskrit *datta*) would be more probable, since the first part of the name, if not local, would be the Sanskrit word *Abhaya*, giving a plausible Sanskrit name *Abhayadatta*: moreover, we have in non-Tibetan documents a number of names in *datti* which necessitate the same conclusion. The same documents show also Sanskritic names of monks, such as *Puñade*, which suggest that the terminal syllable *de* may really be derived from Sanskrit *deva*; but this point may be left for a later determination.

If we add to some of the names a final *-a*, which is likely to have been lost in the course of five centuries, we shall arrive at forms similar to those elicited from the Kharoṣṭhī documents. Thus—

*Bu-go-ta (for Bu-god)
*Hir-bo-ta (for Hir-bod)
*Pu-go-ta (for Pu-god)
*Sar-žo-na (for Sar-žon)
*Seṅ-ge-la-ga (for Seṅ-ge-lag)

are of a type amply represented in those documents (see the above cited article). To follow up such a suggestion would, however, be inappropriate in the present connection, where we are concerned almost exclusively with a record of facts.

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VIII. The Khotan Language.

The previously (*Asia Major*, vol. ii (1825), pp. 251–71) stated conclusion that the native language of Khotan was a monosyllabic speech of the Tibeto-Burman type was based upon the evidence of names found in the accounts of Khotan (*Li-yul*) contained in four texts preserved in the Tibetan *Bstan-ḥgyur*. We may now point to the further evidence furnished by these new documents of the eighth century A.D., brought by Sir Aurel Stein from Mazār-Tāgh. The nomenclature of places (pp. 61–3) and persons (pp. 293–6) is clearly of the same type as that previously elicited. In the place-names the syllable *ro* (*Bar-ma-ro-ña, Byi-ro-ña, Ḥden-ro-ña, Pan-ro-ña, Śi-ro-ña, Zval-ro*, etc.) is probably identical with the *ro* in names from N.E. Tibet (*Cog-ro, Ḥgreṅ-ro, Myaṅ-ro*, etc.), where it is employed to form derivatives from tribal designations: it is, no doubt, equivalent to the Tibetan *ra* "enclosed space" in *Ldum-ra, btson-ra, khyams-ra*, etc. The syllable *-ti* likewise recurs (p. 70) in analogous use.

The abundance of non-Iranian names in current use implies that the old native language of Khotan was still prevalent. Nevertheless, it is certain from the finds of documents in the actual Khotan region (at Mazār-Tāgh and elsewhere) that in the eighth century at least the "Saka-Khotanī" speech was also employed. In that language we have both Buddhist literary MSS. and legal and other business papers. It may be conjectured that the language was used by the higher classes and the monks in place of the old Indian Prākrit which had prevailed during the earlier centuries. Of its employment for religious publicity we have an interesting example in the inscriptions from Dandān-Uilig figured in plates lviii–ix of Sir A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*. Beneath the painting of a monk we read (with Dr. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 248):—

dvī pī sā dāṃ śo [śā ?] ḍā

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Here the word *pīsā* is evidently identical with the *pīsai*, which Professor Konow (Hoernle, *Buddhist Remains*, p. 347) has found in a "Khotanī" *Vajra-cchedikā*, as representing the Sanskrit *guru* (elsewhere also the word can be traced). Thus the painting represents the *guru* Dāṃ-śo-dā, in whose name the syllables *śo-ḍā* (if not *śä-ḍā*) may be connected with the *ȥo-dā* noted above (p. 64). If it still remains questionable whether the *pīsai* may not be derived from the native language of Khotan (cf. *phye-se* in *Ancient Khotan*, p. 584), and consequently whether the short inscription may be in Saka-Khotanī, another inscription (D., x, 6, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 300–1) is certainly in that language.

Naturally the Chinese also was employed in Khotan. Witness the documents (from Dandān-Uilig, etc.) published and discussed by Chavannes (*Ancient Khotan*, pp. 521 sqq., and *Documents Chinois*, pp. 201 sqq.). There were, perhaps, specially Chinese monasteries, at Mazār-Tāgh or elsewhere. But owing to the peculiarities of Chinese writing the few probably native names or terms occurring in them require a separate examination.

Addenda[1]

p. 65, *mkhar-tsho* occurs also in *a*, ii, 0076, and *a*, iii, 0034.

p. 90, *ces-byuṅ-ba* occurs also in M.T. *a*, iv, 00137.

p. 93, *thag-bar* "middle-rope" (?) seems to denote some kind of military person; it recurs in M.T. *a*, iv, 00122, *b*, i, 0075, *c*, iii, 0024.

p. 266, a place *Boṅ-mkhar* "Boṅ town", seems to be mentioned in M.T. *b*, ii, 0053.

p. 268, in M.T. *c*, ii, 0087, there is mention of a place named *Gi-lam-thu*.

p. 279, in M.T. *a*, iii, 0062, there is mention of a place *Śaṅ*, and this is supported by the numerous references (M.T. *c*, i, 0025, *c*, ii, 0046, etc., to a "regiment belonging to Śaṅ", *Śaṅ-sde*.

[1] Corrigenda in previous portion of this article: pp. 66, ll. 13–14, omit "and showing . . . signs"; p. 70, l. 12, read 1019 (*for* 1099); p. 72, l. 29, read *Śi* (*for* Si); p. 80, l. 23, re d *Śėnā*; p. 91, ll. 16–17, read *Ho-se*.

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The Legend of Telibinus

By A. H. SAYCE

IN the "Yuzgat" Tablet we read: "and the dirges for Telibinus are finished" (*Telibinuss-a mugauwas qati*). The word I have rendered "dirges" is translated by the Assyrian *tazimtu* and includes the legends which were repeated in the celebration of what may be termed the death and resurrection of the Hittite god Telibinus. Telibinus, "the son of Teli," like Khatebinus "the child of Khate", was one of the deified kings of the primitive Hittites and is accordingly coupled with Zidkhariyas, another early hero, and Khebe the goddess of Kizzuwadna. In Greek mythology he was known as Telephus, King of Mysia. In the treaty of Subbiluliuma with Simassara he is called the god of Turmitta, which is identified by Professor Garstang with Derende.

The legend attached to him seems to have been a compound of those associated with Attys and Adonis. On the one hand it referred to his mutilation, on the other hand it narrated how he had descended to the dark regions of Hades and had subsequently been restored to life. Like the legend of the descent of Istar into Hades it described the sympathetic arrest of all life upon the earth; until the deity returned to the light of day men and cattle alike ceased to generate. In the "Yuzgat" Tablet another legend is combined with that of Telibinus—that of Khakhkhimas "the master of the winds" (GAL-*is Khuwanti*)—who had hidden the Sun-god and therewith the source of life. The supreme god Tessub, who had been kept in ignorance, accordingly interfered (ll. 21–31): "Tessub calls for the Sun-god, (saying:) 'Go and bring the Sun-god.' They go and seek the Sun-god, but find him not. So Tessub says: 'Him truly [they] cannot find, but he has cleansed (?) my generative organs; where has he taken them?' Then he calls Ilbaba: '[Go] and bring the Sun-god.' So Khakhkhimas took Ilbaba, (saying):

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'Here you! summon the Guardian-spirit, that he may restore him to life. [Now] he had gone (to) the fields.[1] So Khakhkhimas took him. [Tessub said]: 'Go, summon Telibinus; he [is] my son; he, the honourable one, is hidden (?); I have ordered him to come, and the corn [let him] take, the hard stone let him quarry' (*lûwari*). So Khakhkhimas took him."

As Khate-binus contains the name either of the god Khatti or the goddess 'Ati (עתי), written Atu in Harranian names, so Teli in the name of Teli-binus must be the name of a deity. We may compare with it the names found in Cilician and Cappadocian inscriptions of the Greco-Roman period *Τιλλί-βορος* and *Τιλλῆς* (son of *Ταρκόνδαιος*). Tarkhunda-pi, "the Tarkhundian," with the Mitannian suffix *-pi* is found in Assyrian contract tablets.

In *KUB.* xii, No. 60, we have a fragment of another legend relating to Telibinus. Unfortunately it is too much mutilated to yield a consecutive sense. Apparently there has been contention between "heaven (and) earth" (*nebis tegan*). Then it is said to Telibinus: "Do you [bring ?] the Sun-god of heaven from the sea." Accordingly "Telibinus goes to the sea: to him [the daughter of the sea ?] was reverent; to him the daughter [of the sea hearkened ?] and gave him the Sun-god. . . . And the sea [took ?] his daughter back from the sea." Then "to the god Tessub the sea called (saying): 'I [give] my daughter to your son Telibinus for a wife; bring

[1] If the text is right this must be the translation. But the grammar would be defective, and it is therefore possible that we should read TUR-*as* instead of *i-as*; "he (i.e. the *sedu* or Guardian-spirit) is a son of the field." Perhaps also *ias* in l. 28 belongs to the verb *iya* "to make" rather than *ia-* "to go", the sense being that the *sedu* "had made the fields". The word I have translated "enter" seems to have been borrowed from the Assyrian *terib*; we find it in *KUB.* xiii, 2, 24, *terribbis-gandu* "let them (the oxen) enter" and 1, iv, 19, 2, 19, A-SAG *teribbiyassas* "entrance field". It must be remembered that the Hittites recognized besides "the Sun-god of heaven", "the Sun-god of earth", that is to say the Sun who passes to the dark underworld during the night.

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him and give him to me.' So Tessub said to the Supreme goddess (his consort) : ' [The sea] demands that [his daughter] should come from the sea [and] be given to him ; if she is not given [it will be evil].' Thus (replied) the Supreme goddess to Tessub : ' Let her be given to him.' . . . He gave him (*or* her) a thousand of everything . . . a thousand oxen and a thousand sheep did he give."

The association of Telibinus is interesting as the Greek myth of Telephus related that after his birth he had been sent adrift with his mother across the sea. It may be noted that Telibinus is here made the son of Tessub, who would thus take the place of Herakles in the Greek story.

KUB. xvii, p. 11, No. 10

The earlier portion of Col. I is lost.

1. Telibinus . . . . .
2. and not the land of Kuris[ta] . . . . .
3. {with the left [hand] / on the left side} he {made live, / with the left [hand] . . / on the left (he) . . . .
4. [he departed].

---

5. The doors (?) of the hut he took, the roof of the house [he removed] ;
6. on the hearth the fire-brands were choked, [the altars]
7. of the gods were choked ; in the fold the sheep and in the ox-stall
8. the oxen were crowded together, so the sheep rejected its ewe,
9. and the ox rejected its cow.

---

10. Telibinus speeded away ; the corn, the gift of Tessub,
11. womenfolk (and) menfolk (which) he had brought in abundance, the field
12. (and) the grass, the blight-demon (came) to them and Telibinus went ; to the blight-demon
13. he yielded it ; over it to the stall he hurried ; then

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14. the wheat-ear ripened not; so the wives of the citizens did not
15. generate, and those who generated did not bear children.

---

16. The mountains became bare; the trees withered; the horse-droves
17. disappeared; the pastures were bare; the springs dried up, and on the land
18. there was famine. Men and gods were threatened with annihilation (*lit.* doomed to perish).
19. Then the great Sun-god celebrated a festival. So he summoned the 1,000 gods,
20. they were not sated. They ate, they drank, but were not satisfied.

---

21. Then Tessub missed his son Telibinus, for Telibinus
22. was not there. He sought for him, bringing all his resources;
23. the great gods, the little gods made search for Telibinus. The Sun-god
24. sent the raven (?) as scout (saying): "Go, the high
25. mountains explore!

---

26. Search the deep (?) valleys; search every living creature wherever it be."
27. The raven went; he found him not; so back to the Sun-god
28. he brought the report: "I have not been able to find him, Telibinus
29. the honourable god. Tessub to Nin-tud said: "Now we must act;
30. with annihilation are we threatened." The Great Goddess said to Tessub: "Do something,
31. O [Tes]sub. So go and seek Telibinus yourself!"

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32. [Then] Tessub undertook the search; in his city the gate
33. [was ruined]; he was powerless to rebuild (it); its lock and its bolt [were broken] in two.
34. Tessub . . . Then in silence (?) he sat there; Nin-tud
35. [again] sends [to him]: "Go and seek Telibinus yourself!"

---

36. . . . . So the gods, great and little, made search for him. But him
37. [Telibinus they found not.] . . . . . They go [to] him to explore.
38. . . . . takhimemuit (?) was gardening. Now he was a gardener.
39. So he in turn assists (them).

Col. II

. . . . . .

3. So to thee Telibinus . . .
4. the source of the oil was gushing (?) . . .
5. . . .; then plenty . . .
6. (Of) the gate he cut . . .
7. the essence of the oil the bursting [seed penetrated];
8. a thick mass again [it became ?].

---

9. Behold, the water in the barrel [is here] . . .
10. Now of Telibinus do you yourself [demand the water];
11. Then to the king in abundance [give it].

---

12. Behold, the milk is here . . .
13. [Full] of milk let it be; behold
14. Let them pour it out in a stream.

---

15. Behold, the *samamma*-tree is here . . . .
16. let it become visible; behold the fig [is here];

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17. let it be cut (?) again, and [the limb ?] of Te[libinus]
18. let them also mutilate.

---

19. From the olive, too, again from (its) heart its oil, [from the vine]
20. the wine from (its) heart shall be taken, and do you for Telibinus . . .
21. a keeping back (?) with oil from (its) heart in abundance effect.

---

22. Behold, the *lîti*-tree is here; [the limbs] of Telibinus
23. let them anoint; the essence of (its) milk with himself shall hereafter be united;
24. as for thyself, let the word of the citizens be in unison:
25. "Be clean!" Let Telibinus himself be clean! The fire
26. let them light; let the milk increase again; and let the oxen of Telibinus
27. be castrated that they may multiply as before.

---

28. Behold, with good oil your (*sic*) paths of Telibinus . . .
29. I bespatter: with good oil Telibinus has bespattered them
30. and traversed the road. The *sâkhis*-tree and the *khabburiyas*-tree in turn
31. shall grow up (for the gardener); they shall burst forth of themselves; established again
32. since that Telibinus is established as before.

---

33. Telibinus comes to announce (it); at his coming from the clouds
34. there is storm; below the black earth there is battle;
35. the god Kamrusipas sees the twain; then the road-bird flies;
36. there is rending in two, and he sees him (i.e. Telibinus).

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Col. III

1. A crowd follows him; in wrath
2. it follows [him]; the pursuit it follows.

---

3. Kamrusipas behind the gods says: "Go, . . .
4. be [one] of the gods! Behold, to Khapantalis the Sun-god his sheep has de[livered].
5. Now 12 of the sheep do you (pl.) cut up. But the [oxen] of Telibinus . . . .
6. I will manage and take a wing with a thousand eyes: of the slaughtered
7. lambs of Kamrusipas I am master.

---

8. For Telibinus one-half I have caused to be burnt away,
9. and one half I burn; then of Telibinus
10. his generative organs, his evil ones, I take; his . . .
11. I take; his followers I take; his wrath
12. I take; his omens I take; the pursuit I undertake."

---

13. Telibinus was wroth; himself he cuts;
14. the bursting buds were crammed together; the buds which were crammed together
15. they burned afterwards, and the followers of Telibinus . . .
16. in wrath the search for the sinner as before [renewed ??] . . .
17. afterwards the trackers (??) carried it not to the field . . .
18. they made it into seed, but made it not into bread; [to]
19. the house of stone records they came and the followers of Telibinus
20. the search for the sinner continued to track (?).

---

21. Telibinus was wroth; himself he c[uts];
22. lighted was the fire; these the fire afterwards [consumed];

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23. and the crowd in wrath the search [renewed] as before.

---

24. Telibinus leaves the crowd; his wrath [he abandoned];
25. the search [for the sinner] he abandoned; afterwards the . . . tree . . .
26. he did not . . .; but the [followers] of Telibinus
27. the search [for the sinner] did not abandon.

---

28. Then the gods under the *kharikisnas*-tree assembled;
29. now the *kharikisnas* [was] of double length;
30. so all the gods sat (there), the [great and the little] gods,
31. the supreme gods of destruction, the corn-god, the god of growth . . . ,
32. Telibinus, Inaras, Khapantilis . . . .
33. and the gods [sat] down for long years . . . .
34. "I have finished [with him], I have purified him. . . ."

Col. IV

1. For him the red earth lives; this then you say: "Away."
2. . . . For him the red image lives; and so Telibinus's
3. wrathful company thou tellest to search for the sinner.

---

4. Tessub has come as herald; him the man of Tessub
5. accompanies; the (milk-)bowl too has come; the spoon (?) accompanies it.
6. O mother (?) mine, let those of the citizens who have spoken
7. run after the followers of Telibinus in their search.

8, 9. Let them go; let the followers of Telibinus leave the domain (and) the search for the sinner in anger; the yoking-ground (??) before (it)
10, 11. let them abandon; the door (?) let them leave; the trough (?) of the portico before let them leave; the gate let them leave; the stables let them leave;

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12. the . . of the king let them leave ; to the growing field, garden and wood
13. they go not ; (under) the earth let them traverse the road.

---

14. The porter opened the 7 doors ; back he drew for them the 7 bolt[s].
15. Under the black earth stood a copper barrel : " The *istabbullis* is mine ;
16. the straggling (?) *sedu*-bull is mine " ; the god BAR verily goes there ; then
17. he comes not up again ; the god Dadas he seizes
18. and the wrathful host of Telibinus
19. they take on its search for the sinner ; back they come not again.

---

20. Telibinus comes back to the court (*parnassa*) ; his land he surveyed ;
21. the frame of the door (?) remained ; the roof of the house remained ;
22. the temple of the gods was standing ; the fuel of the hearth remained ;
23. in the fold the sheep remained there ; in the ox-stall the oxen
24. remained there. So the mother carried her child ; the sheep carried its lamb ;
25. the ox carried its calf, and Telibinus [restored] the king and queen ; them
26. to life and strength (and) future days he appointed.

---

27. So Telibinus appointed the king. In the house of Telibinus
28. stands (his) tree ; now from the tree hangs a sheep's fleece ; then there
29. he puts an ewe's milk ; then there the grain of the god Gir (the god of cattle)

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30. (and) wine he places; then there he sets ox (and) sheep;
31. there for long years he sets the birth of children;

---

32. Then there he sets wives, increases their message; then there
33. he sets twofold (?) [births (?)]; then there he sets the grape-god;
34. then there he sets brimming udders, then there

. . . . . .

Two fragments of the Telibinus-legend were discovered at Boghaz Keui by Chantre and have been published by Professor Scheil (Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, pp. 58–60). They appear to belong to missing portions of the legend.

OBVERSE

1. . . . . ya-gan i-da(?)-a (?)-lu (?) . . .
   . . . *my evil* (?) . . .
2. . . . . ar ar-kha QA-TAM-MA . . .
   . . . *away as before* . . .

---

3. . . . . kar-bi-in tar-na kar-di-mi-ya . . .
   [*Telibinus*] *left the crowd, in wrath* . . . .
4. . . . sa-a-u-wa-ar tar-na GIS . . . ZUN . . . .
   he left seeking [*the sinner*]; *the . . . trees* . . .
5. [sâu]ar si-ya-an-zi AN Te-li-bi[-nu-us] . . .
   he closes the [*search*]. *Telibinus* . . . .
6. . . . . kar-di-mi-ya-az NAM (?)-wa URUD GIS (?) . . .
   . . . *in anger . . . copper* . . .
7. . . . a-bi-e-ni-is-sa-an li-e u[-it ?] . . .
   as before he does not [*come* ?] . . .

---

8. . . . du i-da-a-(lu) kar-bi-in kar-di-mi-ya-az . . .
   . . . *evil the crowd in anger* . . . .
9. . . . ya-an-ti-ya la-a-in (?) GIS-LI GIS-LI an-da . . .
   . . . *to the herbage* . . .

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10. . . . wa-ya-as-sa-at dag-na-a-as KAS-an pa-it
. . . *the road of the earth he traverses.*

---

11. . . . MI dag-ni-i AN BAR-as DUK pal-khi ki-ya . . .
. . . *under* (?) *the black earth the Iron-god places* (?) *the barrel* . . .
12. . . . . it an-da pa-iz-zi na-at . . . .
. . . *to . . he goes ; this* . . .
13. . . . da-at-ta-an ki (?)-ya (?) . . .
. . . . .

REVERSE

1. . . . . an bi-i-e-[it] . . .
. . . . *he calls* . . . .
2. . . . ta AN kha-ta-a-na ta-a-ba (?) pal-[khi] . . .
. . . *for the wise god the barrel* . . . .
3. . . . [na-]an u-ul u-e-mi-it BE EGIR . . .
. . . *he did not find him ; back again* . . . .
4. . . . na-an u-e-mi-ya-nu-[un] . . .
. . . *I have caused him to be found.*

---

5. . . . . an bi-i-e-it i-id . . .
. . . *he calls : "Go* . . .
6. . . . zi-ik sa-an-kha ma-a-[an] . . . .
. . . . *do you seek [him] ; when* . . .
7. . . . . si-ya a-na as sa . . .
. . . *to* . . .
8. . . . . ar-kha-a-an as-na an . . .
. . . *away him* . . . . .

NOTES

I, 2. The first character of the geographical name is rather *ku* than *ma*. If it is to be read *ma* we should have Marissa or Maris[sanda] the district adjoining the Halys. Otherwise we must suppose that Kuris[ta] stands for Kurusta the Kyrrhestikê of classical geography in North Syria.

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5. *Luttaus* with the determinative of "wood" is plural and means more probably "doors" than "windows" as Friedrich translates it. *Luttiya* occurs in *KUB.* vii, 5, 30, but the passage is mutilated. In Yuz., *Rev.* 25, GIS *luttiya* must be the name of the wood of which a dish was made. For GIS *luttanza* see *KUB.* xii, 4, 24. 5, 19. 14, 10. (Cf. note on *Rev.* iv, 10. Zimmern has shown that *kammaras* is used of a "beehive". Here it appears to signify a domed hut.[1]

6. The syllabaries explain *nesuriya-* by *khanâku* "to choke", Sumerian GU-GID. It is used in the sense of "crowding", "cramming".

10. *Marnin* is the accusative of *marnu* "gift". Yuz., *Rev.* 32. Whether the gift was from or to a god is uncertain. If "from" a god, the corn would be the gift of Tessub.

11. SAL-*khittis*, *salkhiyantis* "woman folk", is here spelt out phonetically (*sa-al*), which shows that either *salkhi* was the native Hittite word for "woman", or SAL with a Hittite suffix had been borrowed from Sumerian. At any rate, *mannittis* has been borrowed from the Indo-European *man(w)* (Skt. *manu*, Goth. *manna*).

12. Marmaras seems to have been the Blight-demon; cf. Greek *Μορμώ*.

13. *Ulista*; cf. *uliul*, *KUB.* xx, 5, *b* 11.

16. *Khâter* "they became bare", *khâzta* "were withered", probably have the same root. *Paras* is the equivalent of the ideographic ANSU KUR-RA. See *KUB.* ii, 3, 15, 17, where *parastarrassis* is given as the equivalent of (ANSU) KUR-RA-*astarrassis*. Cf. Hebrew *parash*, Arabic *faras*, which is probably a loan-word from Asia Minor; cf. Ezek. xvii, 14. *Parasdus* "horse-droves" is for *parastus*. For *pârasessir* "they rode away" see Tenner: *Hethitischer Annalentext*, p. 20.

[1] Cf. Zend *kamara* "vault", Lat. *camera* (*camurus*). In the Syrian geographical list of Thothmes III, Kamru (No. 261) has the determinative of "house". The word forms the first element in the name of the Hittite hero Kamru-sipas.

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20. *Ne* is the 3rd pers. pron. pl.

21. *Kabbueit* " missed " from *kabbis* " small ", " inferior " (= EGIR-*is*); *kabbui* " make small " (*KUB.* vii, 14, 4), *kabbûizzi* " is wanting " (*KUB.* vii, 15, *b* 9). The verb seems to be used both transitively and intransitively. (Cf. note below on IV, 20.)

24. Literally " the road-bird ". *Sâu-war, sakh-*, is a simpler form of *sankh-* " to seek ", as has been pointed out by Götze. Cf. Goth. *sokjan.*

26. *Khuwan-khuessar kuwâliu* " a living creature wherever it may be ".

29. *Nakkis* is given as the equivalent of the Sumerian DUGUD " heavy ", hence " honourable " and in a depreciatory sense " hard " or " difficult ".

30. Read [*k*]*istantit. Kharkueni* literally " we are destroyed ". " The Supreme goddess " is here identified with Nin-tud " mistress of generation "; elsewhere she is GUL-*sas* " the goddess of destruction ".

33. The signification " powerless " seems imposed upon *tarkhuzzi* by the context. Otherwise the root *tarakh-* has the sense of " being able " to do a thing.

34. I have not met with the word *kakhue*(*it*) elsewhere.

38. *Amiyanta* and *amiyan-kha* from *amiya* " a garden "; *amiyantus* " gardeners " was already known from the Legal Code. The form *amiyan-kha* recurs in the 1st pers. in *tabar-kha* " I was lord " and with a further suffix in *es-kha-t* " I sat ".

II, 4. Read *kûkusta.*

7. *Zûwa* is given as the Assyrian equivalent of *sanezzis* which is used of " spittle " in *KUB.* xiii, 20, 67, 71. The verb *sane-, sani-* signifies to " blow up " fire.

8. For *nesuriyanza* see note on I, 6.

12. *Galaktar* " milk " is the Greek γάλα, Lat. *lac*, which have no Indo-European etymology.

13. *Kara-z* seems to signify " in a stream ", but I have not found the word elsewhere. With *khulêid*[*du*] compare the river names Khulaya and Khulanis.

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16. GIS-MA is "fig", but the gunated form of MA also has the Assyrian gloss *tittê* attached to it in the Liverpool Proto-Hittite fragment iii, 4 (*Annals of Archæology*, iii, 3, pl. xxvii). Unfortunately the tablet is broken immediately after MA.

17, 18. *Miliddu* and *milites* seem to be related to *miliskus* "an eunuch".

21. *Istantawar* is rendered by the Ass. *ukhkhuru* "hold back". We find *istantait* "drives back" (*KT.* iv, 78, 67). The causative is *istanta-nu-nun* (*KUB.* xxii, 44, *c* 6) and *istantanusteni* "you keep back" (*KUB.* xiii, 19, 37).

26. For *kuliddu* see *KUB.* xxi, 46. *kuliskinuttin* "make bright", "glorify". *Kûlas* is used of the "brilliance" of gold (*KUB.* xii, 2, 4), *kûli* "glow" (*KUB.* xii, 15, 27).

30. Forrer has shown that *khanti*(*s*) means "next in turn".

31. *Lazziatta* is rendered by the Ass. *damqi* in the sense of a recovery from illness. Perhaps the best translation of *lazzais* would be "flourish (again)".

33. Read *wantaz* "from the cloud".

36. Read *du*-[*u*]-*wa-ar-nu-ut* "cause to be double". The last word is *a-u*-[*us-ta*].

III, 3. Kamru-sipas was another of the legendary heroes or deified kings of the early Hittites. A fragment of a legend attached to him is given in *KUB.* xvii, No. 8. It is too mutilated to be capable of translation, but apparently the hero was translated to heaven and given possession not only of the corn which grew on the earth but also of the various diseases and blights which afflict man and injure the crops. *Khapantilis* also appears elsewhere in company with *Kamru-sipas*. The name is probably a derivative from *Khapâtis* "a servant". There was also a city Khabantalliya (*KUB.* ii, 1, 4).

6. *Betar* "wing" is to be distinguished from *bissis* "bird". The 1,000 eyes correspond with "the 1,000 gods". Cf. the Greek myth of Argos with his 100 eyes. Khapantilis would have been the watchman of Kamru-sipas as Argos was of Hêra.

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8, 9. I do not know what the difference is between "burn away" and "burn". The translations are literal.

17. I have not met with the word *tepsus* elsewhere; in l. 20 it is written *tepsauês*.

22. *Uriwaran* "kindled" is a derivative from *uar-*, *uurri-* "burn".

25. Dr. Forrer identifies the character which follows GIS with *pisan*. If he is right the word would mean "coffer" or "conduit" and not be the name of a tree.

26. The signification of the verb *armêzzi* is unknown to me. In *KUB*. xv, 39, 45–6, we have: *nusmas* KHAR-SAK-MES *biran taksalaniyantaru . . . mas biran armizziyantaru* "on the mountains they will gather together, in [the valleys ?] they will assemble (?)". Cf. Lat. *armentum* which has no Indo-European etymology. NÀ *armizzi* "the diamond" (*KUB*. xx, 4, 19) has no connection with the verb.

28. The tree is called *kharikis* in *KUB*. xii, 33, 5, where three of them are said to be planted in a vineyard. Cf. *kharkis* "white".

31. GUL-*ses* here may signify "generation" rather than destruction, since "the Supreme goddess" was Nin-tud. Götze would render it "protecting". AN *Miya*[*tar*] "the god of growth" or "increase".

IV, 1. The "red earth" in contradistinction to the "black earth" of the subterranean world denotes the fertile soil in which the crops flourish. The "image" (*esri*) must refer to some lost passage in the legend in which there would have been an account of the construction of images of Telibinus like those of Adonis in Phœnicia.

5. "Spoon" is a mere conjecture; I have not found GIS *tîpas* elsewhere.

6. Perhaps [*um-*]*ma*. Or "who have been mentioned"?

9. *Barnanza* "domain" from *barnas* or *parnas* "a court-yard", like *luttanza* from *luttais*. The first character is bar, not *pap*. *Annasnanza* is from *annasnas* which may be related to ŠU *annanus* "bridle", "reins", *annanukhan* "muzzled".

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10. *Luttanza* cannot signify "window-place" here.

11, 12. *Khilas* generally signifies a "portico" or "guard-room". Here it would be something attached to the *wawarkhima(n)*. The latter word is found in *BUK.* vii, 36, *b* 2, where we read (ll. 1–7): II *sênus ser epzi makhan-ma-ssi-sa-n wawarkiman ser epzi makhanda-ma-ssi-sa-n* GUD-ZUN *ser epzi* EGIR-SU-*ma issanan* EGIR-SU-*ma summan-zanan* EGIR-SU-*ma betar dâi nat-gan ser arkha wakhnuzi khukkuis-ma khukkiskizzi nat abbiza karu iyan*; "he selects 2 bones (?); after this he selects a trough(?); after this he selects the clay (dung) of the oxen; afterwards he takes a mouth-piece, then a rope and then a feather; then he turns away round to these and croons incantations: all this is done by him early in the morning." For *sênus* see *BUK.* vii, 37, 14, 16. The singular is found in *BUK.* vii, 3, 21; 7, 22. For *sênas* or *sinas* and *sênês* see *BUK.* xvii, 22, 1; 21, 13; 21, 10.

Khilamnas is a derivative from *khilas* and signifies "out-house", more especially "stables". The word was borrowed by the Assyrians in order to denote a colonnade portico of Syrian design.

The lost word at the beginning of l. 12 is perhaps *mat* "country" ("the country of the king").

14. The "porter" of Hades is mentioned in the legend of the descent of Istar into the lower world. Read *khattalu[s]* "bolts".

15. *Palkhi* in the Scheil fragment has the determinative of "vessel" and so must denote the "barrel" or "jar" of wine which we find in the Illuyankas legend.

The words which follow are difficult to explain.

16. *Alas* is the *sêdu* or guardian bull of whom we have already heard (iv, 16). GIS *zakkis* is rendered "bolt" with a query by Dr. Forrer. In an Omen-tablet (*BUK.* viii, 5, 4) we have: "A worthless vagrant (*tambu[bis]*, Ass. *nu'u*) comes to your country like drift-wood" (*zakkiyas iwar*). In *BUK.* xiii, 1, 25, *zakkês bis[siyandu]* seems to signify "let the

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stragglers fly away". In AN BAR-*as* there is probably a play on AN-BAR "iron", "the iron-one goes there". Cf. the Scheil fragment *Rev.* 11.

20. *Kabbuwauwar* "to count", connected probably with *Kabunu* "acre", has no connection with another *kappu(e)*-, translated "punish" by Götze, which has the same origin as *kappis* or *kabbis* (= EGIR-*is*) "inferior", "younger", *kabbilallis* "small" (*BUK.* xvii, 8, 2), *kappûizzi* "is wanting" (*KUB.* vii, 15, *b* 9), *kappanza* "is small" (said of the moon *KUB.* viii, 5, 3). Cf. note above on I, 21.

In l. 27 below "appointed" seems a better translation for *kabbuêt* than "surveyed".

27, 28. Literally: "Belonging to Telibinus in the house a tree stood." *Biran* here has its original signification of "house". Hrozný was right in making it signify "within" and not "before".

28. ŠU *kursas* is a "fleece". Perhaps ŠU *kurisnas*, *kuresnas* "napkin" and *kuressar* "loin-cloth" have the same root. The "sheep-skin" or "fleece" is an echo of the golden fleece of Greek mythology which hung from a tree in Colchis. Perhaps the "gold" had its origin in the resemblance of the Hittite word *kursas* to the Greek χρυσός.

32. I cannot explain the grammatical construction in *mius khalugas*.

33. The substantive with which *tûmantiyas* agrees is lost. *Tûmantiyas* would have been pronounced *tûwantiyas* and hence would be a derivative from *tuwa* "two" like *tûwaz* "twice". On the other hand, *tûwa* is also "long ago", whence *tûwalas* "distant". In *KUB.* xvii, 31, 11, *bit Tûmantiyatti(s)* is mentioned next to "the temple (*bit karimmi*) of the god Khûwassannas", and in *KUB.* xv, 26, 57, *tûmantiyan* occurs in connection with the gods causing the increase of "boys and girls".

34. *Wallas* "women's breasts", "udders". My translation of the adjective, which I should read *maunnas* rather than *kunnas*, is conjectural.

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By way of an appendix I add a translation of the "Yuzgat" Tablet, I, ll. 38–41: (38) *abûs khalzais* AN IM-*as Khakhkhimmi* (39) [*tez*]*zi kissaras-mis-wa* GAL-*ri-ya anda damen*[*kir*] (40) [*tagani* ?]-*ya damenkir takku-wa kûs sa* NIN-MES-*us* SU-ZUN *da*[*asi*] (41) . . . . IGI-ZUN *mi-ta-wa lê êpsi*; "Tessub called them; to Khakhkhimas he says: 'My hands descend in rain to my lord, and [to the earth ?] they descend in rain. If these women's hands you take . . . my (?) eyes do not occupy.'" We have an explanation of the passage in *BUK.* xxii, 46, 7–10. There we read: "Accordingly when the god of the city Arusnas marches with the Sun-god, it is well; upon this accordingly the queen takes the woman Ammatallas to the god of Arusnas and Ammatallas accordingly occupies the eyes of the god (*literally* takes the eyes, *ilim* IGI-ZUN-*wa êpta*): she had not gone back to the god; the son of Ammatallas accordingly takes the hands, namely the empty hand of his mother; in the palace he performs service. When the god is annoyed the omens are not favourable." If *mitawa* is right, *mit* must stand for the 1st pers. possessive pronoun *-mêt*, for which, however, I can find no parallel; but it is possible that the scribe has omitted a horizontal wedge and that we should read *mita-wa-as* which would be an adjective of unknown signification agreeing with *sakuwas* "eyes".

The signification of *damenkir* is settled by an astrological tablet (*BUK.* iv, 3, 19) in which *damengantes* is rendered by *irada zunni issakan* "there is a fall of rain".

It is now possible to correct the readings and translations of an earlier passage in the "Yuzgat" Tablet (I, 12–20). We must read: (12) *nu* SAM-ZUN-*an* XX KUR-MES GUD-ZUN UDU-ZUN UR-KU-ZUN SAKH-ZUN TI-*nu*[*t*] (13) TUR-MES SUM-*a-tas-ma khalkius* TI-*innuzi takku* . . . . . (14) *nu-ma-sta andurza* UZU (?)-(?)-*nuzziyan-za khazzi* (15) *nu-s ûl* TI-*innuzi mân kuitt-a khuman* [*iyyan*] (16) *apâsa pait* AN IM-*ni teit kî kuit kisat* (17) *asi Khakhkhimas attissi annissi teizzi* (18) *kî azzikkiteni akkuskitteni* (19) *kabbuwattin-ma*

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UD-*un ûl kuitki* AMEL SIB-LU AMEL SIB-GUD . . . (20) *apâsa udnê* TI-*innut* AN IM-*sa ûl sâkki*[*t*] ; " (12) The plants of the 20 countries, the oxen, the sheep, the dogs and the swine he vivified ; (13) the sons of the harvest (?) also [and] the corn [of the land ?] he vivified ; if . . . . (14) he put it secretly in a . . . (15) he did not vivify it, and when all was done (16) he went and said to Tessub : ' So it is,' (17) Finally Khakhkhimas says to his father (and) his mother : ' Eat (and) drink this ; (19) survey the whole (UD = *pukhru*), there is nothing ; shepherd and oxherd [are wanting].' (20) But he had vivified the lands and Tessub did not know (it)."

The ideographs in l. 14 unfortunately are uncertain ; in l. 13 the third ideograph must be SUM, one of the significations of which is *etsêru* " to harvest " while another is *dakhâdu* " to be abundant " ; but in l. 14 neither of them can be identified. The first resembles UZU " flesh " rather than GÛ " side ", but in either case the character is incorrectly written and nothing can be made out of the second.

The words of Khakhkhimas in ll. 16 and 17 remind us of Gen. vii, 28, 29.

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The Most Ancient Islamic Monument Known

Dated A.H. 31 (A.D. 652)

From the time of the third Calif 'Uthman

By HASSAN MOHAMMED EL-HAWARY
Curator, Cairo Museum of Arab Art

(PLATES III–V)

IN the Cairo Museum of Arab Art there are more than three thousand slabs of marble and stone bearing Cufic inscriptions. Most of these slabs are tombstones found in the ancient cemeteries of Cairo and Aswan. On each of these tombstones are inscribed the name of the deceased and the date of his death; hence they are invaluable in working out the evolution of Arabic writing. Only two hundred of these slabs are exhibited in the Museum, the others being kept in the stores and recesses of the building.

Three years ago I started to investigate this valuable collection, which up to the end of 1928 amounted to 2,938 tombstones and 143 other pieces bearing inscriptions commemorating the erection of mosques, houses, schools, etc.

During my work I found that 2,439 tombstones were registered *en bloc* under different numbers. Moreover, we were not quite sure about the locality where these stones had been discovered.

Consequently, to make up for the deficiencies in the registration of these important monuments, I began to register them methodically, stating the material, dimensions, and date, and giving a short description of the inscription on each piece. I found them rich in different types of Arabic writing and decoration, thus opening out a wide vista for students anxious to study the evolution of Arabic writing and decorative art. The variety and beauty of some of these inscriptions and the attractive problems to be found in many of them were for me a great inducement to study them thoroughly and scientifically. I started by giving each a fiche in order to facilitate their chronological arrangement.

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While continuing the work I had set before myself, I was fortunate enough to come across a slab bearing the date A.H. 31 (A.D. 652).

I also found thirty-four pieces dating from the last quarter of the second century A.H., the oldest of which bore the date A.H. 174 (A.D. 790). Moreover, a series of pieces were found bearing dates representing almost every year of the subsequent three centuries. When I compared the writing on these with that on the earliest slab I saw a striking difference. The writing was more beautiful and artistic in the later specimens than in the early one.

This slab is 38 × 71 cm. and bears the following text :—

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا القبر
(2) لعبد الرحمن بن خير الحجرى اللهم اغفرله
(3) وادخله فى رحمة منك و اتنا معه
(4) استغفر له اذا قرا هذا الكتب (*sic*)
(5) و قل امين وكتب هذا ا
(6) لكتب (*sic*) فى جمدى (*sic*) الا
(7) خرمن سنت (*sic*) احدى و
(8) ثلثين

(1) In the name of God the whole merciful, the compassionate ; this tomb
(2) belongs to 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair Al-Ḥajrî. O God, forgive him
(3) and make him enter into Thy mercy and make us go with him.
(4) (passer by) When reading this inscription ask pardon for him (the deceased)
(5) and say Amen ! This inscription was written
(6) in Djumâda II
(7) of the year one and
(8) thirty (January–February, A.D. 652).

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The Arabic Alphabet from the tombstone of 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair.

The tombstone of 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair Al-Madjri which is dated A.H. 31 (A.D. 652).

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M. Wiet was greatly interested in this discovery, and to facilitate my research, he very kindly gave me some manuscript of his forthcoming great Corpus of Arabic and Islamic inscriptions in order that I might compare these inscriptions with that on our newly-found slab.

The manuscripts that M. Wiet gave me were those dealing with the pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions and those of the first century A.H. ; i.e. those dated just before and after the slab I had discovered.

Of the inscriptions which have an earlier date than the one under discussion three pieces are of pre-Islamic date.

The earliest of these monuments is the tombstone of Emro' Al-Ḳais found in Namara. It shows us the derivation of Arabic from Nabatean writing. Its most distinctive characteristic is the fact that the letters are connected with each other, this character being peculiar to Arabic writing and not found in the Nabatean. This piece is dated A.D. 328.

After this we come to the inscription of Zebed which is dated A.D. 512. This is written in three languages, Arabic, Greek, and Syriac.

And following this is the inscription of Ḥarran dated A.D. 568. This is the third known pre-Islamic inscription.

We need not consider those three pieces in our study of the slab in question except for a few remarks here and there.

As to the post-Islamic inscriptions, there are only twenty of the first century that are considered by M. Wiet as truly authenticated.

The earliest of these is that found by Mr. Taylor on the façade of the bridge of Batman Ḳorpū, about which he says in his "Travels in Kurdistan" (*JRGS.*, vol. xxxv, p. 25), "from the remains of an inscription on its eastern face, it was built A.D. 643 by a certain 'Othman ; with the exception of the date, no other part of the record was legible."

He did not state anything about an inscribed date. He simply mentions the name 'Uthman and assumed at first hand that it was the name of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan the third

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Calif after the Prophet. But Van Berchem has challenged this statement in *Amida*, p. 33. He says : " Ce renseignement donné par Taylor mériterait d'être vérifié. Si la date est exacte, nous aurions ici la plus ancienne inscription musulmane connue et ce personnage pourrait être le Calife 'Uthman, élu en 644. Mais cette attribution est peu vraisemblable et la date semble erronée. Mr. Leeman-Haupt m'écrit que le pont existe encore et qu'il croit y avoir vu une inscription."

In regard to this caution on the part of Van Berchem we feel justified in not taking this inscription into consideration, whereas otherwise we should not hesitate to look upon it as the earliest Islamic monument. But in any case, if we did consider this monument as really dating from A.D. 643 (A.H. 22), it would be the only inscription with an earlier date than the inscription discovered in the Cairo Museum.

Then come the other inscriptions of the first century A.H. which we give here with their dates and references :—

(1)	A.H. 65, Jerusalem, Ṣakhra .	C.I.A. Jerusalem, ii, No. 214.
(2)	A.H. 69, Fusṭâṭ . . .	C.I.A. Egypt, ii, No. 548.
(3)	A.H. 72, Jerusalem, Ṣakhra, construction text . . .	C.I.A. Jerusalem, ii, No. 215.
(4)	A.H. 72–216, Ṣakhra, brass plate	C.I.A. Jerusalem, ii, No. 216.
(5)	A.H. 72–216, Ṣakhra, brass plate	C.I.A. Jerusalem, ii, No. 217.
(6)	A.H. 81, Ḳasr Burḳa, Field .	Early man in North Arabia, Natural History, vol. xix, p. 43.
(7)	A.H. 85, Celestial sphere in brass, Ibn Al-Kifty . .	Leipzig ed., p. 440.
(8)	A.H. 86, Milestone, Khan al-Ḥathrura	C.I.A. Jerusalem, i, No. 1.
(9)	A.H. 86, Milestone, Bab al-Wad	C.I.A. Jerusalem, i, No. 2.
(10)	A.H. 86, Milestone, Dair al-Qalt	C.I.A. Jerusalem, i, No. 3.
(11)	A.H. 86, Milestone, Abou Ghosh	C.I.A. Jerusalem, i, No. 4.
(12)	A.H. 92, Green Tablet, Mosque of 'Amrou . . .	C.I.A. Egypt, ii, pp. 17, 24.
(13)	A.H. 92, Kharana, Jaussen et Savignac	Mission, iii, p. 100.
(14)	A.H. 92, Kharana, Jaussen et Savignac	Mission, iii, p. 100.
(15)	A.H. 97, Nilometer, Island of Roda	C.I.A. Egypt, i, No. 1.
(16)	A.H. 100, Ḳusair 'Amra . .	Musil, pp. 217, 225.
(17)	,, Khirbat Nitil . .	W.Z.K.M., vol. xxii, p. 81.
(18)	,, 'Ain Ṣufiya . .	Museum of Beyrouth, No. 239.

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These eighteen inscriptions, with that discovered by Taylor and the one discovered in the Cairo Museum, constitute all that have been left to us from the first century A.H.[1]

We can see from this table that the earliest known inscription of the first century A.H. is dated from the year A.H. 65 (A.D. 684–5), i.e. thirty-four years after our discovered slab. But even that inscription is not authenticated and does not really exist. All that we know about it is what was said by a Franciscan priest who had been in Jerusalem between A.D. 1651 and 1657 and who left us a description of the Dome of the Rock in which he said that it was built in A.H. 65 (A.D. 684–5). Van Berchem in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Jerusalem*, vol. ii, No. 214, criticized the priest's account.

[1] Moritz, in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, classifies the earliest monuments of Arabic writing belonging to the Muslim period in three categories. (i) Those written on coins, the earliest of which is dated A.H. 20 (A.D. 641); (ii) those found on monuments, the earliest of which is dated A.H. 72 (A.D. 691–2); (iii) those written on papyrus, the most ancient of these is dated A.H. 22 (A.D. 642–3). But this has not yet been studied (see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 383 and seq.). As to the first and last of these they do not concern us.

[In passing I should like to notice that Moritz did not mention writings found on glass weights, which we can place under the first category. The earliest of these glass weights is that found in the collection of the late Dr. Fouquet, and is dated A.H. 44 (A.D. 664) in the name of 'Oḳbat. But the late Casanova is doubtful about its authenticity. He says in the *MMAFC.*, tome vi, p. 373, under the title of "Noms d'Emirs, et de lecture douteuse ou incomplete", No. 166, . . . الامير عقبه (?) اوفوا الكيل (?) . . . L'Emir 'Oḳbat (?), ayez des mesures exactes (?) . . . and supposing this version is correct, it does not necessarily follow that the date is A.H. 44, since 'Oḳbat ibn 'Amer ruled from A.H. 44–7 (A.D. 664–7). We can also place under the third category two letters written in the time of the Prophet. The first is the letter sent by the Prophet to Al-Moḳawḳis. It is presumed to have been found accidentally by a young orientalist in Manfalouṭ in Upper Egypt in A.D. 1851 (see the *Journal Asiatique*, 1854, p. 482 and seq.). But this is doubtful. The second was the document given by the Prophet to Tamim al-Dary and his brothers in the year A.H. 9 (A.D. 630). It was written by 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭalib on a piece of leather from his boot. The document was seen by ibn Fadl-Allah El-'Omary in the year A.H. 745 (A.D. 1345) (*Masalik al-Abṣar fi Mamalik Al-Amṣar*, vol. i, p. 172). It was also seen by Ḳalḳashandi in the year A.H. 821 (A.D. 1418).]

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His most important criticism refers to the date A.H. 65, of which he doubts the reality, as it was the first year of the reign of 'Abd-el-Malik. And it is known that the Dome of the Rock was not built in the first years of 'Abd-el-Malik's long reign but some years after the beginning of it. It is the date in which buildings were finished that used to be recorded, and not that in which they were begun. However, this priest has done a service in proving the mistake of those who thought that the Dome of the Rock was built in the time of the Calif 'Omar.

Then comes the inscription mentioned by Al-Ḳoḍa'î and copied by Al-Makrizi (Bulak, vol. ii, p. 146), which inscription 'Abd-el-'Aziz ibn Marwan ordered to be written on the bridge that he erected over the Khalig al-Kabir in A.H. 69 (A.D. 689). This inscription, given by M. Wiet in *C.I.A. Egypt*, vol. ii, No. 548, has, however, no longer been extant since the destruction of the bridge. Hence we cannot compare it with our slab.

Of the first century inscriptions, those executed in mosaic in the Dome of the Rock and dated from A.H. 72 (A.D. 691–2), i.e. from the reign of 'Abd-el-Malik ibn Marwan, are the earliest which we can compare with our slab. Al-Ma'moon erased 'Abd-el-Malik's name and replaced it by his own; but he did not alter the date, and thus the truth was known. Contemporary with these inscriptions are two others written on brass plates fixed to some doors of the Dome of the Rock, and also dated A.H. 72 (A.D. 691–2). The last part of each of them is, however, from the time of Al-Ma'moon and is dated from A.H. 216 (A.D. 831).

These inscriptions, which are still to be seen on the Dome of the Rock, were hitherto the most ancient Islamic writings on monuments. Their epigraphy is good, very good when compared with that of 'Abd-el-Raḥman Al-Ḥajri's tombstone. This is natural, for the tombstone is forty-one years earlier. Moreover, the tombstone is that of an ordinary individual and the writing on it is not carefully done, while

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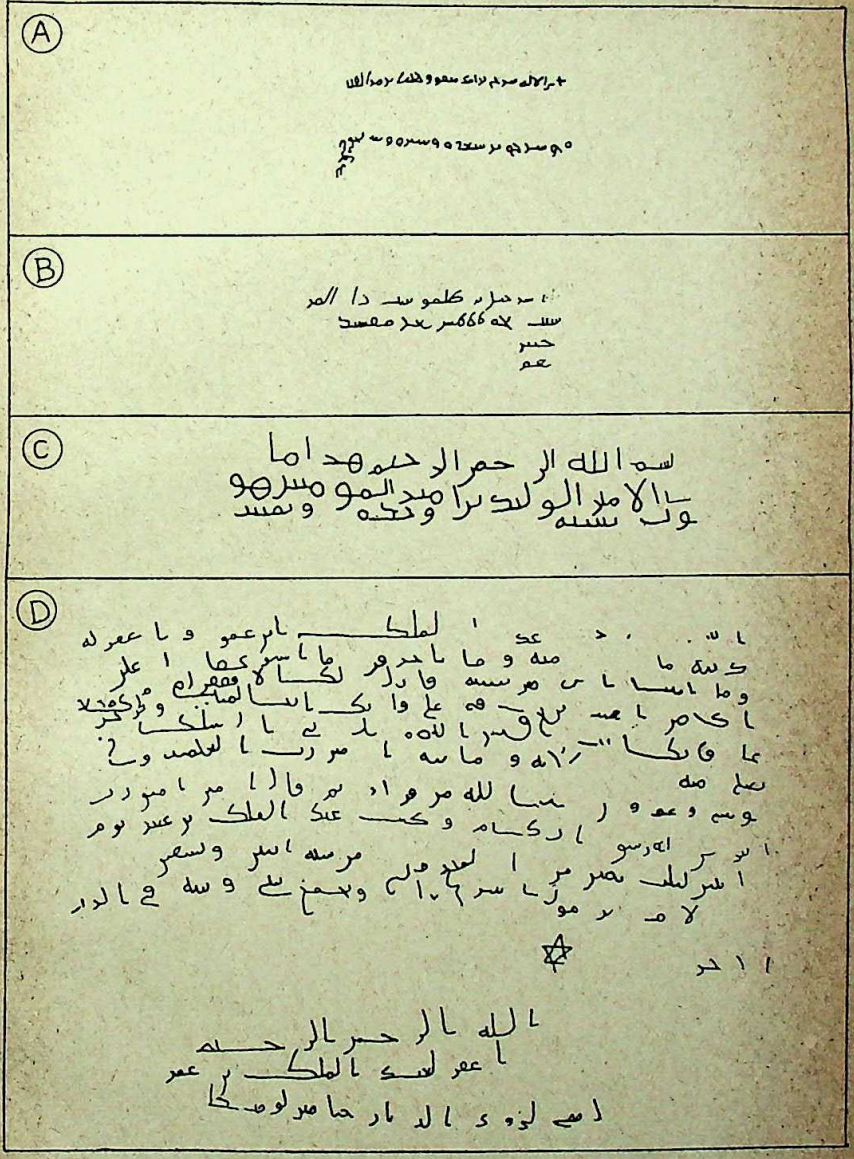

A.—The inscription of Zebed which is dated A.D. 512.
B.—The inscription of Ḥarran which is dated A.D. 568.
C.—The inscription of Ḳasr Burḳa which is dated A.H. 81 (A.D. 700).
D.—The inscription of Kharana which is dated A.H. 92 (A.D. 710–11).

[To face p. 326.

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the inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock are in the name of the Prince of the Faithful, and the scribe was expected to do his utmost to produce an excellent piece of work. Again, in the mosaic the writing is done with tesseræ, a thing which could be easily and skilfully worked by the craftsman. On the other hand, the inscriptions on the tombstone are engraved with a pointed tool in an ordinary and carelessly written Cufic script. There are, however, some common characteristics in the letters of the tombstone and the other inscriptions. The middle ـه in the former is very like that on the Dome of the Rock insomuch as both are open from above like the letter V.

The writing most similar to that of the tombstone is that found in North Arabia on a threshold of a door in Ḳasr Burka. (Plate IV c.) It is dated from A.H. 81 (A.D. 700) and in the name of the prince Al-Walid ibn 'Abd-el-Malik before he became a Calif. This Ḳasr may have been built by Al-Walid in North Arabia as a palace in which to spend days of rest and enjoyment.

He may have ordered these inscriptions to be written in commemoration of his erection of this palace. In the method of engraving and epigraphy, these inscriptions and those of the tombstone are alike; in both the writing was done with a pointed tool and was ordinary Cufic in proportionless and unparallel lines, not drawn after a prepared design. The characters are very much alike. The invocation of the name of God is nearly the same in both of them. The ه in هذا and the لا in الامير resemble the ه in هذا and the لا in الاخر. The two inscriptions are very simple and carelessly written. However, there is some difference in the spelling of the word سنة year; in Ḳasr Burka it is written سنة, while in the tombstone of 'Abd-el-Raḥman as well as in Ḥarran's inscriptions dated A.D. 568, (Plate IV b) it is written سنت. In fact this ة used to be written ت before and in the early years of Islam but was written afterwards ة.

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Contemporary with the Burḳa inscriptions are those engraved on the stone and marble slabs which were erected in the roads of Syria during the reign of 'Abd-el-Malik ibn Marwan to commemorate the construction of these roads and to show the distance in miles (Plate IV c). They are four slabs found between A.D. 1884 and 1902. The epigraphy is very carefully done, as they are in the name of the Prince of the Faithful.

Ibn El-Ḳifty has mentioned in his work (*Tarikh El-Ḥokama'*) an inscription contemporary with these, and which he said had been seen by a certain Ibn El-Sanbadi in the Cairo Library, on a sphere made by Ptolemy and bearing an inscription showing that it had belonged to the Prince Khalid ibn Yazid ibn Mo'awiya حملت هذه الكرة من الامير خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية. Unfortunately, this sphere is not extant, and we cannot compare it with that of the tombstone of 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair Al-Ḥajrî.

In A.H. 92 (A.D. 710–11) Ḳurra ibn Sharik renewed 'Amr's mosque and wrote the date of the renovation on a tablet known as the Green Tablet and which is also no longer extant.

Jaussen and Savignac found in Ḳasr Kharana during their travels in Arabia many inscriptions, the most perfect of which is eleven lines in length and is dated A.H. 92 (A.D. 710–11) (Plate IV D). Most of the characters in this inscription resemble those of the tombstone. The middle ه, however, was sometimes opened from above and sometimes closed.

The most ancient Arabic inscription known in Egypt was that written in relief on the column of the Nilometer in the Roda Island between the 15th and 17th cubes. It dates from A.H. 96–7 (A.D. 714–15) during the reign of Solayman ibn 'Abd-el-Malik. This inscription is سبع عشر ذراعا ـ ست عشر ذراعا ـ خمس عشر ذراعا repeated four times. It is

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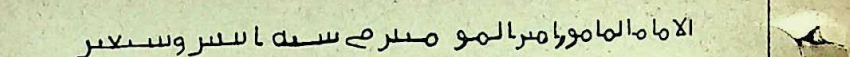
(A)



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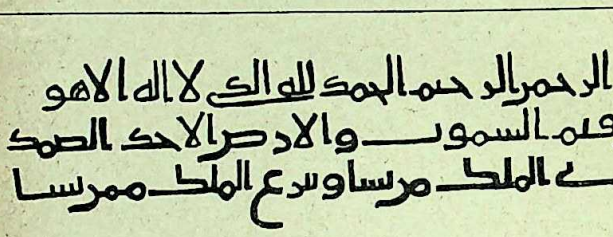

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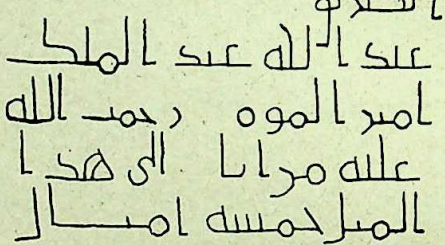
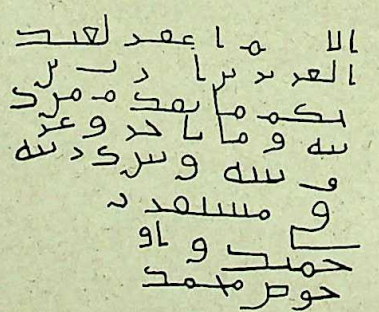


(D)



A.—Part of the construction text of the Dome of the Rock which is dated A.H. 72 (A.D. 691–2).

B.—Part of the inscription of the brass plates of the Dome of the Rock which is dated A.H. 72 (A.D. 691–2).

C.—The Inscription of the Milestone, Bab al-Wad which is dated A.H. 86 (A.D. 705).

D.—The inscription of Khirbat Nitil from the end of the first century A.H. (beginning at the eighth century A.D.).

To face p. 329.]

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not dated, but all the historians assert that it is as old as the Nilometer itself.

Next to this inscription come three others of the end of the first century. These were found in Ḳusair 'Amra (A.H. 100 (A.D. 718–19)), Khirbat Nitil, (Plate V D) and 'Ain Ṣufiya.

When comparing 'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone with the existing inscriptions of the first century, we can see that it resembles some in the design of the letters, the others being somewhat different. This is due to the fact that these inscriptions may be classified into two kinds: the first, carefully done and intended for important cases; the other, written hurriedly and in an ordinary handwriting and used for ordinary purposes. The inscriptions of the first kind are right-angled, having equidistant lines and equal letters. In other words, it is written in what is really Cufic writing. Those of the other kind are very much like the Naskhi. This tends to prove that the Cufic and Naskhi writings were originally twins: otherwise, the Naskhi, because of its simplicity, was older than the Cufic.

The inscriptions which resemble the tombstone are those of Ḳasr Burḳa (A.H. 81), of Kharana (A.H. 92), and of Ḳusair 'Amra (A.H. 100). They also bear much resemblance to the pre-Islamic inscriptions in Zebed and Ḥarran. This is clearly seen in Plate IV, which contains some similar letters in these inscriptions.

The other inscriptions which differ from 'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone as regards design but resemble it in shape are those of the Dome of the Rock on mosaic and brass plates fixed to the door and dated from A.H. 72, and those engraved on milestones from A.H. 86 and Khirbat Nitil. We have drawn a part of each of them in Plate V in order to show that they are similar to those of the first kind in the shape of the letters, but different in the careful and perfect design which caused the letters to be right-angled.

As regards the text itself, the inscriptions of the first century may also be classified into two sets. The first are those

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written in commemoration of the construction of monuments or buildings. The second are funerary texts, bearing the name of the deceased, the date of his death, and some pious wishes or Coranic verses. The second are usually written on tombstones and walls of tombs. The inscriptions of the second part are the only ones comparable to 'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone. They are those in Kharana and Khirbat Nitil. They are similar in some formulae. In 'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone the scribe wrote اللهم اغفرله. In Kharana's inscription there is nearly the same phrase though with greater length and clearness: اللهم ارحم عبد الملك بن عبيد (?) واغفرله ذنبه ما تقدم منه و ما تأخر. In the inscription of Khirbat Nitil there is اللهم اغفر لعبد العزيز بن الحرث بن الحكم ما تقدم من ذنبه و ما تأخر.

'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone, unlike the others preserved in the Cairo Museum, has the following characteristics:—

1. *The Material*: It is of limestone and only very rarely was a piece of this kind used as a tombstone in the first five centuries after the Hegira. The two materials which were used in the tombstones of these five centuries were marble and sandstone. On the latter the inscriptions were graven in sunken letters and always surrounded by a frame. But in 'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone the writing is engraved and has no frame.

2. *The Method of Engraving*: In the tombstones of the first five centuries A.H. the engraver used to level the plate which he was going to use and on which he drew straight and parallel lines. On these lines he would paint, in black ink, what he desired to write. Then he would engrave it carefully. That is not the case with this tombstone. The letters of the upper part are small while those of the lower are large. The lines are neither straight nor parallel and the letters are not neatly cut.

3. *The Shape of the Characters*: In this tombstone there are

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two letters which had a special shape and design until the end of the second century. But they changed and took another shape in the beginning of the third century. These letters are ـه and ه. The ه of this tombstone in هـذا القـبر and هذا الكتب are two semicircles one above the other. Also the middle ـه is opened from above like the letter V.

4. *The Spelling*: The middle ا in الكتب and جمدى has been dropped. The dropping of the middle ا and some other vowels was frequent in the beginning of Islam. They wrote عثمن ومرون وصلح . . . الخ with no ا, as the Coran is written. Again, the word سنة was written in this tombstone سنت with an open ت ; we have never seen this in other tombstones, though we have often come across the confusion between the open and the closed ة in the word رحمت of the phrase رحمة الله.

5. *The Formulae*: Its formulae differ from those which we see in other tombstones. In fact it is unique in such phrases as اللهم اغفرله وادخله فى رحمة منك واتنا معه .

As to the personality of 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair Al-Ḥajri, and whether he was a great man or not, we cannot say very much. Al-Sam'anî in Kitab Al-Ansab said that this nesba الحجرى might be :—

(1) Al-Ḥajrî الحَجْرى from Al-Ḥajr الحَجْر, which was the name of three tribes, one of حجر حمير ـ حمير, the other of حجر رعين ـ رعين, and the third of حجر الأزد ـ الازد.

(2) Al-Ḥojri الحُجْرى from Al-Ḥojr الحُجْر, which is the name of a place in Yemen.

I am inclined to think that 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair was from حجر الأزد Ḥajr Al-Azd, because I notice in *Ibn* Dukmak (vol. iv, p. 125), when speaking of Giza, the following passage :—

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هذه المدينة مدينة اسلامية بنيت فى سنة احدى و عشرين وقيل فرغ منها فى سنة اثنتين و عشرين وسبب بنائها ان عمرو بن العاص لما رجع من الاسكندرية فى جيشه و نزل الفسطاط جعل طائفة من جيشه بالجيزة خوفا من عدو يغشاهم من تلك الناحية فجعل آل ذى اصبح من حمير وهم كثير ونافع بن زيد ابن رعين وجعل فيها همدان وجعل فيها طائفة من الأزديين من الحجريين من الهبو من الأزد و طائفة من الحبشة و ديوانهم فى الأزد فلما استقر عمرو بن العاص فى الفسطاط امر الذين خلفهم بالجيزه ان ينضموا اليه فكرهوا ذلك .

" This is an Islamic city built in A.H. 21. It is said that its construction was finished in A.H. 22. The reason of this construction was that when 'Amr ibn Al-'Aṣ returned from Alexandria with his army and took his abode in Fusṭâṭ, he ordered a part of his army to stay in Giza lest an enemy should attack his army from that side. He left in Giza the tribe of ذى اصبح from حمير; they are كثير and نافع sons of زيد بن رعين. He left also همدان and some of the tribe أزد from the subdivision الحجريين من الهبو من الأزد and some Abyssinians whose Diwan was in الأزد. When 'Amr was safe and fixed in Al-Fusṭâṭ he asked those whom he had left in Giza to join him, but they disliked that . . ."

Al-Makrizi in his *Khiṭaṭ* (vol. i, p. 206) mentions this story and adds ibn Duḳmaḳ's text after Ḳuda'î, with a slight difference as he says: و طائفة من الازديين بنى الحجر ابن الهبو بن الأزد .

This is clear evidence that some of تجر الأزد came to Egypt after the conquest and lived in Giza in A.H. 21. 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair was one of this tribe. He died in A.H. 31

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and was buried in Al-Ḳarafa outside Al-Fusṭâṭ. He may have been a boy or an ordinary man who died ten years after the conquest. In the Cairo Museum of Arab Art I came across another tombstone of a woman of this tribe called شادة بنت محمد الحجرى Shadat bint Moḥammed Al-Ḥajri who died in A.H. 228. This proves that this tribe remained till that date.

This valuable monument, 'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone, is now exhibited in the third room of our Museum under No. 1, as being the oldest known monument in the Islamic world.

Note by D. S. Margoliouth: In line 3 of the inscription, p. 322, for واتنا we should read وايانا, i.e. وايانا "and us".

In the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, vii, 197 (1929), E. Littmann publishes yet another pre-Islamic Arabic Inscription, which is difficult to decipher.

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Naicasakha

By JARL CHARPENTIER

THE hymn *RV.* iii, 53, is of an obscure and difficult nature. Oldenberg[1] sees in it only an incongruous jumble of disconnected stanzas and refuses to adopt the theories of either Hillebrandt or Geldner concerning it. The former scholar[2] looked upon it as a collection of *yājyānuvākyāḥ* belonging to the horse-sacrifice; but it really seems difficult to subscribe to such an explanation. The late Professor Geldner again always[3] maintained that the hymn represented a uniform composition which had been taken out from the complete family saga of the Viśvāmitras. In one passage he calls it an *āyuṣmatāṃ kathā*; and, as then at any rate he was a staunch supporter of the *ākhyāna*-theory of Oldenberg, he probably found little difficulty in looking upon it as being the metrical part of a composition, the prose frame of which was wanting and could only be supplied from Sāyaṇa and other commentator literature. The present writer long ago tried to explain why he cannot accept the *ākhyāna*-theory.[4] But in spite of that it seems to him that Geldner was probably, in the main, right in looking upon the hymn as one connected piece of poetry, though details partly remain very obscure.

However, I am not prepared to enter upon a discussion of the hymn in general, nor is that necessary to my present purpose, which is only to deal with one verse, or, rather, with one single word in that verse, concerning which I might venture a modest suggestion. The verse in question is the fourteenth, which runs as follows:—

Kíṃ te kṛṇvanti kīkaṭeṣu gāvo
nāśíraṃ duhré ná tapanti gharmám |
ā́ no bhara prámagandasya védo
naicāśākhám maghavan randhayā́ naḥ ||

[1] Cf. *Rgveda-Noten*, i, 253 sqq.
[2] Cf. *Festgruss Boehtlingk*, p. 43.
[3] Cf. *Vedische Studien*, ii, 158 sqq.; *Der RV. in Auswahl*, ii, 56 sqq.; *Der Rigveda*, i, 353 sqq.
[4] Cf. *Die Suparṇasage*, p. 1 sqq.

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As a whole the stanza offers no special difficulties to the translator, only three words are of unknown meaning. Of these, however, *kīkaṭa* must, without the slightest doubt, denote a certain people; already the *Nirukta* 6, 32, tells us about *kīkaṭā nāma deśo' nāryanivāsaḥ*, and they have been identified, though on very slight grounds, with the Magadhas. As for *pramaganda*, there is also little doubt that it is a nomen proprium, though there is also another explanation.[1] But, if such assumptions are fairly safe, there is nothing but uncertainty concerning the word *naicāśākha*. Sāyaṇa, in his commentary to this verse, follows Yāska and explains it thus: *nīcāsu śūdrayoniṣūtpāditā śākhā putrapautrādiparamparā yena sa nīcāśākhaḥ*; but in the introduction to his *Bhāṣya* he upholds another opinion, simply telling us about *naicāśākhaṃ nāma nagaram*. Apparently he had no solid tradition to keep to, nor will any of his explanations inspire much confidence.

Boethlingk-Roth and Grassmann adopted as most probable the common explanation of Yāska and translate the word by "low people, outcasts", while Geldner, at least in his later works, takes *naicāśākha* to be the name of some town. Hillebrandt, however, quite correctly objects that in the Saṃhitās the word *śākhā* never means "branch of a people, gens", but simply "branch, stalk, twig", and that consequently *naicāśākha* could only mean "belonging to, connected with (a plant) with low, turned down branches". We cannot here follow his arguments in detail.[2] However, he thinks that *nīcāśākha* must mean the plant with "turned down twigs"; and, as there is really only one plant that plays an important part in the life of the Vedic Aryans, viz. the Soma, this must be one of its names. This seems not impossible, though we must admit that anything like a *strict*

[1] Nirukta, 6, 32, explains *maganda* as "a usurer" and *pramaganda* as his offspring. Sāyaṇa, however, in the introduction to his RV.-commentary simply says *pramagando nāma rājā*, which appears more sensible.

[2] Cf. *Vedische Mythologie*, 2nd ed., i, 204 sqq.

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proof is missing. In another passage,[1] however, Hillebrandt seems to think that *naicāśākha* is in reality = *naiyagrodha*, and that already in *RV.* iii, 53, 14, we hear about the possession of banyan-trees and their products.

This last suggestion of his I believe to be correct in so far that *naicāśākha* is most probably identical with *naiyagrodha*, which must again mean that *nīcāśākha* is in reality = *nyagrodha*. It has been assumed that the banyan-tree is not mentioned in the Rigveda—neither *nyagrodha* nor *vaṭa* occurring there—but Geldner seems to me to have definitely proved that this is not the case.[2] The stanza which must undoubtedly allude to it is *RV.* i, 24, 7 :

abudhné rājā Váruṇo vánasya
ūrdhváṃ stūpaṃ dadate pūtádakṣaḥ |
nīcínā sthur upári budhná eṣām
asmé antár níhitāḥ ketávaḥ syuḥ ||

There seems no doubt that the tree with which the universe is here compared must be the *nyagrodha*. And this leads further to the fig-tree with its roots upwards and its branches downwards, which is mentioned in the *Kāṭh. Up.* 6, 1, and in *Bhagavadgītā*, 15, 1.[3] It is quite true that this tree is in the passages just quoted called an *aśvattha* ; and the latest editor of the *Bhagavadgītā* has tried to adduce an explanation for this somewhat astounding fact.[4] But I doubt whether such an explanation is really very necessary, and whether the *aśvattha* has not, because of its greater holiness within certain circles, simply been substituted for the *nyagrodha*, which was no doubt originally spoken of in this allegory.

[1] Loc. cit., p. 246 sq.

[2] Cf. *Vedische Studien*, i, 113 sq. v. Schroeder, *Festschrift E. Kuhn*, p. 60, n. 1, has dealt with the verse *RV.* i, 24, 7, without mentioning the paper by Geldner ; however, his results are mainly the same.

[3] On this and connected topics cf. v. Schroeder, loc cit., p. 59 sqq. The idea of the tree with its roots turned upwards apparently travelled far outside India, cf. Kagarow, *Der umgekehrte Schamanenbaum* in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxvii, 183 sqq.

[4] Cf. Hill, *The Bhagavadgītā*, p. 236, n. 1.

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But that is really a minor point; the chief thing is that the *nyagrodha* seems to have been known also to the poets of the Rigveda, and there is thus no obstacle to assuming that *naicāśākha* really means *naiyagrodha*.

But if such be the case what, then, does this *naicāśākha* = *naiyagrodha* mean? It is quite true that *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sū.* x, 9, 30 prescribes that real Soma should not be given to a *kṣatriya* or a *vaiśya*, and that instead of it one should give them the juice of the *nyagrodha*-fruit squeezed out in milk. And the *Aitareya Br.* vii, 35; viii, 16 in a mysterious way identifies the *nyagrodha* with the *kṣatriya*- or *rājanya*-caste.[1] It is thus not unnatural that Hillebrandt on second thoughts arrived at the conclusion that *naicāśākha* does here mean the products (i.e. the fruit and possibly the milk-juice [2]) of the banyan-tree. However, this does not seem to me very probable, as the possession of these products could scarcely be so very rare and precious that special prayers should be offered to Indra to grant its possession. The banyan-tree is, and has most probably always been, fairly common throughout India both in a wild and a cultivated state.[3]

Then there must be another possible explanation which I shall venture to put forth here. It is a well-known fact that amongst trees looked upon as sacred by the Hindus the *aśvattha* (*peepul*, *Ficus religiosa* L.) and the *nyagrodha* (*F. bengalensis* L.) have since olden time occupied the front rank. Very numerous passages in more recent literature testify to the holiness and worship of the *nyagrodha*; and I will abstain from quoting here more than a few passages, as, e.g., Yule-Burnell *Hobson-Jobson* [2], p. 65 sqq.; Tavernier's *Travels in India*, ed. Ball-Crooke, ii, 154 sq. (with literature); Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, ed. Beauchamp [3], p. 652 sq.; Watt, *Commercial Products*, p. 537

[1] Cf. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* [2], i, 245 sq.
[2] The banyan-tree is at times called the *kṣīravṛkṣa*, the "milk-juice tree".
[3] Cf. Watt, *Commercial Products*, p. 537.

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(with numerous references which are only partly accessible to me in Upsala); Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of S. India*, pp. 177–219; Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, ed. Crooke, p. 385; Enthoven, *Bombay Folklore*, pp. 118 sq., 291, etc. Worship of the banyan-tree generally consists of tying threads round the stem, daubing the bark with red colour,[1] and sacrificing glass-beads, copper coins, etc., to the tree. That this worship dates from olden times and was formerly of a less amiable character we shall see presently.

Thus I venture to think that *naicāśākha* means "a worshipper of the *nīcāśākha*", i.e. of the banyan-tree. And the translation of the stanza *RV.* iii, 53, 14 would run something like this: "What do the cows amongst the Kīkaṭa's avail thee? They[2] milk no milk to be mixed with Soma, they make no *gharma*[3] hot. Bring unto us the possessions of Pramaganda, render into our hands the worshipper of the banyan-tree."

Of the Kīkaṭa's we know next to nothing. The identification of this people with the Magadhas is old, but is probably simply founded upon a fanciful rapprochement of *Pramaganda* with *Magadha*. But one thing seems to me to be clear from the stanza iii, 53, 11:

úpa préta kuśikāś cetáyadhvam
áśvaṃ rāyé prá muñcata sudāsaḥ |
rājā vṛtráṃ jaṅghanat prág ápāg údag
áthā yajāte vára ā́ pṛthivyā́ḥ ||

Here we are told that King Sudās will conquer his foes in the East, the West, and the North. And a few verses after this Indra, the heavenly war-lord, is exhorted to conquer the

[1] On ceremonial daubing with red or yellow colour (*pūjā*) cf. my article in *Festschrift Jacobi*, p. 276 sqq., and *Ind. Ant.* lvi, and the paper by M. Przyluski, *Revue de l'hist. des religions*, xcvi, 347 sqq. (cf. also M. de la Vallée Poussin, *Académie Royale de Belgique*: *Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres*, 1929, p. 37 sqq.).

[2] Viz. the Kīkaṭa's.

[3] The *gharma* is, of course, the pot of heated milk used at the *pravargya*.

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Kīkaṭa's who had apparently not surrendered to Sudās. From this it seems an obvious conclusion that the Kīkaṭa's lived to the south of the place where Viśvāmitra and his kin composed their hymns and sacrificed for Sudās. As this was probably somewhere in the Punjāb we may be fairly safe in assuming that the Kīkaṭa's lived at some place in the Sindh territory. In this connection we may perhaps remember that the sacred *aśvattha* (*peepul*) undoubtedly occurs on a seal found at Mohenjo-Daro ; but this may be nothing but an idle guess.

The Kīkaṭa's apparently were barbarians of un-Aryan origin and with an un-Aryan name.[1] They did not offer sacrifices to the Aryan gods, and seem to have been especially averse to the ritual use of milk. If my suggestion be accepted they were also worshippers of the sacred fig-tree, the *nyagrodha*. Now, there is scarcely one tribe of Indo-European stock that did not worship and even offer sacrifices to trees and tree-spirits[2] ; and thus it does not seem as if the Aryans would despise and hate the Kīkaṭa's especially because of their cult of the *nyagrodha*. However, to the question why they did it I shall answer without fail : because the un-Aryan tribes offered human sacrifices to the banyan-tree and probably did it in a peculiarly revolting way.

The proof of this suggestion is offered by certain among the Pāli *Jātakas*.

Already the short *Jātaka* 19 (*Āyācitabhattajātaka*)[3] mentions bloody sacrifices offered to the spirit of a *nyagrodha*-tree, though human beings are not mentioned here : *atīte Kāsiraṭṭhe ekasmiṃ gāmake kuṭimbiko gāmadvāre ṭhite nigrodharukkhe devatāya balikammaṃ paṭijānitvā anantarāyena āgantvā bahū*

[1] Of the words beginning with *kī°* quite a number, as e.g. *kīcaka-*, *kīnāśa-*, *kīra-*, *kīsta-*, etc., have a decidedly un-Aryan appearance and must have been borrowed from other languages. Yāska *Nirukta*, vi, 32, of course, tries an impossible etymology of *Kīkaṭa* (= *kiṃkṛta* or *kiṃ kriyābhiḥ*).

[2] Cf. the comprehensive article on this subject in Schrader's *Reallexikon der indogerman. Altertumskunde*[2], ii, 516 sqq.

[3] *Jātaka* ed. Fausbøll, i, 169.

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pāṇe vadhitvā "āyācanato muccissāmīti" rukkhamūlaṃ gato. However, the tree-sprite turned out to be a Bodhisattva and declined the bloody sacrifices.

If now we turn to *Jātaka* 50 (*Dummedhajātaka*)[1] we shall hear about more revolting practices. The Bodhisattva at one time was Prince Brahmadatta of Benares. After his studies in Taxila he returned and took up the vice-regency (*oparajja*). And then we let the text itself speak: "*Tasmiṃ samaye Bārāṇasivāsino devatāmaṃgalakā honti, devatā namassanti, bahuajeḷakakukkuṭasūkarādayo*[2] *vadhitvā nānappakārehi pupphagandhehi ceva maṃsalohitehi ca balikammaṃ karonti. Bodhisatto cintesi: 'idāni sattā devatāmaṃgalikā bahuṃ pāṇavadhaṃ karonti, mahājano yebhuyyena adhammasmiṃ yeva niviṭṭho, aham pitu accayena rajjaṃ labhitvā ekam pi akilāmetvā upāyen'eva pāṇavadhaṃ kātuṃ na dassāmīti' so ekadivasaṃ rathaṃ abhiruyha nagarā nikkhanto addasa ekasmiṃ mahante vaṭarukkhe mahājanaṃ sannipatitaṃ tasmiṃ rukkhe nibbattadevatāya santike puttadhītuyasadhanādisu yaṃ yaṃ icchati taṃ taṃ patthentaṃ. So rathā oruyha taṃ rukkhaṃ upasaṃkamitvā gandhapupphehi pūjetvā udakena abhisekaṃ katvā rukkhaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā devatāmaṃgaliko hutvā devataṃ namassitvā rathaṃ abhiruyha nagaram eva pāvisi.*" In this way he then continued his worship of the great banyan-tree and finally, at the death of his father, became king. He then resolved to put an end to the bloody sacrifices and did it in this way: . . . "*amacce ca brāhmaṇagahapatiādayo ca sannipātāpetvā āmantesi; 'jānātha bho mayā kena kāraṇena rajjaṃ pattan'ti. 'Na jānāma devā'ti. 'Api vo'haṃ asukaṃ nāma vaṭarukkhaṃ gandhādīhi pūjetvā añjaliṃ paggahetvā namassamāno diṭṭhapubbo'ti. 'Āma devā'ti. 'Tadā ahaṃ patthanaṃ akāsiṃ: 'sace rajjaṃ pāpuṇissāmi balikammaṃ te karissāmīti', tassā me devatāya ānubhāvena idaṃ rajjaṃ laddhaṃ, idāni 'ssā balikammaṃ*

[1] *Jātaka* ed. Fausbøll, i, 259 sqq.

[2] The goat, cock and pig still are favourite animals in popular sacrifices in India.

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karissāmi, tumhe papañcaṃ akatvā khippaṃ devatāya balikammaṃ sajjethā'ti. 'kiṃ kiṃ gaṇhāma devatā'ti.[1] *'Bho ahaṃ devatāya āyācamāno 'ye va mayhaṃ rajje pāṇātipātādīni pañca dussīlakammāni dasa akusalakammapathe samādāya vattissanti te ghātetvā antavaddhimaṃsalohitādīhi balikammaṃ karissāmīti' āyāciṃ, tumhe evaṃ bheriṃ carāpetha 'amhākaṃ rājā uparājakāle yeva evaṃ āyāci: sac'āhaṃ rajjaṃ pāpuṇissāmi ye me rajje dussīlā bhavissanti te sabbe ghātetvā balikammaṃ karissāmīti so idāni pañcavidhaṃ dasavidhaṃ dussīlakammaṃ samādāya vattamānānaṃ dussīlānaṃ sahassaṃ ghātāpetvā tesaṃ hadayamaṃsādīni gāhāpetvā devatāya balikammaṃ kāretukāmo, evañ ca nagaravāsino jānantū'ti, evañ ca pana vatvā ye dāni ito paṭṭhāya dussīlakamme vattissanti tesaṃ sahassaṃ ghātetvā yaññaṃ yajitvā āyācanato muccissāmīti.''*

In the continuation of this story no sacrifice is, of course, performed as the whole thing is here only described as being a trick of a Buddhist prince to keep mischievous subjects in check. But this is of no importance. What is far more important is that the ministers, etc., are not in the slightest degree astonished at the king's cruel command, but at once give publicity to it. And there is no doubt that the author of this text knew about the habit of offering human sacrifices to banyan-trees in which sacrifices the entrails, blood and flesh of the victims were the substantial parts of the *bali*.

Even more horrid practices are described in *Jātaka* 353 (*Dhonasākhajātaka*).[2] The Bodhisattva was once a world-famed teacher at Taxila, and amongst his pupils was Prince Brahmadatta from Benares, a youth of a harsh and cruel disposition. After some time he succeeded his father as king. His *purohita*, a greedy and cruel scoundrel, inspired him with the idea of conquering the kings of various cities in order to become the sole ruler of India. After a great number of

[1] Although *devatā ti* in the reading of both Fausbøll's MSS. we must no doubt read *devā ti*.

[2] *Jātaka* ed. Fausbøll, iii, 157 sqq.

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conquests he at last proceeded to lay siege to Taxila; but the Bodhisattva knew how to frustrate his efforts. And then we turn to the text itself: "*Bārāṇasirājāpi Gaṅgātīre mahato nigrodharukkhassa mūle sāṇiṃ parikkhipāpetvā upari vitānaṃ kāretvā sayanaṃ paññāpetvā nivāsaṃ gaṇhi. So Jambudīpatale sahassaṃ rājāno gahetvā yujjhamāno pi Takkasilaṃ gahetuṃ asakkonto purohitaṃ pucchi: 'ācariya, mayaṃ ettakehi rājūhi saddhiṃ āgantvā Takkasilaṃ gahetuṃ na sakkoma, kiṃ nu kho kātabban'ti. 'Mahārāja rājasahassānaṃ akkhīni uppāṭetvā kucchiṃ phāletvā pañcamadhuramaṃsaṃ ādāya imasmiṃ nigrodhe nibbattadevatāya balikammaṃ katvā antavaṭṭihi rukkhaṃ parikkhipitvā lohitapañcaṅgulikāni karoma, evaṃ no khippaṃ eva jayo bhavissatīti.*"

This horrid sacrifice was speedily performed in the manner prescribed by that human ghoul, the *purohita*. The unhappy princes were knocked unconscious, then their eyes were slit out, the bodies cut open and the entrails taken out, whereupon the carcases were thrown into the river. The entrails were then hung as garlands on the tree, and it was marked with spread hands dipped in the blood of the victims.[1] The number of men sacrificed is, of course, entirely fanciful; but there is not the slightest doubt that we have here before us a detailed and true description of a peculiarly horrid form of human sacrifice performed as a *bali* to the spirit of the banyan-tree. The description tallies only too well with those of sacrifices known from more modern times to be pure fancy.

The *Mahāsutasomajātaka* (*Jātaka* 537)[2] is the well-known story of the king who by tasting human flesh turned into a man-eating ogre and was exiled by his subjects. In the forest he caught human beings and fed on their flesh. There is no need to repeat this long and rather tedious story, and we shall only

[1] On the *lohitapañcaṅgulika*, etc., cf. the paper by Professor Vogel in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akademie von Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, 5: iv, 218 sqq. (1920). Professor Vogel on p. 221 refers to the *Dhonasākhajātaka*.

[2] *Jātaka* ed. Fausbøll, v, 456 sqq.

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point to a passage on p. 472 where the ogre who lives beneath a banyan-tree makes the following vow to the spirit of the tree: *'ayyo rukkhadevate, sace me sattāhabbhantare yeva vaṇaṃ phāsukaṃ kātuṃ sakkhissasi sakalaJambudīpe ekasatakhattiyānaṃ galalohitena te khandhaṃ dhovitvā antehi parikkhipitvā pañcamadhuramaṃsena balikammaṃ karissāmīti.*'' The sacrifice spoken of here is of precisely the same nature as the one referred to in the passage quoted above; entrails of the victim hung on the tree, its trunk besmeared with the blood, heart, liver, etc., offered as *bali*. There is not the slightest reason for doubting these detailed and blood-curdling descriptions. And it is quite obvious that the spirit of the banyan-tree was looked upon as having an insatiable craving for human flesh and blood. The present custom of daubing the tree with vermilion is most probably a reminiscence of far more sinister rites.[1]

If such were the rites with which the aboriginal tribes—and thus perhaps even the Kīkaṭa's—worshipped the banyan-tree, there is little wonder that the Aryans cherished a peculiar hatred towards them. It may even have happened that some of their own, having been taken captives of war, had lost their lives in this horrible way; we remember in this connection that the Khonds were peculiarly keen on kidnapping Brahmin boys for their Meriāh sacrifices.

The Jātakas also know of other superstitions connected with the banyan-tree. In iv, 350 sqq. we hear of a magic *nyagrodha* haunted by *nāgas*, which grants all sorts of precious gifts; and in iv, 474 f. the spirit of a banyan-tree grants children to a poor woman and to the wife of a *purohita*—an idea which is still fully alive in India [2] and is of a particularly primitive trend. It is highly probable that the idea of the *gandharva*, that mysterious being which according to Buddhist

[1] This, of course, does not mean that according to my opinion vermilion used in the *pūjā*-rites is always a substitute for (human) blood.

[2] Cf. e.g. Enthoven *Bombay Folklore*, p. 291, etc.

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theory must be present at the conception,[1] was originally nothing but the primitive idea of pregnancy being caused by the woman passing a certain tree, an ant-hill, etc. As we have it in Buddhist lore, it has, however, been mixed up with the more scientific idea of physiological paternity. It is, however, quite clear that we cannot enter upon the discussion of these ideas here.

The results of these modest lines, if results there be, are then that in *RV.* iii, 53, 14, the word *naicāśākha* means " worshipper of the banyan-tree " ; and that the worship of that tree was peculiarly hateful to the Aryans because of the atrocious human sacrifices performed in connection with it.

[1] On this idea cf. especially Windisch, *Buddhas Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*, p. 12 sqq.

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A Bakhtiari Prose Text

By Lt.-Col. D. L. R. LORIMER, C.I.E.

THE assemblage of tribes known as the Bakhtiāri occupy the mountain tract in Southern Persia lying roughly between longitudes 48 40′ and 51 E, bounded on the south by the plains of Khuzistan and on the north by the districts of Chahārmahāl, Farēdan, and Khonsār, where the central Iranian Plateau blends into the great southern mountain range.

The Bakhtiāri tribes fall into two main groups, the Haftlang and the Chahārlang. The Haftlang predominate both in numbers and importance and are almost entirely nomadic, while the Chahārlang are for the most part a settled population occupying the country round Qala' Tul in the south-east corner of the joint tribal territory.

For information regarding the history and social organization and conditions of the Bakhtiāri reference may be made to Lord Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, and for an excellent summary including more recent material, to the valuable article entitled "The Bakhtiaris", by Sir Arnold T. Wilson, in the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, vol. xiii, part iii, 1926, pp. 205–25.

This essay contains a useful bibliography, to which may now be added the articles "Lur" and "Luristan", by V. Minorsky, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1928). These articles give an admirable summary of what is known regarding the Lurs, the larger ethnological group of which the Bakhtiāri are a fraction. They are further provided with bibliographies, which include Persian as well as European literary sources.

There is further to be mentioned the *Kitāb i Tarīkh i Bakhtiārī*, in Persian, by Sultān Muhammad Nāyīnī, compiled under the direction of the late distinguished Bakhtiāri chief

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Haji 'Ali Quli Khān, Sardār As'ad, completed in the year 1333 A.H. This work consists of about 600 fscp. lithographed pages. A considerable portion of it is formed by quotations from the works of European writers, e.g. Layard, Curzon, etc., which are of no value to those who have access to the originals, but there are also quotations from Persian works, and, more valuable still, original historical and topographic matter with some references to tribal organization, administration, and customs. It is a pity that this original element of the work was not developed in greater completeness and detail. The book is not easy to obtain, and I have to thank Sir Arnold Wilson for procuring a copy for my inspection.

The language of the Bakhtiāri is one of a group of Persian dialects extending geographically along the mountain tract from Pusht i Kūh on the west to the Kuhgilu and Mamāsani territories on the east. This group is akin to that of the Fars dialects, including Modern Persian.

The differences from Modern Persian are marked in the sphere of phonology and there is also some divergence in vocabulary. In morphology the divergence is limited in range, and in syntax there is nothing radically different from non-literary colloquial Persian.

Up till recently the Bakhtiāri dialect had received little attention. A few words had been recorded by travellers in the nineteenth century, but it was only in 1910 that Oskar Mann published his *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme in Südwestlichen Persien* in which he gives something less than two pages of prose texts and about 339 lines of verse, and a vocabulary of some 120 distinctively Bakhtiāri words.

In his introduction Mann disposes of the previously-alleged relationship of Bakhtiāri to the Kurdish group of dialects. In an earlier article " Kurze Skizze der Lurdialekte ", *SBAW.* 1904, pp. 1173–93, he had given a brief account of the principal morphological and phonological features of the Bakhtiāri and other Lur dialects.

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In 1922 was published posthumously the third part of V. Žukovski's *Materialy dlya Izučeniya Persidskikh Narečii*, consisting of the "Dialect of the Chahārlang and Haftlang Bakhtiārīs".

This work contains about 2,000 lines of verse (1,000 *baits*) with Russian translations, and a complete Bakhtiāri-Russian Vocabulary with references to the texts and a Russian-Bakhtiāri index. There are no prose texts.

The material was collected, according to the information of Minorski, in the years 1883–1886. A Bakhtiāri note in the book appears to give A.H. 1302 (A.D. 1884) as the date of the translation.

It is much to be regretted that the author, who died in 1918, failed to supply this work with the introduction and commentary which he was so well-qualified to write. Copies are now difficult to obtain.

In the *Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian*, Prize Publication Fund, Royal Asiatic Society, 1922, I attempted to carry out a detailed comparison of the sounds of Bakhtiāri with those corresponding to them in Modern Persian. This book contains a Bakhtiāri-English Vocabulary of some 1,200 or 1,300 entries, including words used in, but not peculiar to, Bakhtiāri. It was based entirely on materials collected by myself in 1906, 1908, and 1913–14.

This concludes, as far as I know, the record of Bakhtiāri material published up to the present time.

It will be noted that while there is a considerable body of verse at the command of those to whom Žukovski's collection is available, the published prose amounts only to some two pages.

Bakhtiāri verse is extremely interesting from various points of view, but owing to archaism, conventionality and obscurity of diction it is not entirely typical of the ordinary spoken language, which is much better represented by modern prose narrative.

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In these circumstances the publication of Bakhtiāri prose texts cannot be regarded as supererogatory, and any addition to the small existing stock may perhaps be welcomed.

The short text which I print below is a fairly typical sample of a large number which I possess.

It is to be remembered that these texts were taken down from oral communication and that consequently some degree of inconsequence of thought, and clumsiness of expression is to be expected, apart from possible errors of the recorder.

I retain my original system of transcription which is as follows—the illustrations of the sounds are only approximate :—

The following are the

Vowels

ā and *-a*	English	*f*a*ther*.
å̄	,,	*aw*ful.
a	,,	b*u*t.
e	,,	wat*e*r.
à	,,	c*a*t.
ē	French	*été*.
è	English	l*e*t.
ī	,,	s*ee*n.
i	,,	b*i*t.
ū and *-u*	,,	b*oo*t.
u	,,	p*u*t.
ō and *-o*	,,	m*o*te.
o	,,	n*o*t.
ai	,,	d*ie*.
au	,,	s*ou*nd.
oi	,,	n*oi*se.

ē, *ī*, *ō* are not diphthongal as they tend to be in English.

Where a secondary vowel sound is introduced I have represented it by a separate vowel.

ā, *ē*, *ī*, *ū* may be longer or shorter forms of the given quality.

The following are the

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Consonants

k, *g*, as in English.	*p*, *b*, *w*/*v*, *f*.
χ, voiceless spirant as in Scotch lo*ch*.	*č* (*ch*urch).
	j (*j*udge), *y* (*y*ard).
γ, voiced spirant corresponding to χ.	*s*, *š* (*sh*ut).
	z, *ž* (pleasure).
q, velar.	*n*, *m*.
t, *d*, as in English.	*l*, *r*, *h*.
δ, voiced spirant as in English *th*at.	

The sound represented in the text by *ūñ* would, I think, be more correctly expressed as $\tilde{u}^n$ or sometimes merely $\tilde{u}$.

ng followed by a vowel is pronounced *ŋg* as in mo*ng*rel; otherwise the *g* is silent, as in si*ng*ing.

The following summary statement of some of the characteristic features of Bakhtiāri Phonology and Morphology may be of interest and will facilitate the examination of the text.

PHONOLOGY

[Bχ = Bakhtiāri; Mn. P. = Modern Persian; O.C.P. = Ordinary Colloquial Persian.]

Vowels

Mn.P. *ā*	is represented by	Bχ.	*å* and frequently *ō*.
ām, *am*	,, ,,		*ūm*, *um*.
ān	,, ,,		*ūn*, *ũ*, *õ*.
a	,, ,,		*ē*, *ai*, in a few words.
-and	,, ,,		*-an*, *-en*, *-èn*.
ū	,, ,,		*ī*
u	,, ,,		*i* frequently.

ŭ and *ō* are often used indifferently.

Consonants

Mn.P. *-g-* intervocalic frequently represented by Bχ. *-y-*.

-d- intervocalic frequently represented by Bχ. *-δ-* or *-y-* or disappears.

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-d final is frequently dropped.
-b- intervocalic and sometimes initial, Bχ. *-w-*.
χ- initial, Bχ. *h-*.
-χt medial and final, Bχ. *-hd*, -δ, *-d*.
-χm, Bχ. *-hm*, *-m*.
-rχ, *-lχ* Bχ. *-(h)r*, and *-(h)l*.
γ frequently appears as Bχ. *q*.
q frequently appears as Bχ. γ.
āb, *ab*, *af* (+ *š*, *s*) } appear as *-au*.
ft in *giriftan*, *guftan*, *raftan* } appears as *-d*, *-hd*, or -δ.
(Bχ. *girēδan*, *gudan*, *rahdan*, and variants.)
-m- medial in some words, Bχ. *-w-*, *-v-*.
(This is characteristic also of the Kurdish group, but also occurs in Gabri.)
-n sometimes takes after it an excrescent *d*.
š appears in some words as *s*.
r is sometimes replaced by *l*.

In Bχ. *h* frequently appears as an inorganic glide between vowels; on the other hand Mn.P. intervocalic *-h-* usually disappears in Bχ., the vowels then coalescing.

Examples of these and other phenomena will be found in the *Phonology of the Bakhtiāri, Badakhshāni, and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian*, R.A.S., 1922.

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns denoting *animate beings* have the plural endings *-ūñ* and *-gal*, *-gèl*, *-yèl*.

Those denoting *inanimate things* have their plural in *-ā̊*.

The *Accusative Suffix*, when expressed, is *-a*, *-e* when following a consonant, and *-na*, *-ne* when following a vowel or *r*.

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When there is a dependent adjective or genitive following, the accusative suffix is attached to it.

The Accusative Suffix is expressed when the noun is determinate, but may also be present when the noun is used indefinitely.

e.g. *ya dōlū.ēna just* " he sought for an old woman ".

The *Genitive* is expressed as in Modern Persian by the use of the *iẓafa i, è, e, a*—which, however, is often omitted, or is absorbed in a contiguous vowel.

The *Dative* and *Ablative* are produced as in Mn.P. by the use of the prepositions *bi* for the dat. and *zè, iz, az* for the abl. respectively.

A noun that is rendered *definite*, as by a demonstrative adjective or pronominal suffix, or which in English would have the definite article, may take a suffix *-ē*, or sometimes *(-i)kē, -(i)ka*.

A noun used *indefinitely*, as in English with the indefinite article, or denoting one unspecified individual with the numeral *ya(k)* expressed or implied, may take a suffix *-ē, -è, -i, -e*, e.g. *didū.ē dåšt* " he had a sister ".

This suffix may give the sense of " any ", " some ": e.g. *samerè sī't nadårē* " it has not any advantage for you ".

Owing to their variable and overlapping forms these suffixes, the *iẓafa*, and also the reduced forms of the Conjunction *wo* " and ", viz. *o, e, a* are not always easy to distinguish from each other.

The 3rd singular of the enclitic substantive verb " is " is also *ē, è, a*.

Pronouns

The Personal Pronouns are :—

Sg. 1.	*mū, mo.*	2. *tū, to.*	3. *ū, o.*
Pl. 1.	*īmå.*	2. *īså.*	3. *ūnūñ.*

The enclitic forms are :—

Sg. 1.	*-um.*	2. *-it, -at.*	3. *-is, -as.*
Pl. 1.	*-mūñ.*	2. *-tūñ.*	3. *-sūñ. -sōñ.*

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The Demonstratives are :—

Proximate : *this* :

	Sg.	Pl.
	yū, yo.	*yūnūñ.*
	ī	*īnūñ*
Remoter : *that* :	Sg. *ū, o*	Pl. *ūnūñ*

All the forms ending in vowels take the accusative suffix *-na, ne*

ī and *ū* are also used as adjectives.

Verbs

The Personal Endings are :—

Sg. 1. *-um*	2. *-ī, -ē*	3. *-ē, -è, -a*
Pl. 1. *-īm*	2. *-īn*	3. *-an, -en, -èn*

As in Mn.P. the 3rd sing. preterite is the simple form of the past base without any personal ending.

The Prefix with the present and imperfect indicative is : *i-, è-* in place of the Mn.P. *mī-*

The Present also does duty for the future.

The Perfect is formed by suffixing *-ē* to the various forms of the Preterite.

The Pluperfect as in Mn.P. consists of the past participle followed by the various persons of the past tense of *bīdan* (Mn.P. *būdan*), but it is not common in ordinary narrative.

The construction with the past tenses of transitive verbs is active as in Mn.P., but the past participle may also be used as a passive participle.

The forms of the Enclitic Substantive Verb are identical with the personal endings given above, but when they are affixed to a word ending with a vowel they take an initial *n-* in the singular.

Thus : 1. *-num* 2. *-nī* 3. *-nē*

e.g. *mâl i tunum* " I am thy property ".

The same probably holds good of the plural.

The Mn.P. *hast-*, negative *nīst-* " be, exist " is represented by Bχ. *hèd-, hèδ-* and *nē.iδ-*.

The Mn.P. *šudan* " to become ", does not occur in Bχ.,

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and its place is taken by *wō i bīdan* (*wå-*, *wā-*) pres. base: *wō i bū(h)-*, and sometimes by the simple *bīdan*, *bū(h)-*.

Mn.P. *bāšam*, etc., is replaced by the Pres. subj. of *bīdan*, viz. *būhum*, etc.

The Infinitive ending *-istan* is common in Bχ., replacing the Mn.P. *-īdan*.

So: Bχ. *tersistan* "to be afraid", Mn.P. *tersīdan*.

There are a few Transitive Verbs with the infinitive in *-nīdan* corresponding to Mn.P. *-ānīdan* or *-āndan*, e.g.:—

Bχ. *čårnīdan* "to graze" (cattle) Mn.P. *čarān(ī)dan*
jumnīdan "to shake" *jumbānīdan*

The same infinitive suffix also appears in some Intransitive Verbs:—

e.g. Bχ. *qurumnīdan* "to thunder"
jīknīdan "to cheep"

Hikå^{a}t i Zan o Havū.

Šaχsē az tå.ifa Dīnårūñ du zēna dåšt, yekī az tåfa Sihīd yèkī az tåfa Gūrū.ī kē mahalsuñ Gūrū.ī ba Šēhmin, Sihīd ba Fålè. Zēn' i Sihīd gyapter bīd, Gūrū.i kučīrter. Mērike Gūrū.īna bēšter iχåst. Ya rūz gud: "Ai Gulistūñ! mo tune qalavē ixo^{u}m, amå tū qåvil nē.iδī." Gud: "Čitaur?" Gud: "Herčē ba tu igohum gūš nē.igirī. Waχtī kē gūsindūnmūñ iyåhen ser a dūñ tū zīter wurē bidūššuñ kē ū zēna na wuristē, wa χut ham havīr ya šūlwå kē dårīm råst bikun. Mo az ū zēna qalavē itersum. To dīdī dōrī ba mo dåd. Az laj i to munè ikušē." Gulistūñ ham gud: "Ba min e tē.um! Herče tu igūhī gūš igirum." Šaursūñ kerden. Dī.er herčē mēra's iguδ, hamū kår ikerd. Zēna gyapa χårij wō ibīd. Az qazå Gulistūñ bača ba iškam wō ibīd. Bād az noh màh avē.id ser i på. Fišnådan, måmåča avaid. Zangèl jam wō ibīdan. Yek kurrē Xudå bè's karåmat kèrd. Ismas nahådan ba Kunårī. Bād iz čan sål gyap wō ibīdē. Kē do sè sål wō ibīd nåz ba ū ikerdan. (Nåz ba kuras ikerdan) wa bōzī ikerdan. Zēna gyapa gud: "Xo^{v}, ī mēra mune dī.er nē.iχo. Wå yek firgē

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bukunum. Šau tai'm nē.iχausē; hama tai ū zēnē iχausē."
20 *Avaidan ya ruz šūlwå dū nahådan ser a čåla. Wuriståd på^e hūr. Yè tī mērgyī.å az gaubåzūñ istaida bīd, yuna dåšt qoiyum kèrda, rēdsūñ min e šūlwå, nihådas pēš a mērika. Tå terist zi's χàrd Ra^ad just e haivūñas. Ba koh dōrī aser kerd, hålis be yak χerd. Bang i mål kerd kē: "Bī.åhīn, muna biwerīn."*
25 *Avaidan, kerdinas ba kūl, burdanas ba hōña. Pursīdan: "Čitē?" Gud: "Herčē bīd min e šūlwå^edūγ χèrdum." Mūrišt kerd. Du sè tå lihåf vandan wur rī's. Tå do så.at tau kerd. Zè nū dah rūz dī.er vast, bād az dàh rūz χu wō ibīd, amå mērgyi.åna χerdè bīd. Kušinda na bīd. Ådam e majhūl*
30 *ikunē. Pī.å faqēra majhūl kèrd. Dī.er ne ba kår i ī zēna iχard, na ba kår i ū zēna, hamītaur igyašt. Hålå īmå igūhīm kē ådam na wå bi qaul i zan raftår bukunē, kē zan wafå na dårē, ba hēčī ådamē az miyūñ iberē. Ū zēnana χus o kurase judå kerdan. Rā^adan ze pai kår χusūñ. Kunåri wå då's o bau.ūs*
35 *ser i yèk manden. Ayer kē her dōña jūr i yak iχåst ī derde nē.izaid bè's. Wō.istī jūr i yèk χåtirsūñ buxō.ē; na χåst. Yèkīne izad bukunē, yakīna izad nakunē, yō bad kårī.a. Pašīmūñ wō ibīd, ke: "Sī čè ī kårē kerdum, kè sadama buχurum?" Šau o rūz majhūl bīd, inišast hamōčō. Kunårī gyap wō ibīd.*
40 *Kištakårē kerd. Umūrsūñ iguzašt. Ya dafa wå bå hergyèl rā^ad ser a au. Dīd yèk tīl i zanē ser a au bīd. Au ruft bi mašk. Bè's gud: "Terī buzyèl idūšī? Terī serase binūšī? Terī bår iberī būñ? Terī yè tī bidīmūñ?" Zēnikē gud: "ai hōña χaråb! Ī qazer wilingår na bū. Rasm i Baχtī.årī yū*
45 *nē.iδ kē to her gō.ē dilat iχō buχurī. Ayer kē gyauyèlum bifahmen kē tū ī herfå ba mu zaidī, tåza dah nafer imīrē. Birau yak zēnē bistūñ. Tū jåhili, fām nadårī. Xaiyål nakunī kē 'yo zēnè wa mo mēr'um.' Gyauyèlum bimīran! Ba arwå bau.um! kē ayer kē ya dafa dī.er z'ī herfå bizanīn ba hamīñ*
50 *berd mazg i serat e ba dahūñat ivanum. Tuχm i to her'umē." Kunårī tai χus χaiyål kerd kē dil e qåfil χuv igō. Ayer kē merdum bifāman jang e qål ibūhē. U waχt rā^ad tai tåt'is. Sad tuman šīrbōhī dåd. Dōδer i tåt'is e istaid, χaili såhav daulat wō ibīd. Bunyåd kèrd ba jallåvkešī. Iχerīd, iferō^uδ, yānē*

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kauwa ixerīd, šīšak kē wō ibīdan iferō.udsūñ. Baχtis ham 55
ōvērd; *do kur gīris ōvēd az dōδer i tå't'is. Ismase nahåd Ōli,*
o yakī dī.er Mahmīd. Ī dō tåna ba ya iškam ovērdsūñ. Sako
ba andåza hazår hōña hèden az tåfa Dīnårūn, kē az hamū nū
ber på wō ibīdan. Ism e tå[a]fasuñ, Ålī Mahmīdī merdum igōhen.
Naqd germsēr Sūsin mahal dåren. Ailåq På i Tauwa Dōverår. 60

Tamōm wō ibīd

Notes on Text

havū, habbū, a co-wife in a polygynous household.

1. *Dinårūñ*, usually *Dīnārūni* (دینارونی), one of the four main tribal divisions of the Haftlang Bakhtiāri, of which the Sihīd (سهید ?) and Gūrū.i are sections.

   The other three main tribes are the Dūrakī, Båbådī, and Bēdårwand (i.e. Baxti.ārwand).

3. *gyap* and *kučīr* correspond in meaning to Mn.P. *buzurg* and *kučīk*.

   mērike: *mēra* "husband". The suffix *-(i)ka, -(i)ke, -(i)kē* here and frequently has the force of the definite article "the husband", cf. l. 22 and *zēnikē*, l. 43.

4. *Gūrū.īna*: *-na, -ne, -nè* is the form of the Accusative suffix when following a vowel cf. "tune", l. 5.

   Following a consonant it is *-a, -e*, cp. *ū zēna-na χus o kurase judå kerdan*, l. 33.

   ixåst } 3rd sing. imperfect } here "to love".
   ixo[u]m } 1st sing. present } of *χåstan* "to desire, wish",

5. *qalavē, qalava* "very, very much", Ar.P. *γalaba* which is not, as far as I know, used in colloquial Persian, but is found in Parāči with the meaning "many, much, very", v. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, vol. i, 1929, p. 255.

   qåvil, Mn.P. *qābil* "competent, worthy".

   nē.iδī, Mn.P. *nīstī*, cf. *nē.iδ*, l. 45, and *hèden*, l. 58.

7. *iyåhen*, Mn.P. *mī.āyand*.

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zīter, Mn.P. *zūdter*. The comparative is often used with practically the same force as the positive.

9. *wurē* } imperative
wuristē } 3rd sing. pres. subj. } of *wuristådan*

Which corresponds in sense to Mn.P. *berχ^{v}āstan* (*berχīz-*). But it seems often to denote merely "to proceed to" do something, "to set about" an action.

χut = *χudat*; *havīr* = *χamīr*; *šūlwå* = *šūrbā*.

dōrī = *dārū*.

10. *munè* = *marā* acc. of *mu*, *mo* "I", cf. ll. 18, 24.

ikušē = *mīkušad*. The future is expressed in Bχ. by the present tense.

min e tē.um = *miyān i čašmam*. In ordinary Persian simply *čašm*!

11. *šaursūñ kerdan* "they took counsel with each other". *mašwarat bā ham dīgar kerdand*.

The *sūñ* (= *-šān*) here looks very like the agential pronoun which is found in some dialects, e.g. Gabri, but this construction certainly does not occur in Bχ. as a regular or recognized phenomenon.

Cf. Gabri (*iyē*) *šo vōt* "they said".

dī.er = *dīgar*.

12. *gyapa* the *-a* here is equivalent to the definite article: "the senior wife".

wō ibīd (also *wå-*, *wā-*) = *šud* "(she) became".

13. *avē.id ser i på* : *avē.id* = *āmad*. This phrase is regularly used of a woman when child-birth is imminent.

14. *fišnådan* = *firistādand*. Pres. base *-fišn-*.

zangèl : *-gèl*, *-gal*, *-gyèl*, *-yèl* is a common plural suffix with nouns denoting animate beings.

Cf. *hergyèl*, l. 40, and *buzyèl*, l. 42.

15. *kurrē* : *kur* + *ē* = "a son".

16. *wō ibīdē*, 3rd sing. perfect.

The text seems confused: *bād iz . . . wō ibīdē* should probably follow *bōzi ikerdan* and *nåz ba kuras ikerdan* should be struck out as redundant.

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18. *χo^{v}* = *χūb*.
nē.iχo = *namīχ^{v}āhad*.
wå yek firgē bukunum = *bāyad yak fikrī bikunam*, cf. *na wå . . . bukunē*, l. 32.
tai = " in " or " to, the presence of (a person) ".

20. *avaidan* = *āmadand*, but here at most means " they proceed to (set) . . ." Probably the sense is: " it happened that they . . ."
šūlwå dū, a dish made of rice, water, and sour milk (*dūγ*). Etymologically *šūlwå* is identical with *šūrbā*.
čåla " camp fireplace ", a hole made in the ground with stones placed round three sides of it.
wuriståd på . . . " got up (and went) to . . ."

21. *hūr* = *χūr*.
yè tī " a little "; *yak kamī*, *yak χurda.i*.
mērgyi.å " a kind of drug " (*dawā*) given to an unloving husband whom it makes go mad.
gyi.å is perhaps *giyāh* " grass, herb ", and *mēr* may be *mēra* " husband ".
gaubåz = Mn.P. *kaulī*.
istaida bīd: plup. of *istēdan* pres. base *istōn-*, *istun-* " to take ", " to get ".
Mn.P. *sitāndan*, cf. *bistūñ*, l. 47.
yuna acc. of *yu*, *yo* " this ", cf. ll. 44, 48.
qoiyum = *qāyim* " concealed ".

22. *rēdsūñ* = *rīχtšān*.
tå terist zi's χàrd: *teristan* pres. base *-ter-* " to be able " *χàrd* = ordinary Persian *χurd* " As far as he was able, he ate of it ", i.e. " he ate his fill ".

23. *rā^{a}d just e . . .* = *raft ba just o ju.i . . .*
hålis ba yak χerd = OCP *ḥālaš bāham χurd*.

24. *bī.åhīn* = *bi.āyīd*. Note the 2nd pl. ending in *-īn*, which is regular in B*χ*. and is a characteristic of the Kurdish dialects. It also occurs elsewhere as in Kermāni and Samnāni.

26. *čitē* ? = *či* + *at* + *e* " what to thee is ? "

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27. *mūrišt* = *larz*.
vandan: *vandan* pres. base *van-*, *vèn* "to throw", cf. *ivanum*, l. 50. Cf. Gabri *vanōdmūn*.
wur rī's OCP. *rūyaš*.
28. *zè nū* = "afresh", "again". The meaning is apparently that *after* the fever he was laid up for ten days.
vast is equivalent to Mn.P. *uftād*. The root is no doubt similarly *pat-*.
29. *majhūl* explained as *dīwāna*, but apparently means "imbecile" rather than "mad".
30. *pi.å* denotes an "ordinary tribesman".
32. Such anti-woman reflections are not infrequent in Bakhtiāri stories, which appear to be man-made.
34. *då* "mother"; *bau*, *bau.ū* "father".
35. *ayer kē* for the ordinary Persian *ager*, cf. ll. 45, 49, 51. Similarly in Khowār as a borrowed word *ager ki*.
36. *wō.istī* "he ought to have". The past of *wå*, Mn.P. *bāyast*.
37. *izad* = *'izzat*.
a = *ast*.
38. *sī* "for", "on account of", Mn.P. *berā.i*.
39. *hamōčō* "that same place", *uču*, *očo*, etc. "there", *īču* "here".
40. *wå bå* the usual Bχ. equivalent of Mn.P. *bā* "with", "along with".
For *wå* alone, vide l. 34, *wå då's*.
hergyèl, pl. of *her* = Mn.P. *χar* "donkey".
41. *īīl i zanē* "a young married woman", as opposed to an unmarried girl.
au ruft probably for *au iruft* "she was sweeping", i.e. "scooping up", "water" into the mouth of a water-skin.
42. *bè's* OCP. *bi* + *aš*, *bèš*.
terī 2nd sing. pres. without prefix of *teristan* "to be able", cf. l. 22.
The dependent verb is normally put in the pres. subj. with the prefix *bi-*. In this passage the indic. prefix

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i- in *idūšī* and *iberī* is peculiar. It will be noted that in these cases the preceding word ends in a consonant.

This rhymed and obscure speech probably presents some archaic "double entendre".

43. *yè tī*, cf. l. 21, here and similarly in another text seems to be a euphemism for "sexual gratification".

44. *qazər* Ar.P. "*qadr*".
wilingår glossed "herza". Perhaps *wil* + *angār* "loose imagination".

47. *tu jåhili*: *jåhil* is used in Bχ. for "young man", "youth"; "young, immature".

50. *berd* is the regular Bχ. word for "stone". *mazg* = *mayz*. This forcible expression occurs elsewhere and is no doubt based on the actual experience of people who frequently indulge in Homeric conflicts with stones.
herum = Ar. Pers. *ḥarām*.

51. *qåfil* Ar. Pers. *γāfil*.

52. *jang e qål*: *e* is here for *wa*, *o* "and". It frequently represents the *iẓāfa*, and it is often difficult to be sure which it is.
tåt'is: *tåta* = "father's brother". The marriage of the children of brothers appears to be the normal thing among the Bakhtiāri.

53. *šīrbōhī* "the milk price", a payment made by the bridegroom to the bride's father before marriage, supposed to be on account of the mother's milk on which the girl was reared. The word appears in various forms ending in *-ī*, and also as *šīrbahå* (*šīr* + *bahā*). The change of *-å* to *-ī* is peculiar.
såhav = *ṣāḥib*.

54. *jallåv* "young stock", 1 to 2 years old. The term is used of sheep, bulls, goats.
iferō^{u}δ = Mn.P. *mīferūχt*.

55. *kawwa*, lamb, one year old or less.
baχtis ōvērd: *ōvērd* = *āward*.

I cannot corroborate this curious idiom by other instances of its use.

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56. *Ōlī* and l. 59. *Åli* (not *'Ali*). The tribal name is written عالي محمودي in the "*Kitāb i Tārīx i Baχti.ārī.*"

57. *ba ya iškam ovērdsūñ*, i.e. "they were twins", B*χ*. *jumū. sako* = "now".

60. *naqd* OCP. *naqdan.*
ailåq = *yēlāx, yēlāq.*
Tauwa *Dōverår*: *tauwa* = "cliff".
dōverår, dōberår = "a kind of eagle".
cf. Phillott, s.v. "eagle" and Steingass s.v. *du birādarān.*

Translation

The Story of the Wife and her Partner

A man of the Dīnārūni Tribe had two wives. One from the Sihīd section and one from the Gūrū.i. The Gūrū.i have their quarters at Shēmīn, and the Sihīd at Fālè.

The Sihīd wife was the senior and the Gūrū.i the junior. The husband loved the Gūrū.i best.

One day he said to her: "O Gulistūn, I love you very much but you don't deserve it." "How?" said she. "You pay no attention to anything I say. When our sheep come in to the milking-place you must get up and milk them quickly before the other wife gets up, and do you too prepare the dough or soup we have. I am very much afraid of the other wife, you have seen how she gave me poison. Out of jealousy of you she will kill me."

"On my eyes be it," said Gulistūn, "I shall pay attention to everything you say."

They took counsel together, and thereafter she did everything exactly as her husband said. The elder wife was kept out of things.

As it chanced Gulistūn conceived and after nine months she was confined. They sent off and a midwife came and the women-folk assembled. God bestowed on her a boy and they named him Kunāri.

After some years he had grown big. When he was two or three years old they fondled him and played with him.

The senior wife said: "Good, this husband no longer loves

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me. I must think what is to be done. He does not sleep with me at night, he always sleeps with that woman."

They came one day and put some "*shūlwā dūgh*" on the fire to cook. Then she got up and sent to the saddle-bag (in which) she kept hidden a little "*mērgyīa*" she had got from the gypsies.

She poured it into the *shūlwā*, and placed the latter before her husband. He ate his fill of it. Then he went off to look for his cattle. Up on the hill the drug took effect, and he was taken ill.

He shouted out to the camp: "Come and carry me down." They came and took him up on their backs, and carried him to his home.

They asked: "What's the matter with you?" He said: "Whatever it was I ate it in the *shūlwā dūgh*."

He began to shiver, and they threw two or three quilts over him. For two hours he had fever. Then again for another ten days he was prostrated.

At the end of the ten days he recovered, but he had eaten the *mērgyiā*. It was not mortal, but it makes one go off one's head, and it made this poor man an imbecile.

After that he was of no use either to the one wife or to the other, and in this state he continued to go about.

Now we say that a man should not act on what a woman says, for woman is faithless, for no reason at all she destroys a man.

They ejected that wife, herself and her son. They went off about their own business.

Kunāri and his mother and father remained together.

If the man had loved both wives alike this suffering would not have come upon him. He ought to have loved them alike, but he did not. To honour one wife and not to honour the other is a bad thing.

The man repented (what he had done, and said): "Why did I do this thing, so that I (now) suffer misfortune?"

Night and day he was out of his mind and (in that state) he continued to dwell there.

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Kunāri grew up. He tilled the land. (And so) their affairs went on.

(It chanced that) he went once with the donkeys to the water-side and there he saw a young married woman. She was filling water into a *mashk*. He spoke to her and said: "Can you milk goats? Can you eat their heads? Can you carry a load up on to the roof? Can you give me a little something?"

The woman replied: "Ah, ruin on your house! Do not be so abandoned. It is not the custom of the Bakhtiāri that you should eat all the filth your heart desires. If my brothers were to know that you had said such things to me straightway ten men would die. Go and get yourself a wife. You are a mere boy and have no sense. Don't go thinking 'she is a woman and I am a man'. Death to my brothers! By the soul of my father (I swear) that if ever again you say such things to me I'll dash your brains into your mouth with this stone here! You are of bastard birth."

Kunāri thought to himself: "She is right in calling me thoughtless. If people come to know this there will be strife and quarrelling."

Thereupon he went off to his paternal uncle. He gave him 100 *tumāns* as bride-price and took his uncle's daughter (to wife).

In course of time he became possessed of much wealth. He took to stock-rearing. He kept buying and selling, that is, he bought yearling lambs and sold them when they were two years old.

His fortune prospered. He had two sons by his uncle's daughter. He called the one Āli and the other Mahmīd.

She gave birth to these two at one time.

Now there are about 1,000 houses of the Dīnārūni Tribe who have come into existence in this way. People call their tribe the Āli Mahmīdi.

At the present time they have their winter quarters at Sūsin, and their summer quarters at Pā i Tauwa i Dōverār.

The Story is Ended.

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The Date of the Yoga-sūtras

By JWALA PRASAD

CONSIDERING the fact that the Mīmāṃsā, the Vedānta, the Sāṃkhya, and the Yoga schools owe their origin directly to the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upaniṣads, it may be expected that the doctrines of these would have been systematized and put together into the form of the *Sūtras* earlier than those of the Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya schools, the essential tenets of which had their beginnings in a later and different kind of literature. This expectation, however, seems to be belied by the fact that the present *Sāṃkhya-sūtras* have been proved to belong to a very late period, as late as the fourteenth century A.D.; and the *Yoga-sūtras* are now believed by a number of scholars, following Professors Jacobi and Woods, to be as late as the fourth or fifth century A.D. Now, while the gap of an early systematic work on the Sāṃkhya is filled up by the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*, or it may be explained by the surmise that there was an early *Sūtra* work, either a shorter form of the present one or altogether different from it, which is lost,[1] the *Yoga-sūtras* are all that we have as a systematic exposition of the Yoga doctrines, and there is no reason to believe that they were preceded by another work of a similar nature. The question, then, is whether the systematization of such an early school of thought as the Yoga would have been postponed until as late as the fourth or fifth century A.D., and until after the systematization of the doctrines of even the Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya schools, which began later on, and the *Sūtras* of which definitely contain a reference to the Yoga doctrines of mystic intuition and concentration.

The arguments adduced for the late date of the *Yoga-sūtras* are mainly those given by Professor Jacobi in his

[1] Cf. "Antiquity of the Sāṃkhya-sūtras," by Udaya Vira, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, vol. i, pp. 104–6.

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article on the Dates of the Philosophical Sūtras,[1] and these I propose to consider presently.

Professor Jacobi's arguments may be summarized as follows :—

1. A discussion of the Buddhist denial of the external world in *YS.* iv, 15 f., indicates that these *sūtras* refer to the Buddhist doctrine of *Vijñāna-vāda*, and hence Patañjali must be later than the middle of the fifth century A.D.

2. That the Patañjali of the *Yoga-sūtras* is different from the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* bearing the same name, and hence, " the only argument for the great antiquity of the *Yoga-sūtras* is fallacious ".

3. There are certain doctrines in the *YS.* which are not countenanced by the Sāṃkhya and the early Yoga, and which hence have been adopted by Patañjali from other systems ; and this fact indicates that the *YS.* belong to a late period. The doctrines alluded to are explained by Jacobi as follows :—

(*a*) The doctrine of *sphoṭa* has been adopted from the Vaiyākaraṇas ; it is expounded in the *Bhāṣya ad YS.* iii, 17.

(*b*) The doctrine of the infinite size of the *antaḥkaraṇa* seems to have been adopted from the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. It is given in the *Bhāṣya* on *YS.* iv, 10, and there ascribed to the " *Ācārya* ".

(*c*) The atomic theory, which originally belonged to the Vaiśeṣika, is clearly referred to by Patañjali in *YS.* i, 40 (cf. *Bhāṣya* on iii, 44).

(*d*) The doctrine that time consists of *kṣaṇas*, which was first put forth by the Sautrāntikas, is clearly assumed in iii, 52, though the details are explained in the *Bhāṣya* only.

A Criticism of the above Arguments

The first argument is evidently based upon the assumptions that (*a*) there is a refutation of *Vijñāna-vāda* in *YS.* iv, 15 ff. ; and (*b*) that it is the *Vijñāna-vāda* of Vasubandhu which is refuted. As regards the first of these it will appear that it is only the *Sūtra, na caika-citta-tantraṃ vastu tad apramāṇakaṃ tadā kiṃ syāt* which lends support to the view that *Vijñāna-vāda* is refuted. There is nothing either in the preceding *sūtra* or the following one to indicate definitely that there is reference to *Vijñāna-vāda* in this context. The *Sūtra* iv, 15, is : *vastu-sāmye citta-bhedāt tayor viviktaḥ*

[1] *Journal of American Oriental Society*, xxxi, 1911.

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panthāḥ, of which a faithful rendering into English will be, "because of the difference of the intellect (thoughts), the object being the same (or similar), the path of the two is different." It will appear that neither the Sanskrit commentators nor modern scholars have faithfully followed the wording of the *sūtra* in commenting upon it, or translating it into English.[1] The author of the *Bhāṣya* is prepossessed with the notions of *Vijñāna-vāda* and its refutation in this section of the *YS.*, so much so that he starts a discussion on the subject even in his comments upon the previous *Sūtra*; iv, 14: *pariṇāmaikatvād vastu-tattvam*, which has not even the semblance of having anything to do with *Vijñāna-vāda* or its refutation, and hence the remark by Vācaspati Miśra: *tad evam utsūtraṃ bhāṣyakṛd vijñānātirikta-sthāpana-yuktim uktvā sautrīṃ yuktim avatārayati-*, "so having thus gone beyond the *sūtra* in giving the reason for establishing something besides knowledge, now the author of the *Bhāṣya* introduces the argument as given in the *sūtra* itself," i.e. in iv, 15. The interpretation of the first commentator has since been followed by the later ones, and by modern scholars. It will appear, however, that the *sūtra* in itself is evidently intended to say that the same or similar object of a certain nature (according to the combination of the three constituents- *guṇas*: *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*) affects different minds differently because of the difference in the nature of those minds; the main point emphasized being not the *diversity of minds* but the *difference of mentality*. The term *citta-bhedāt* in the *sūtra* may signify "difference of intellect (thoughts)" with reference to one and the same individual, *or* different individuals, as the case may be. For, one and the same individual may

[1] E.g. Rajendralal Mitra: "Even in the sameness of object the course (courses ?) of the two are distinct, from *diversity* of the thinking principle," *Bibl. Indica* edition; and Woods, "Because, while the (physical) thing remains the same the mind-stuffs are different (therefore the two are upon) *distinct levels of existence*," "Yoga System of Patañjali", *HOS.*

In the above translations I find no justification for the renderings italicized by me.

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also be said to have different " minds " according as he happens to be in the mood of *sattva*, *rajas*, or *tamas*, and to be, therefore, affected differently by one and the same, or a similar object; and such a case also is evidently covered by the *sūtra*. This interpretation is confirmed by the context of the two previous *sūtras*,[1] and is also supported by the example given by the commentators that the presence of a young woman affects different men in a different manner according to the character of those men. Similarly, *Sūtra* iv, 17: *tad uparāgāpekṣitvād asya vastu jñātājñātam* simply asserts that a thing is known or not known according as it produces an impression upon the mind or not; and there is no reference to *Vijñāna-vāda* in it, even according to the commentators. As has already been said, it is only *Sūtra* iv, 16: *na caika-citta-tantraṃ vastu tad apramāṇakam tadā kiṃ syāt*-, " nor is an object dependent upon one intellect; that (being) not a proof, what would happen then ? ", which lends support to the view that there is a refutation of *Vijñāna-vadā* in this section, or in the *Yoga-sūtra*. Now, it is interesting to find that this *sūtra* has not only been not commented upon by Bhoja, the author of the *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa-vṛtti*, but evidently not treated by him as a *sūtra* at all; for it does not appear in the editions of his *Vṛtti*, and *Sūtra* iv, 17, as found in the editions of the *Bhāṣya*, and Vācaspati Miśra's commentary has been numbered as *Sūtra* iv, 16, and so on. This omission of the *sūtra* by Bhoja clearly indicates that the copy or copies of the *Yoga-sūtras* which he used did not contain this *sūtra*.[2] What could be the explanation then of the appearance of this *sūtra* in the editions of the other commentators ? Considering that Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra were the predecessors of Bhoja, it is improbable that he should not have known their commentaries, and should not have been aware of this

[1] *YS.* iv, 13: *te vyakta-sūkṣmāḥ guṇātmānaḥ*; and iv, 14: *pariṇāmai-katvād vastu-tattvam*, in which an object is said to be composed of the three constituents of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*.

[2] Cf. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, i, p. 233, note 1.

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sūtra, had it been regarded as a *sūtra* in his time; and yet we have the commentaries on this *sūtra* by both Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra in the editions that have come down to us. The only explanation of this discrepancy is that the clause *na caika-citta-tantraṃ vastu tad-apramāṇakaṃ tadā kiṃ syāt* was originally a line in the middle of the *Bhāṣya* on *Sūtra* iv, 15, immediately following the last sentence of what is now regarded as the *Bhāṣya* on iv, 15, viz. *ta etayā dvārā sādhāraṇatvaṃ bādhamānāḥ pūrvottara-kṣaṇeṣu vastu-svarūpam evāpahnuvate*, and the *Bhāṣya* on iv, 15, really ended with the last sentence of what is now regarded as the *Bhāṣya* on iv, 16. Similarly, the comment of Vācaspati Miśra on iv, 15 and 16, according to the present editions also originally must have formed one entire comment on iv, 15; and it was in this form that the *Yoga-sūtra* and the commentaries of Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra must have been known to Bhoja. It was only later on that, either by mistake or otherwise, this particular clause in the *Bhāṣya* came to be treated as a separate *sūtra*, and the commentaries were also divided accordingly. This mistake, or misinterpretation, could not have been possible in the case of Bhoja's commentary, for it is of an independent nature and does not usually follow or repeat the texts of the previous commentaries; and hence the edition of the *Yoga-sūtra* as found with his commentary may be regarded as authentic. This explanation of the discrepancy about *Sūtra* iv, 16, is rendered more than plausible by the further facts that: (*a*) the clause which is regarded as *Sūtra* iv, 16, now does not read like a *sūtra* at all; (*b*) it quite fits in with the context, if it is regarded as a part of the *Bhāṣya* immediately following the last line of the present *Bhāṣya* on iv, 15; and (*c*) the present commentaries of Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra on iv, 15 and 16, if treated as commentaries only on iv, 15, and read together, form one continuous whole without the slightest indication that those latter portions which are supposed to belong to iv, 16, could not have been a part of the commentaries on iv, 15.

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It is rather curious that this discrepancy about *YS.* iv, 16, which is so important for the point under discussion, has not been mentioned at all by either Professor Jacobi or Professor Woods.

If what has been said above about *Sūtra* iv, 16, be true, there is no reason to believe that independently of the commentaries the *Yoga-sūtras* contain a refutation of *Vijñāna-vāda* at all. Further, even if there were a reference to *Vijñāna-vādā* in any of the *Yoga-sūtras*, no argument has been given by either Jacobi or Woods to show that it is the *Vijñāna-vāda* of Vasubandhu which is meant. "We cannot, it is true," says Professor Woods, "maintain that the *Vijñāna-vāda* here attacked by the *sūtra* must be the idealism of Vasubandhu"[1]; and then again he rightly admits that "there surely were idealists before him, just as there were pre-Patañjalian philosophers of Yoga".[2] All this admission, coupled with the fact that the very authenticity of the *Sūtra* iv, 16, is extremely doubtful, takes away the force of the whole argument for a late date of the *Yoga-sūtras* based upon the fact that there is a reference to *Vijñāna-vāda* in them.

Before I pass on to the next argument I wish to utilize this opportunity of pointing out one thing about references to *Vijñāna-vāda* in particular and other doctrines in general. It will appear that in the Philosophical *Sūtras* when a certain doctrine other than its own is mentioned or criticized the name of the author or the school of thought to which it belongs is seldom mentioned. It is only in the commentaries that specific names are mentioned, and it is found that whenever there is the slightest scope for interpreting a *sūtra* as referring to, and providing a criticism of, what may be called by the general name of *Nirālambana-vāda*, the commentators are only too eager to put it down as containing an argument against the *Vijñāna-vāda* or the *Śūnya-vāda* of Buddhism. Now the fact that in most cases the *Sūtras* were composed or compiled much earlier than the date of the commentators, and that their authors have not mentioned any particular names while criticising doctrines different from their own, should be a warning against reposing an unqualified confidence

[1] *Yoga System of Patañjali*, Introd., xvii.
[2] Ibid., xviii.

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in the interpretations of the commentators. This should be the more so because most of the early commentators lived and wrote their commentaries at a time when the Hindu-Buddhistic polemics were at their highest, and the Hindu writers were only too glad to use anything which they could lay their hands on as a missile against their opponents. Let us take, for instance, general references in the *Sūtras* to an idealistic doctrine such as has been called *Vijñāna-vāda* in Buddhism, even where they actually exist. The usual tendency is to suppose, often without any arguments or proofs, that they must be to Vasubandhu's *Vijñāna-vāda*, although it is also admitted at the same time that there was *Vijñāna-vāda* in Buddhism even before Vasubandhu. Further, it seems to have seldom occurred to scholars that such *sūtras* may not refer to any particular school or author at all, and may simply have in view the idealistic position in general; or, again, they may refer to such idealism as is found in some of the early *Upaniṣads*. That besides the *Vijñāna-vāda* of Buddhism there was also an old Hindu theory of idealism, even of the type of the Buddhistic *Vijñāna-vāda*, in so far as the doctrine of mind-dependent reality is concerned, is a fact which has to be admitted, but which usually seems to be forgotten by scholars when discussing references to the idealistic doctrines in the *Sūtra* literature. For example, the philosophy of such an early work as the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* is as good a *Vijñāna-vāda* as any other could be. All things of the world are described as knowledge (*prajñānam*) and having their existence only in and through knowledge—*sarvaṃ tat prajñā-netram, prajñāne pratiṣṭhitaṃ, prajñā-netro lokaḥ, prajñā pratiṣṭhā, prajñānaṃ brahma.*[1] Similarly the denial of plurality and the doctrine of absolute existence in such Upaniṣads as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* very much approximate the doctrine of illusory existence as found in the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism. Both these doctrines, even as they were to be found in Hinduism, would not be tolerated by such later realistic schools as were represented by the Philosophical *Sūtras*; and what wonder if, when the authors of the *Sūtras* discussed these, they should have had these Hindu doctrines only, or also, in view.

The second argument given by both Jacobi and Woods for the late date of the *Yoga-sūtras* is that the author of the *Yoga-sūtras* is different from that of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Now, even granting that this view about the authorship of the

[1] *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*, ii, 6; *Ait. Upaniṣad*, iii, 3, 3.

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YS. be true,[1] I do not see how this by itself can prove that the date of the *YS.* is late, or cannot be earlier than the fourth or fifth century A.D. The question of the date of the author of the *YS.* still remains undecided and open. It may be late, or it may be early.

The arguments 3 (*a*) and 3 (*b*) based upon the presence in the *Bhāṣya* of a reference to the doctrines of *sphoṭa* and the infinite size of the *antaḥkaraṇa* are admitted by Jacobi himself to be weak, for no reference of this kind is to be found in the *Sūtras* themselves. Speaking of the first he says: "This theory is, however, not directly mentioned in the *Sūtra*, and *its introduction rests entirely on the authority of the Bhāṣya*"[2]; and about the second: "It is given in the *Bhāṣya* on iv, 10, and there ascribed to the '*Ācārya*'."[2] I have only to add that it is evident that these references prove nothing with regard to the date of the *Sūtras*.

The next arguments are 3 (*c*) and 3 (*d*), viz. that the atomic theory is referred to in *YS.* i, 40: *paramāṇu-parama-mahattvānto 'sya vaśīkāraḥ*, and the doctrine of *kṣaṇas* in *YS.* iii, 52 *kṣaṇa-tat-kramayoḥ saṃyamād vivekajaṃ jñānam*. In connection with these references Jacobi says: "The *Sphoṭa-vāda* and the *Mano-vaibhava-vāda* (1 and 2) may be later additions to the system, but the *Paramāṇu-vāda* and the *Kṣaṇika-vāda* must be ascribed to Patañjali and cannot be later than him."[2] Now again, even granting what Jacobi says here with regard to these references, I am unable to see how they can prove that the *Yoga-sūtras* belong to a late date, unless it could be shown that these doctrines belong to a late period. On the other hand, Jacobi's own statements in the article under discussion indicate, what is really true about them, that they can be traced back to quite an early period, in Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. Speaking about the adopting of these doctrines by Patañjali he says: "That he did adopt

[1] However, see Dasgupta on this point, *History of Indian Philosophy*, i, pp. 231–2.

[2] *JAOS.* xxxi, p. 28; italics are mine.

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them, directly or indirectly, from the Vaiśeṣikas and Buddhists, though of course not in their original form, presupposes that these doctrines had somehow ceased to be shibboleths of hostile schools, and that the general idea underlying them had been acknowledged by other philosophers too. We know that this has been the case with regard to the atomic theory which has also been admitted by Buddhists, Jainas, Ājīvakas, and some Mīmāṃsakas".[1] The conception of *aṇu* is expressly found in some of the earlier *upaniṣads* also, e.g. in *Kaṭha* ii, 20, *aṇor aṇīyān*; or in *Muṇḍaka* ii, 2, 2, *yad aṇubhyo 'ṇu*.[2] Similarly, about what Jacobi calls *kṣaṇika-vāda*, and what really is the use of *kṣaṇa* in the sense of a moment, he admits that "the *kṣaṇika-vāda*, in an altered and restricted form, has been adopted by the Vaiśeṣikas",[3] the *Sūtras* of whose school, according to Jacobi, are earlier than the *Yoga-sūtras*. Then, after having made all these statements, he concludes: "This adoption of originally heterodox doctrines by Patañjali therefore unmistakably points to a relatively modern time." Now, even if it be granted that Patañjali was the first to introduce these doctrines into the Yoga system, this fact does not prove that he belonged to a late date; for the doctrines of *aṇu* and *kṣaṇa* have to be admitted to belong to quite an early period, even on Jacobi's own statements, and they might have been imported into the Yoga at any reasonable time even before the fourth or fifth century A.D.; for instance, at about the same time as they were imported into the Vaiśeṣika system.

Professor Woods' argument,[4] based upon *Sūtra* ii, 52, of Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* does not prove anything definite. In fact, the *TS.* ii, 52: *aupapattika-carama-dehottamapuruṣa-saṃkheya-varṣāyuṣo 'napavartyāyuṣaḥ* cannot

[1] *JAOS.* xxxi, p. 28.
[2] Also *Chānd.* iii, 14, 3; *Bṛhad.* iv, 1, 1; vi, 3, 13.
[3] *JAOS.* xxxi, p. 28.
[4] *Yoga System of Patañjali*, Introduction.

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be said to refer to *YS.* iii, 22 : *sopakramaṃ nirupakramaṃ ca karma tat-saṃyamād aparānta-jñānam ariṣṭebhyo vā.* So far as the two *sūtras* are concerned they have neither the affinity of language nor of thought. The one (*TS.* ii, 52) discusses the period of life of the various kinds of beings, and the other (*YS.* iii, 22) the attainment of a certain kind of yogic merit, *siddhi*. What we find is that Umāsvāti in his own commentary on *TS.* ii, 52, uses the terms *sopakrama* and *nirupakrama*, which are also found in *YS.* iii, 22, and uses the illustrations found in the *Yoga-bhāṣya* of this *Yoga-sūtra*. Now there can be two alternative explanations of this : either (1) Umāsvāti had in his mind this particular *Yoga-sūtra* and the *Yoga-bhāṣya* on it while writing his commentary on *TS.* ii, 52 ; or, (2) he used the terms *sopakrama* and *nirupakrama* and the illustrations independently simply because they were known to him as apt and usual in connection with the topic which he was discussing, just as in logic so many of us use such familiar examples as "Man is mortal", "Socrates is a man," etc. Now, if the first alternative be true, it only proves that Umāsvāti was later than the *Yoga-sūtras* and possibly also the *Yoga-bhāṣya* ; and the *Yoga-sūtras* might belong to any date before Umāsvāti, late or early. And, if the second alternative be true, which is more probable, it proves nothing with regard to the relation between Umāsvāti and the author of the *Yoga-sūtras*. Professor Woods, however, argues on the authority of Professor Stcherbatskoi that, as Diṅnāga (about A.D. 550, according to Woods' estimate) does not seem to know anything of Patañjali, he could not be much earlier. As regards this argument, it has to be noted, firstly, that our knowledge of Diṅnāga and his works is still very imperfect and incomplete ; secondly, there might have been no occasion for Diṅnāga to refer to Patañjali ; and thirdly, the clear implication of this argument, if it be accepted, is that Patañjali was later than Diṅnāga, and consequently the date of the *Yoga-sūtras* is to be pushed still further to about the seventh century A.D. ! This goes against Professor Woods' own state-

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ment, in which he says: "The date for Siddhasena is set by Professor Jacobi (*ZDMG.* 60, 289, Leipzig, 1906, reprint, p. 3, *Eine Jaina-Dogmatik*) at the middle or end of the sixth century. Umāsvāti precedes him; and Patañjali the philosopher would not be later than A.D. 400 and might be much earlier."

It is evident that very little can be proved about the date of the *Yoga-sūtras* by alluding to the presence in them of such philosophical doctrines as can be traced back to a very early period, or again by referring to such authors or works containing references to the *Yoga-sūtras* as belong to a late period. The arguments based upon both these kinds of references leave a very wide margin both for the earlier and the later limits. Besides references to particular authors or doctrines, another criterion for determining the relative dates of certain works can be a comparison of their philosophical position with regard to such problems as may be common to them. For example, for determining the relative dates of the Philosophical *Sūtras* one such problem may be the theory of the means of knowledge (the *pramāṇas*). We know that of all the Philosophical *Sūtras* it is to be found in the most developed form in the *Nyāya-sūtras*, and also that all the works which we definitely know to be later than the *Nyāya-sūtras*, and which have dealt with the *pramāṇas*, show evident signs of being influenced by the theory of the *Nyāya-sūtras*. On the other hand, the theory of the *pramāṇas*, as found in the *Sūtras* of the other schools, is clearly of a primitive nature. The *Mīmāṃsā* and the *Vedānta-sūtras* hardly contain anything which may be called the theory of the *pramāṇas*; the *Yoga-sūtras* are a little better; and the position of the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras* appears to be just preliminary to the theory as found in the *Nyāya-sūtras*.

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Arab Weather Prognostics

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THE majority of Arab weather prognostics are, as might be expected, concerned with the winter season, when the changeable weather gives scope for forecasting. The summer months in most Arabic-speaking lands are rainless, and except for wind changes offer little or no field for the activity of the weather prognosticator. The sun and moon, the stars, the rainbow, mist, dew, thunder and lightning, birds and insects all form constituents in Arabic weather forecasts.

Sun

1. "The 'sun-house' is a rain bringer" دار الشمس مطارة [Palestine (Bēt-Jāla): Cana'an, 289]. The "sun-house" is the halo. A halo round the sun is a sure sign of rain.

2. "The sun is 'banished'" الشمس مطرودة [Palestine: Cana'an, 289]. A term used of the sun when it shines pale through the clouds. This is regarded as a sign of approaching rain. Compare our "A red sun has water in his eye".

3. "Trust not the horse if it is frisky, nor the sun if it turns its back" لا تامن الخيل اذا هلّت ولا الشمس اذا ولّت [Syria (Shumlān): also Egypt: Shuqair, 54*a*. Egypt: Bājūrī, 142 *var*. . . . لا تامن للمرة اذا صلّت]. The sun is said to "turn its back" when it has a pale, hazy appearance. Then rain may be expected.

4. "Keep the sun from the cloud and the girl from mischief" خذ الشمس من تحت الغيم وخذ البنت من تحت الضيم [Syria (Aleppo): Ayyūb, 878 (ix, 15)]. Sun and cloud together, or, rather, a sun hidden by cloud, bode no good.

5. "The rain is from the early morning" المطر من

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البدريّة [Soudan: Shuqair, 130 (31)]. In the neighbourhood of Beirūt rain preceding the sun in the morning betokens a wet day (نهار ماطر), but if the sun precedes the rain it will be good weather (صاحى). Contrast our "Rain before seven, fine before eleven". The following weather saying is to the same effect. It is, however, used as a proverb with general application.

6. "The good day is known from its dawn" النهار المليح يبعرف من اوّله [Syria ('Akkār): Ghānim, 558 (44). (*a*) Syria (Shumlān): *var.* الشهر for النهار. (*b*) Palestine: Baumann, 256 (217) ليلة الخير من العصر بتبان. (*c*) Egypt (Cairo): Burckhardt, 50 الليلة النيّرة من العصر بيّنة, so also with *var.* تبان Egypt: Shuqair, 104 (37); Bājūrī, 35. (*d*) Malta: Vassalli, 74 (678), النهار يظهر من غداه].

7. "If it is red in the morning take your stick and fare forth, but if it is red in the evening seek a snug retreat" اذا احمرّت باكر خذ عصاتك و سافر واذا احمرّت عشيّة حوش لك مغارة دفيّة [Syria (Aleppo): Ayyūb, 928 (xiv, 2)]. The Bohemians also say: "A red sunrise betokens a fine day; a red sunset rain" (Swainson, 180). As a rule, however, the reverse is held to be the case, as witness

8. "When it is red in the evening bridle your ass for setting forth (i.e. the weather will be good), and when it is red in the morning leave your ass to rest (i.e. the weather will be bad)" اذا احمارتْ مع العشية . اربَطْ حمارك للمشية . و اذا احمارت مع الصباح . اطلق (خلّى) حمار يستراح [Algeria (Medea): Cheneb, 34. N. Africa: Cherbonneau, 32. (*a*) N. Africa: Daumas, V.A. 492, منين تشوف الحمورة فى العشى . وجّد عودك للمشى . ومنين تشوف الحمورة فى الصباح . دخّل عودك للمراح (*b*) Malta: Vassalli, 40 (340), الحمورة فى العشية جيب زويلك

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عالتجرية . الحمورة فى الغدا جيب زويملك من جرباء (red in the evening take your beast for the journey; red in the morning fetch your beast in from the field).] This prognostic in variant forms is widespread. Compare Matthew xvi, 2, 3, also our "Evening red and morning grey help the traveller on his way: evening grey and morning red bring down rain upon his head", or "Red in the morning is the shepherd's (sailor's) warning; red at night is the shepherd's (sailor's) delight". Proverbs in similar strain can be quoted from France, Germany, Denmark, Italy, the Basque country, etc. (*vide* Swainson, 178 sq.).

Moon

If the new moon appear during fine weather it is a good omen for the month. Such a moon is called حربجى (warrior). The explanation offered is that good weather is required for campaigning. If, on the other hand, rainy weather coincides with its appearance, the weather of the month will not be favourable. The moon is of great importance to many of the Arabs, for they journey often in the hot weather by night. Witness the proverb: "Journey and the moon be with you" سِر وقمر لك. When the new moon is seen for the first time it is the custom amongst the Syrian peasantry to greet it with an invocation. Amongst the Christians its form is: "May God cause you to shine and usher in to us a blessed month" يستهلّك ويجعلك عليك شهر مبارك [Shumlān]. The Druses have a fuller form which they use: "May God cause you to appear and shine and set over us a blessed crescent, satisfy us with your good, and ward off from us your evil" الله هلّك واستهلّك هلالك مبارك كفينا خيرك وكفّ عنّا شرّك [Baiṣūr]. When the crescent is reclining, mottled, and pale (الهلال جالس ابرش باهت) wet weather is imminent, but if the crescent is inclined to one side and red (محروق احمر) it portends heat. The Scottish saying is "The bonny moon

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is on her back, mend your shoon and sort your thack" (i.e. repair your shoes and your thatch for wet weather is near). In England people speak of the new moon lying on her back or being ill-made as a prognostic of wet weather. When there is a halo round the moon it is a sure sign of rain, and if the halo be open to the south (for Syria the rainy quarter) the rain is near [Shumlān].

9. "If the moon has a halo the morrow night will be rainy" اذا كان القمر عليه طارة . بيكون ليلة غدا مطارة [Syria (Aleppo): Ayyūb, 928 (xiv, 1)]. Prognostics based on the halo of the moon are found in most countries. Compare our "When round the moon there is a brugh, the weather will be cold and rough"; "The moon with a circle brings water in her beak"; "Far burr, near rain." In Scotland it is said that halos predict a storm at no great distance. The larger the halo round the moon the nearer the rain clouds and the sooner the rain may be expected. For numerous examples of prognostics associated with the lunar halo see Swainson, 186 sq.; Inwards, 42 sq.; Streng, 31.

10. "The halo round the moon is not to be trusted" دار القمر غرارة [Palestine: Cana'an, 287]. Whilst a halo round the sun is regarded as a sure sign of rain, a halo round the moon is thought, in Palestine at least, to give no certain indication. It may be followed by fine weather. This accords with similar weather sayings in this country, as witness: "The circle of the moon never filled a pond: the circle of the sun wets a shepherd." Compare also the German: "Hof um den Mond der soll wohl geh'n, aber Hof um die Sonne da schreit das Schiffer's Weib" [Swainson, 187].

Stars [1]

11. "When *al-mīzān* (Libra) rises, the water becomes cold in the courses" اذا طلع الميزان يبرد الماء فى الكيزان

[1] For the Meccan proverbs I am indebted to Shereef Mohiuddin, nephew of Husain, ex-ruler of Mecca.

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[Mecca]. Libra, the balance, as representing the equality of night and day, is the sign for the autumnal equinox.

12. "When *al-mīzān* disappears unyoke the team from the plough" اذا غاب الميزان فكّ الفدّان [Syria ('Akkār): Ghānim, 556 (6)].

13. If at the عيد لدّ[1] Libra and the Pleiades[2] stand in S.-N. opposition a fruitful year will follow, because its winter will be rich in downpours, called شتا ثرياوى, but this will not be the case when they stand, as customary, in E.-W. opposition (Bauer, *B*, 56).

14. According to the Bedawin of Moab ثراى (Pleiades) is attacked by سهيل (Canopus) in the month of كانون (December–January). If ثراى escapes from this attack and succeeds in fleeing away, the year will be rainy and produce abundantly, but if ثراى is wounded by the blows of سهيل the year will be bad (Jaussen, 376).

15. "On the day of the rising of Canopus, the fig-skin becomes thicker" يوم يطلع اسهيل بيخمل قشر التين [Palestine: Cana'an, 297]. It marks the ushering in of the colder days of autumn, etc. The skin of the fig becomes thicker in autumn.

16. "At the appearing of Canopus, bring the horses under the roof" عند طلوع اسهيل آو الخيل [Palestine: Cana'an, 297, note 3]. The cold season is now about to begin.

17. "In the season of *al-'aqrab* (Scorpio) do not pass the night under the open sky" فى زمن العقرب تحت السما لا تِقْرَب

[3] عيدلدّ is the Feast of St. George. This falls on 3rd November (in the case of the Eastern Church the 16th November) of our reckoning. The church at Lydda is dedicated to St. George.

[2] The Pleiades (ثريّا) are used for shaping a course in the desert, as witness the saying: "Set the P. before her (the camel) and let go her reins" حطّ الثريا امامها والزَمْ خطا مها [Mecca].

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[Mecca]. Scorpio marks the definite decline of the sun's power. It is the symbol of darkness.

18. "At the rising of *al-ḥūt*, there the cold dies" اذا طلع الحوت هناك البرد يموت [Mecca]. The *baṭn-al-ḥūt* is a brilliant star situated beneath the veil of Andromeda: it is sometimes confused with the constellation of Pisces. It is seldom that abundant rains do not fall during this "mansion", which corresponds to the 14th April of Julian reckoning (*vide* A. d. Motylinski, *Les Mansions lunaires des Arabes*, Algiers, 1899, 57).

19. "When Cancer is met with, the two *nasīms* blow" اذ التقى الصرطان هبّ النسيان [Mecca]. The نسيمان are the morning and evening breezes, the land and sea breezes. Cancer is the sign of the summer solstice.

20. "The heat of *asad* (Leo) burns the clothing on the body" حرّ الاسد يكصّن الثوب على الجسد [Mecca]. Leo as the symbol of fire marks the culmination of solar heat.

21. "*Al-buṭīn*—the bee spends the night in mud" البطين تبات النحلة فى الطين [Algeria (Medea): Cheneb, 2271]. *Al-buṭīn* falls on the 10th of May of the Julian year. At that period of the year it is no longer cold, and the bee even is able to spend the night away from the hive. On this "mansion" of the moon, *vide* A. d. Motylinski, loc. cit., p. 10.

Rainbow

22. The rainbow is called colloquially in Syria قوس القَدَح for قوس القزح.[1] Other names for it are قُسْطان, قسطانى, قوس المُزْن[2], قوس السما, قوس قزيع, قوس الله, قسطانيّة

[1] قزح = a storm god, a mountain god whose cult belonged to Muzdalifa, one of the sites of the Pilgrimage. A fire was lit on this mountain, the المشعر الحرام (the sacred monument) of the Qur'ān, ii, 194 (ed. Flügel).

[2] المُزْن = whitish raincloud. حبّ المزن = hailstone.

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قسطانة, also نَدِيءُ, نِدَأَة, etc. [*vide* A. Mallon, قوس قزح *Al-Mashriq*, iii (1900), 241; *Qāmūs*, 963, etc.] In Morocco it is sometimes called "the bride of the rain" عروسة المطر (Meakin, *An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco* (1891), 143). In Algeria it gets the name قوس النبيّ or زين قدح (Machuel, 312).[1]

23. "If the rainbow appears in the evening look out a warm corner, but if in the early morning take your stick and fare forth early (i.e. it will be good weather)". ان نصب عشيّة شوف لك قرنة دفية. وان نصب غدويّة. حْمول عكازك صبحيّة [Syria (Beirūt, Baiṣūr). (*a*) Syria (Shumlān) *var.* وان . . . . نصب فى الصباح خذ عكازك للرواح. (*b*) Syria ('Akkār), Ghānim, 559 (82), قوس قزح اذا نصب عباكر خذ عصاتك وسافر وان نصب من عشية نقى لك مغارة دفيّة. (*c*) Palestine (Bēt-Rīma): Cana'an, 286, note 1, ان قوّست باكر. احمل عصاتك وسافر. ان قوّست امسيّة دور لك على مغارة دفيّة (*d*) Algeria—Tunis; Cheneb, 1409; Dalīl, 60, قوس قدح اذا طلع فى الصباح حطّ على زوايلك وارْتَحْ. و اذا طلع فى العشيّة قِمْ على زوايلك و خذ الثنيّة (when the rainbow appears in the morning unload your pack-animals and rest (for it will rain), but if it appears in the evening load your pack-animals and fare forth (lit. take the mountain path))]. The Algerian form given in (*d*) is the

[1] The names given to the rainbow in different countries are interesting. Bridge of the gods (Old Norse), girdle of Laima or Lauma (Lithuania), bow of St. Martin (Catalonia), girdle of St. Leonard or crown of St. Bernhard (Lorraine), heaven's ring or sun-ring (Bavaria), bow of heaven (Finland), stool of the gods (Czecho-Slovakia), stave (barrel-stave) in heaven (Serbia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia), striped cow (Croatia)—*vide* Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, 34, note 1; Swainson, 194 sq.

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reverse of the others and shows itself in accord with the prognostics respecting the rainbow in the Western World. The Cornish form of the saying is here an exception and accords with the Oriental. It runs: "A rainbow at morn put your hook in the corn: a rainbow at eve put your head in the sheave." Contrast this with the Wiltshire form: "The rainbow in the mornin' gives the shepherd warnin' to car' his gurt cwoat on his back; the rainbow at night is the shepherd's delight, for then no gurt cwoat will he lack" (Inwards, 69). "If in the morning ye Rainbow appeare, it signifieth moysture, unlesse greate drought of ayre worke the contrarie. If in the evening it show itselfe faire weather ensueth so that abundant moyst ayre take not away the effect" (Digges, 6).[1]

24. "East and west (i.e. if the rainbow stretches so across the sky) take to the road, if south and north unyoke the team (from the plough)" شرق و غرب سا فر عادّرب . قبلة و شمال فكّ الـفدّان [Syria] (Beirūt): (*a*) Syria (Sūq al-Gharb): *var.* نام for سافر, also Syria: Jemayyel, 867 (44) *var.* نَمْ. (*b*) Syria ('Akkār): Ghānim, 559 (82) ان نصب قبلى وشمال فـكّ العمـّال . وان نصب شـرق وغرب نام عـدّرب]. The direction of the span is important. Thus, if it is thrown east and west across the sky, good weather is expected, and if north and south it will be wet (Jemayyel, 867, note 2).

25. "If a boy passes under the rainbow he will become a girl" اذا مرّق الصبي تحت قوس القدح بيصير بنت. This threat to boyhood we may be excused for giving here. It is used by Syrian mothers to keep their boys from wandering far afield. It is a sufficient threat for the average boy. The same quaint notion finds expression in Haute-Loire and Serbia (*vide* Streng, 69).

[1] For French and German proverbs to the same effect *vide* Streng, 70; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, 34 sq.

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Mist

26. "If there is mist in the evening seek out a cosy corner" ان غطغطت عشية دوّر لك على مغارة دفية [Palestine (Jerusalem): Baumann, 183 (244), No. 205].

27. "Mist in the evening necessitates faggots for the fire" غطيطة عشية بدّ ها قرمية [Syria (Sūq al-Ḡharb)]. In Germany thick fog in the evening is held to portend that it will rain during the night.

28. "If there is mist (i.e. in the morning) it will soon be fine" ان عرّجت فرّجت [Palestine: Cana'an].

29. "When there is mist in the morning, take your shepherd's staff. Mist in the evening seek a cosy corner" ان عجعجت صبحية احمل عصا الرعية . ان عجعجت امسية دور لك على مغارة دفية [Palestine: Cana'an, 286 *var.* ان عجعجت باكر احمل عصاتك وسافر].

Miscellaneous

30. "Dew is the bed of rain" الندا فراش الشتا [Palestine: Cana'an, 286]. The Palestinian peasant looks upon heavy dew as the harbinger of rain.

31. "If the south is clear, do not fear for the rest" اذا كان القبلى ناقى لا تخاف من الباقى [Syria (Shumlān)]. The south is the quarter whence rainy and stormy weather may generally be expected to come.

32. "Snow precedes fine weather" تلّجت فرّجت [Syria (Shumlān)]. Literally "it has snowed, it has cleared".

33. "No fine weather till after snow" ما فيه فرجة لبعد التلجة [Syria (Shumlān)].

34. "If you see the sky dappled, take out your effects and repair them" اذا رايت السماء مبقّع خرّج حوايجك ورقع [N. Africa: Cheneb, 58; Dalīl, 60 (Tr. 59), *var.* for رايت read شِفْت]. The weather will be good.

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Thunder and Lightning

35. In Syria, if the noise made by thunder is long and rolling (called جاروش[1]), it is regarded as a sign of bad weather, but if it be short and sharp in sound the climax (فسخ طبع) has been reached and the weather may be expected to improve steadily. When the thunder belongs to neither of these extremes it is called رعد قاصف, and people say "The cow of the heavens is frisking".[2]

36. "When the thunder rolls in the 'nights' get ready the shovel and fork (i.e. the harvest will be good)" اذا رعّد الرعد فى الليالى سَجِّ اللوح والمذارى [Algeria (Medea): Cheneb, 57; Tunis: Dalīl, 60]. The "nights" here are the so-called "black nights" (الليالى السود), the name given in Algeria to the forty nights following on 23rd December, although some say 21st December. They in their turn are followed by forty "white nights" (الليالى البيض).

37. "When it thunders it will stop" ان ارعد افطمت [Palestine (Bēt-Jāla): Cana'an, 285].

There are, as might be expected, weather prognostics based on local signs. We give here two of these.

38. "Lightning over Jebail, it will rain to-night" برق جبيلى بتشتى الليلة. [Syria (Sūq al-Gharb)]. J'bail or Jebēl, ancient Byblos, a small town on the coast to the north of Beirūt and almost due north of Sūq al-Gharb.

[1] جاروش is the colloquial term for "hand-mill". This mill for grinding corn consists of two flat stones, the upper being made to rotate on a pivot supplied by the lower. The grinding makes a considerable noise.

[2] بقرة السما مُقَيْقِبة. On the Arabic names for thunder *vide Kitāb al-Maṭar*, 209 sq. Amongst the Greeks and Romans thunder was the rolling of the chariot of the Father of the Gods (*Horace*, xii, 1), and this is still a popular fancy in Sweden and Finland (cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, i, 138; ii, 62), the anger of God (Westphalia), God plays skittles (Germany), angels or apostles play skittles (France), God rattling peas (Poitou), the devil rattling decalitres of rye, or Baraban throws his wives out of the window (Maritime Alps).

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39. "Lightning over al-Ghadīr, rain in abundance" [Syria (Sūq al-Gharb)]. Al-Ghadīr is a village above Jūneh (north of Beirūt), and, like J'bail, almost due north of Sūq al-Gharb.

40. "Much lightning, much rain" ان برّقت غرّقت [Palestine (Bēt-Jāla)]. Literally, "if it lightens, it drowns."

Birds and Insects

41. "The year of the starling, plough the uncultivated (fallow) land" سنة الزرزور الحرث فى البور [Palestine (South): Cana'an, 287]. The "year of the starling" is a year in which these birds are plentiful, portending, so the peasants believe, a good and fruitful year.

42. "In the year of the lapwing sell your bed and buy a cover" سنة القطا بيع الفرشة واشترى غطا [Palestine (South): Cana'an, 287; *var.* (Bēt-Rīma) بيع الوطا ("sell shoes")]. The year when lapwings appear in large numbers will be a year of scarcity. Everything will be so dear that the peasant in poor circumstances will be driven to sell his household effects and be content with bare necessities.

43. "The year of the hornet, the winter will be severe" سنة الدبور الشتا قاسى [Syria (Shumlān)]. A summer when hornets are numerous will be followed by a severe winter.

44. "When the storks pass (over Lebanon) in the spring, it will rain" متى مرق البجع فى الربيع بدّها تشتى [Syria (Shumlān)]. The storks pass northwards in the spring on their way from Egypt to Europe. Rain is generally expected on the second day thereafter. In Italy and Germany the passing of the storks is also said to herald rain (*vide* Swainson, 235).

45. "The 'black worm' is a good sign for the silkworm" الجيمرة علامة للقزّ [Syria (Shumlān)]. The year when the

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مجيمرة is much in evidence is held to be a good sign for the silk industry, since the weather conditions will be favourable.

46. "If the rain in January is of small amount there is fear of locusts" اذا كان الشتا فى كانون قليل يخافوا من الجراد [Syria (Shumlān)]. كانون here is كانون الثانى.

47. "If the spring is wet, a year of silk and not of grain" اجا الربيع رطب سنة حرايز مش غرايز [Syria (Shumlān)]. The غرارة is a large sack for grain.

The Year

48. "The year of frost plough vigorously" عام الجليد احرث وزِدْ [Algeria (Medea): Cheneb, 1171; Daumas, V.A. 496]. Plentiful frost indicates that the year will be good.

49. "Don't reckon your year until you have seen the harvest" لا تحسب سنتك حتى تستغلّها [Syria: Barthélemy, 364 (81); Jemayyel, 867 (46); Shuqair, 54 (9)]. The equivalent of our "Do not count your chickens before they are hatched".

50. "No bee without mud (i.e. rain), no goat without dry weather, no fine weather without snow" ما لك نحلة غير من وحلة . ما لك معزة غير من قحلة . ما لك فرجة غير من تلجة [Syria (Baiṣūr)].

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

URDU: THE NAME AND THE LANGUAGE

PART I

Epitome.—Urdu was born in 1027; its birthplace was Lahore, its parent Old Panjabi; Old Khaṛī was its step-parent; it had no direct relationship with Braj. The name Urdu first appears 750 years later.

The problem of Urdu has not yet been solved. This note is written with a view to crystallizing thought about the matter, and is of necessity more summary than would be desirable if limitations of space had not to be considered.

Perhaps the most important date in the history of Urdu is 1027, the year in which Maḥmūd Ġaznavī annexed the Panjab. He had already made expeditions into the country, but in that year he formally claimed possession of it and settled troops in the capital, Lahore. To 1027 may be assigned the birth of Urdu. At that time these Persian-speaking soldiers began to live among a people whose language was old Panjabi, to mix with them, to have intercourse with them, and, we cannot doubt, to learn their language. The contrary idea that the people all began to speak Persian may be dismissed. The army must have used this old form of Panjabi, not very different in those days from the early Khaṛī Bolī of Delhi, but they introduced Persian words and possibly phrases. This means simply that they must have begun to speak early Urdu.

For 160 years Maḥmūd Ġaznavī and his successors held the Panjab; it was wrested from them in 1187. For the second time the country was seized by men who spoke Persian. This time the conqueror was Muḥammad Ġorī whose servant Quṭb ud Dīn Aibak captured Delhi in 1193 and became the first Sulṭān on the death of his master in 1206. It seems clear

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that his troops made friends with the soldiers whom they defeated in Lahore, and that the two armies went on to Delhi leaving a sufficient force to keep open the lines of communication ; for Aibak cannot have annihilated the fighting men in Lahore and he would not have permitted the menace of a hostile army in his rear. We may conclude that a considerable number of those who entered Delhi with Quṭb ud Dīn Aibak already spoke early Urdu. This language, altered by the influence of the new troops who spoke Persian, and of the city people whose language was old Khaṛī, developed into later Urdu.

This sketch of the origin of Urdu suggests that we should regard Lahore, not Delhi, as its birthplace, and early Panjabi as its parent language. Unfortunately we have no means at present of ascertaining what Panjabi at that time was like ; we feel sure, however, that it had not diverged far from old Khaṛī. We may dismiss Braj from our calculations ; there is no reason to think that it had any direct connection with Urdu. When Urdu was born in 1027 Panjabi was only entering the modern stage. Although we can hardly doubt the general course of events, we do not get on to firm ground till 1326, when Muḥammad Tuglaq invaded the Deccan and founded Daulatābād. We know that his troops spoke Urdu ; and when in 1347 'Alā ud Dīn Bahmanī revolted against him and ascended the throne as the first ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty, his state made Urdu its official language.

If it be objected that there is not complete proof of some of the above statements, we can admit that fact, but point out that the proof is stronger than for the hitherto accepted view that Urdu began in Delhi during the Mugal period.

Indian writers usually consider that the royal camp in Delhi was first called the *urdū* by the Emperor Bābur in his work, *Tuzuk i Bāburī*. It may be so. He was a Turkī who came from Turkistān in 1526 and naturally spoke of his *urdū* ; but the word is found in the *Jahākushā* of Javainī, 1150, e.g. vol. i, p. 162 :—

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dar urdū e shāhzādagān dar natavānand āmad, "they cannot enter the camp of the princes";

and on p. 148 :—

dar andarūn i urdū āmadand, "they came into the camp." There seems to be no reason why the army in Lahore or Delhi should not have been called the *urdū* several centuries earlier than Bābur.

When does the word Urdu first occur as the name of a language ? It became common in Lucknow after 1846 and in Delhi after 1857. We must make a sharp distinction between Urdu, used by itself as a proper name, and *zabān i Urdū*; for we cannot be sure that *zabān i Urdū* is a name; it may be a mere description, "the language of the army."

Perhaps the earliest example of the word standing alone and bearing the sense of Urdu language is in Muṣḥafī, 1750–1824 :—

Khudā rakkhe zabā̃ ham ne sunī hai Mīr o Mirzā kī
Kahē̃ kis mũh se ham ai Muṣḥafī Urdū hamārī hai ?

"I have heard the language of Mīr and Saudā; how can I dare to assert that Urdū is my language ?"

We are unable to say in what year these words were written. Muṣḥafī may have composed the verse any time after he was grown up. He was a recognized poet in 1776.

J. B. Gilchrist, writing in 1796, mentions the name as well known. His words are: "In the mixed dialect also called Ŏŏrdoo اردو, or the polished language of the Court, and which even at this day pervades the vast provinces of a once powerful Empire" (*A Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language*, p. 261). As we do not know the date of Muṣḥafī's lines we must admit that Gilchrist *may* have been the first person who in literature used Urdu as the name of the language.

Jules Bloch has made a striking suggestion, which he admits is only an intuitive feeling requiring to be substantiated by proof, that the name Urdu is due to Europeans. In this connection it is important to note that Gilchrist in the sentence just quoted mentions Ŏŏrdoo as a name already

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established. His statement seems to make it clear that Indians used the word. Gilchrist himself always called the language " Hindoostanee ".

W. H. Bayley in an English and " Hindoostanee " thesis, 1802, which may be consulted in the British Museum, says " the language which I have specified by the name of Hindoostanee is also frequently denominated Hindee, Oordoo, Moosulmanee and Rekhtu ".

Sayyid Inshā in *Daryā e Laṭāfat*, 1807 (Lucknow ed., p. 2), writes : *Khush bayānān i ājā muttafiq shuda az zabāhā e mutaʻaddad alfāẓ i dilcasp judā namūda o dar baʻẓī ʻibārat bakār burda zabāne tāza sivā e zabāhā e dīgar rasānīdand o ba urdū mausūm sākhtand* : " the good speakers of Delhi united in separating attractive words from several languages and using them in sentences ; in this way they produced a new language, different from other languages, and called it Urdū."

Mīr Amman in the preface to *Bāg o Bahār*, 1802, gives an account of the birth of Urdū, and though he never uses the word alone (he says *Urdū kī zabān*) it is clear from the whole context that he is thinking of a definite name.

We conclude that while Fārsī and Hindī had for long been used as proper names Urdu did not receive similar recognition till near the dawn of the eighteenth century.

The phrase *zabān i urdū e muʻallā* seems to occur for the first time in Mīr's *Nikāt ush Shuʻarā*, 1752. On p. 1 of the Badāyūn edition he says : *poshīda na mānad ki dar fann i rekhta ki shiʻrest baṭaur i shiʻr i Fārsi ba zabān i Urdū e muʻallā e Shāhjahānābād Dihlī kitābe ta ḥāl taṣnīf na shuda* : " we must remember that up to the present no book has been written on the art of *Rekhta*, which is poetry in the style of Persian poetry but in the language of the royal camp of Delhi."

Here *urdū e muʻallā* may possibly mean *faṣīḥ aur mustanad Urdū*, the idiomatic and authoritative Urdu of Delhi.

Two years later Qāim writes in *Makhzan i Nikāt* (Aurangabad ed., 33) :—

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akṣare az tarkībāt i Furs ki muāfiq i muḥāvara e urdū e mu'allā mānūs i gosh meyāband minjumla e javāz ul abyān me dānand: "most Persian constructions which strike their ears as familiar from the point of view of the idiom of the royal camp they regard as among the things lawful in poetry."

Here, too, the phrase may mean "correct Urdu idiom", and the author may not be thinking of the army. But as Mīr and Qāim appear always to use Hindī or Rekhta as the name of the language we should perhaps translate "the language, or idiom, of the army".

Mīr's son, 'Arsh, who lived well into the nineteenth century, says :—

ham haī Urdū e mu'allā ke zabāndā ai 'Arsh
mustanad hai jo kucch irshād kiyā karte haī

"I speak the Urdu e Mu'alla language and what I say is authoritative". The date of the lines is unknown. The author's father died in 1799 at the age of 86 (not in 1810, as usually stated).

Finally, Muḥammad 'Aṭā Ḥusain in *Nau Ṭarz i Muraṣṣa'*, 1798, speaks of *zabān i urdū e mu'allā*.

Mr. G. M. Qādrī has drawn my attention to two MSS. which contain perhaps the earliest instances of the use of *zabān i urdū* without further description. The references are :—

Taẕkira e Gulzār i Ibrāhīm, by 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khā, 1783 (speaking of Vaṣālat Khā Ṣābit), *tatabbu' i zabān i urdū namūda*, "he followed the Urdu language," or "the language of the *urdū*", i.e. devoted attention to it.

Taẕkira e Shu'arā e Hindī, by Muṣḥafī, 1794 (speaking of Muḥammad Amān Niṣār), *adā e zabān i urdū*, "the style of the Urdu language," or "of the language of the *urdū*".

THE PROBLEM OF THE NAME. It is always stated that the language was originally described as the speech of the army or camp, *zabān i urdū*, and that gradually the word *zabān*

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was dropped, leaving *urdū* to stand alone. This explanation gives rise to a great difficulty. We have seen that Urdu was first used by itself in the poems of Muṣḥafī. We may perhaps guess the date of the couplet in which the word appears as the year 1790, when the author was 40. We are now faced by the fact that the first instance of the use of the word was 763 years after the establishment of the army in Lahore, almost 600 years after the *urdū* was settled in Delhi, and 261 years after Bābur called his camp the *Urdū e Mu'allā*. The Urdu language had been in existence for about 750 years before anyone gave it, in writing at any rate, the name by which it is now always known. Even if we take the earlier date, 1752, when Mīr described it as the language of the royal camp, we deduct only thirty-eight years from our figures. None of the historians of the Mugal period ever used the name. We have to answer three questions :—

(1) Why was there a delay of centuries in giving the name Urdu ?

(2) If a new name had to be given in the eighteenth century, why was this name chosen for the language when it had many, many years previously been given up for the army ?

(3) If the army was not called *urdū* till Babur's time, 1526, the language which had then existed for nearly 500 years must already have had a name. Why was that name given up ?

It is easier to state the problem than to solve it. I see no solution except this : that some name or description such as *zabān i urdū* was in conversational use from the time when the army was first called *urdū*, and that very gradually, hundreds of years later, it crept into books, possibly earlier than we are now aware of, while the use of Urdu alone was still later. I feel the inadequateness of this, but perhaps it will lead to something fuller. We must always remember that in early days Urdu literature was not so accurate a reflection of daily life and speech as it is now, and there may have been much in ordinary talk which found no echo in books.

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Part II

In the eighteenth century and earlier Hindi (sometimes Hindavī) was the usual name for the language in general and Rekhta for the literary or poetical form of it.

Ja'far Zaṭallī, 1659–1713, has the lines,

agarci sabhī kūṛa o kurkuṭ ast
ba Hindī o rindī zabā laṭpaṭ ast

" although everything is rubbish and sweepings, the language is lively with Hindi and licentiousness ".

Faẓli in the preface to his *Dah Majlis*, 1732, writes :— *aur ab tak tarjuma e Fārsī ba 'ibārat i Hindī naṣr nahī huā mustama'* : and so far no one has ever heard of a translation from Persian into Hindi prose.

Aṣar, in his famous *maṣnavī Khvāb o Khayāl*, 1740, frequently uses rekhta, as on p. 10 :

rekhta nē yih tab sharaf pāyā,
jab ki Ḥaẓrat nē usko farmāyā

" Rekhta obtained this eminence only when Ḥaẓrat (Dard, his brother and teacher) used it ".

On p. 9, talking of the contents of his volume, he calls Urdu " Hindavī " :

Fārsī sau haī Hindavī sau haī,
bāqī ash'ār i maṣnavī sau haī

" Persian couplets 100, Hindavī 100, and the remaining couplets of the *maṣnavī* 100."

Afẓal Beg in his *taẓkira Tuḥfat ush Shu'arā*, 1752, not printed, deals almost entirely with poets who wrote in Persian, but where he refers to Urdu poetry he calls it Hindī. Thus he says of Mīr 'Abd ul Ḥai Viqār : *ash'ār i Fārsī o Hindī ṭab' durust dārad*; " he had good natural ability in Persian and Hindi poetry " (*Camanistān i Shu'arā*, 152).

Shāh Ḥātim, in the preface to his *Dīvānzāda*, 1755, writes : *dar shi'r i Fārsī pairau o Mirzā Ṣāib ast, dar rekhta Valī rā ustād medānad* : " in Persian poetry he (the author) follows

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Ṣāib, in Rekhta he regards Valī as his master." See *Āb i Ḥayāt*, ed. 1917, p. 115.

Mīr Ḥasan, d. 1786, uses Hindī or Rekhta and avoids Urdū. In his anthology, 1776, he has the phrase : *tazkira e sukhan āfrīnān i Hindī*, "an anthology of Urdu poets" (p. 40).

Even Shāh 'Abdul Qādir in his well-known Urdu translation of the Qur'ān uses the name Hindī : *is mẽ zabān i rekhta nahĩ bolī balki Hindī e muta'āraf ki 'avāmm ko be takalluf daryāft ho* ; "I have not used Rekhta in my translation, but well-known Urdu that ordinary people might easily understand it".

Mīr, 1713–99, Saudā, 1713–80, and Qāim (d. about 1790) use the word Rekhta very often. I will content myself with one quotation from Mīr :

mazbūṭ kaise kaise kahe rekhte vale,
samjhā na koī merī zabā̃ is diyār mẽ.

"What fine Urdū verse I have written, but no one in these parts understands me".

The name Hindi requires no comment. It was the natural word to use in early times. Several explanations have been given of Rekhta, a Persian word which means "poured", and has no literary signification in Persian. The most important are the following :—

(1) Urdu is called Rekhta because Arabic and Persian words were poured into it.

(2) Rekhta means "down and out", and Urdu was at first regarded as something contemptible.

(3) It means verses in two languages, and at first Urdu and Persian were used side by side.

(4) It is a musical term introduced by Amīr Khusrau indicating the application of the music of one language to the words of another.

(5) It means a wall firmly constructed of different materials, as Urdu is of diverse linguistic elements. This is the opposite of (2).

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Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī in *Jalva e Khiẓr* says that the name Rekhta has been in use since the time of Shāhjahān. This requires proof.

Other early names may be mentioned.

According to Maḥmūd Shīrānī *zabān i Dihlavī* was used by Amīr Khusrau (d. 1324) and by Abu'l Faẓl (in *Āīn i Akbarī*).

Shāh Ḥātim in the preface to his *Dīvānzāda* quoted above calls Urdu " rozmarra e Dihlī " : *rozmarra e Dihlī ki Mirzāīān i Hind dar muḥāvara ārand manẓūr dārad*, " I have accepted the daily speech of Delhi which is the idiom of the Mirzas of India."

Again : *rozmarra rā ki 'ām fahm o khāṣṣ pasand bāshad ikhtiyār namūd*, " I have chosen the daily speech understood by all and liked in select circles." (As has been noted before he refers to himself in the third person.)

To turn to Dakanī writers. Shāh Mīrā Jī, d. 1496, a famous religious writer, who preached and wrote in Urdu, explains that he wrote in " Hindi " in order that people might understand : *yeh bolū Hindī sab, is artō ke sababb*, " I am saying all this in Urdu for this reason ".

His son, Shāh Burhan ud Dīn, d. 1582, says in his poem *Irshād Nāma : 'aib na rākhē Hindī bol*, " do not blame me for using Urdu." He also calls it Gujrī, which is not unnatural, for his language is marked by many Gujrati features :

je hoe gyān bicārī,
na dekhē bhākhā Gujrī (*Ḥujjat ul Baqā*)

" learned people will not look at Gujrī " i.e. Urdu.

yeh sab kīā Gujrī zabā (*Irshād Nāma*)

" I have done all this in Gujrī (Urdu) ".

Vajhī, the famous author of *Quṭb Mushtarī*, 1609, referred to in the India Office Catalogue as nameless and anonymous, wrote in 1634 a prose work *Sab Ras*. After the ascriptions of praise he proceeds : *āgāz i dāstān ba zabān i Hindostān*, " here begins the story in the language of Hindustan," i.e. the Urdu of Delhi as distinguished from Dakanī.

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The dialect of the Deccan was often called Daknī or Dakhanī, e.g. Rustamī's *Khāvarnāma*, 1649, *Khāvarnāma e Daknī kītā hũ nām* "I have called it the Dakni Khavaranāma" (last line but five).

Shāh Malik's *Sharī'at Nāma*, 1666, *Dakhanī mẽ bolyā hai ṣāf*, "said it plainly in Dakhani." (This author is mistakenly called "Shāh Mulk" in the India Office Cat.)

T. Grahame Bailey.

THE AUTHOR OF THE ŚIVA-SŪTRAS

From very early times the *Pratyāhāra-sūtras*, which come at the beginning of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and which form an integral part of the most highly developed mnemonic system of Pāṇini, have been considered to be revealed by the God Śiva. Thus the versified Śikṣā, attributed to Piṅgala by the commentator, and generally known as the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* (Ṛg. recension śl. 58, Vāj. rec. śl. 34), *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (i, 4, 22), and finally the *Kāśikā* of Nandikeśvara (śl. 1), all have produced the impression that the *Pratyāhāra-sūtras* are not a composition of Pāṇini. Böthlingk, the first editor of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in Europe, retained the traditional title *Śiva-sūtras*, and after him such eminent scholars as Kielhorn have allowed it to continue without any note or comment. It is rather curious how Patañjali's clear statement has been overlooked by modern students of Pāṇini. This statement runs :—

"प्रत्याहारेऽनुबन्धानां कथमज्ग्रहणेषु न।"

य एतेऽनु प्रत्याहारार्था अनुबन्धाः क्रियन्त एतेषामज्ग्रहणेषु ग्रहणं कस्मान्न भवति। किं च स्यात्। दधि णकारीयति मधु णकारीयतीतीको यणचि इति यणादेशः प्रसज्येत॥

"आचारात्"

किमिदमाचारादिति। आचार्याणामुपचारात्। नैतेष्वाचार्या अच्कार्याणि कृतवन्तः॥

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"अप्रधानत्वात्"

अप्रधानत्वाच्च । न खल्वयमेतेषामनुबन्धः प्राधान्येनोपदेशः क्रियते । क्व तर्हि । हल्षु । कुत एतत् । एषा ह्याचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते यत्तुल्यजातीयांस्तुल्यजातीयेषूपदिशति । अचोऽनु हलो हल्षु ॥

(Kielhorn's edit., vol. i, p. 32.)

Here Patañjali, in his usual clear style, discusses the question whether the anubandha letters (*ṇ, k, ṅ, c*) suffixed to the first four *sūtras* (*aiuṇ, ṛḷk, eoṅ, ai auc*) for the sake of forming pratyāhāras are to be included among the letters denoted by the pratyāhāra *ac*. This question had already been raised and answered by the *Kārikākāra*, probably Vyāḍi, who is quoted and commented upon by Patañjali: "the anubandha letters (being consonants) do not occupy a prominent position among the vowels. Where then? Among the consonants. Why is it so? Because it is the style of the Ācārya that he enumerates the vowels among the vowels and the consonants among the consonants."

The gloss of Nāgeśa on the word Ācārya shows how strongly the tradition had taken hold of him: आचार्यशब्देनानादिशब्दपुरुषः. This interpretation of the word is restricted to this passage only. That here Ācārya refers to Pāṇini is beyond doubt. Besides, cf. on ii, 1, 3: एषा ह्याचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते°, where even Nāgeśa has no other interpretation to offer. And also: प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचावकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता यत्नेन सूत्रं प्रणयति स्म तत्राशक्यं वर्णेनाप्यनर्थकेन भवितुं किं पुनरियता सूत्रेण ॥ (on i, 1, 1, p. 39).

The only objection that could be raised is that Patañjali at a subsequent place (vol. i, p. 40) declares that वृद्धिरादैच् is the beginning of the *Śāstra*, and hence the word *vṛddhiḥ* is put first in this aphorism in order to bestow a benediction on the teachers and the disciples. But, as is evident from the passage cited below, this objection did not occur to Patañjali, who, with Kātyāyana, the author of the *Vārttikas*, considered the *pratyāhāra-sūtras* (the *akṣara-samāmnāya* of

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Patañjali) as something separate from the main work (the *sūtra* of Pat.), designated as *vyākaraṇa* or *Śāstra* :

अथ व्याकरणमित्यस्य शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः । सूत्रम् । . . . सूत्रत एव हि शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । आतश्च सूत्रत एव यो ह्युत्सूत्रं कथयेन्नाद्रो गृह्येत । अथ किमर्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः । . . . (vol. i, p. 11, l. 15–p. 13, l. 1).

Having decided that the *sūtra* is the *vyākaraṇa*, the means to right knowledge of words, Kātyāyana and Patañjali proceed further to show the object of the enunciation of the letters.

This establishes that the *akṣara-samāmnāya* is a composition of Pāṇini but that the grammar proper begins with वृद्धिरादैच्. Kātyāyana and Patañjali were near enough to Pāṇini to know the truth, and it would be sheer absurdity to doubt their statements, specially when at the same time we keep in view the interdependence of the *akṣara-samāmnāya* and the *vyākaraṇa*.

RAGHU VIRA.

MINÎTU, "FATE." A CORRECTION

In this *Journal*, 1930, p. 29, I mentioned Professor Zimmern's suggestion that the text of K. 34, Rev. 3 = L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic*, No. 19, l. 23, should be *lum-ni ta-bal damḳa šur-ka*. The text has now been examined and I regret to say that for once King's great authority as a copyist has misled me into a serious error. *MI* is uncertain and should have been so indicated. It is in reality . There is no doubt at all about the correction to *lum-ni*, and so far as my note on *minîtu*, p. 24, based on this passage, is concerned it is erroneous. The verb *ba'ālu* "to decree, beseech, etc." does not occur in this passage. My restoration of Ebeling, KAR. 68, Obv. 23, is, therefore, false, and should be [*šur-ḳa-*]*ma ḫegal-la-ka ra-ba-a*, unless some ideogram for *šarāḳu* stood in the break at the beginning of this line.

The parallel passage, Myhrman, PBS. i, 17, 22, has certainly

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[*lu-*]*úb-nu ta-bal-ma ḫegalla šur-ka*, as Professor Landsberger has suggested to Professor Zimmern. The photograph, ibid., pl. xlvii, shows .

For *tabālu* in similar texts see King, ibid., 53, 28 [*ina*] *zumri-ia purus-su ina zumri-ia ta-bal-šu* = Ebeling, KAR. 267, Rev. 16. *it-bal-šu*, B.M. 99064, 9 (unpublished). *bal-ti tab-la-tu*, King, ibid., 12, 56 = Hehn, BA. v, 350. For *lubnu* "misery", beside citation in Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt's dictionaries, see Clay, *Morgan*, iv, 13, 1; *šumma irru kima ku-pi kīt(it) pale-e matu iṣaḫḫir lu-ub-nu ina māti ibaš-ši. lu-úb-nu*, CT. 27, 16, 10; 17, 30. See Fossey, *Babyloniaca*, v, 229.

S. Langdon.

THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
PRE-DYNASTIC RESEARCH

The Royal Anthropological Institute has appointed a special Research Committee to raise funds for further investigation of the origin and development of the early pre-dynastic cultures of Egypt.

These cultures, as exhibited already in the Nile Valley and the Fayum Oasis, are of more than local interest; for the area in which they occur, lying between the Mediterranean and West Asia on the one hand, and Central Africa on the other, seems to offer the best hope of correlating the early stages of culture throughout this whole region and connecting them with the first historic civilizations.

These early cultures certainly lay at the root of the later Egyptian culture. Work already done shows that they were due to immigrants into the Nile Valley; and it is one of the objects of the proposed investigations to trace these people to their home of origin. In particular, it is proposed to examine the oases in the Libyan Desert, which, as far as primitive archæology is concerned, are practically unknown. The movements of the early Neolithic folk were in all

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probability related to the climatic changes after the last great retreat of the European ice-sheet. Here, therefore, it is also hoped to obtain a basis for the correlation of changes of climate in Europe and Central Africa.

Miss Caton-Thompson has already done work on the lines described above, and after having investigated the ancient buildings of Rhodesia on behalf of the British Association in 1929 is now returning to her Egyptian work. Funds are urgently required for the work which it is estimated will take at least three years, the total amount required for each year's working expenses being £1,200.

Subscriptions should be sent either to the Secretary of the Committee, Miss E. W. Gardner, Bedford College, London, N.W. 1, or to the Hon. Treasurer, Royal Anthropological Institute, 52 Upper Bedford Place, London, W.C. 1.

THE MAWÁQIF OF AL-NIFFARÍ

Professor Nicholson announced in 1914 his intention of publishing the *Mawáqif* of Al-Niffarí with an English translation and notes.[1] This promise he has been prevented from fulfilling by a variety of other work; and he has now been kind enough to invite me to take the task in hand; and the electors to the Wright Studentship at Cambridge have provided me with the opportunity of accepting this invitation.

The *Mawáqif* is a treatise on speculative mysticism, written by Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jabbár ibn al-Ḥasan al-Niffarí[2] in the tenth century A.D. Its contents have been described and illustrated by Professor Nicholson[3] and Professor Margoliouth[4]; Dr. Massignon refers to the work,[5] but expresses doubts as to its authenticity as a fourth century (Hijra) document. The treatise was known to Muḥyí'l-Dín ibn al-

[1] *The Mystics of Islam* (publ. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.), p. 72.
[2] One MS. gives him the additional *nisbah* al-'Iráqí.
[3] Op. cit., pp. 57, 71, 72, etc.
[4] *Early Development*, etc., pp. 186–98.
[5] *Essai sur les Origines*, etc., p. 298 (cf. p. 110[5]).

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'Arabí, who refers to the author several times in the *Futúḥát al Makkiyya* [1]; it was published by 'Afífu'l-Dín al-Tilimsání († 690) with a fairly copious commentary, and by another anonymous commentator of the school of Ibn al-'Arabí. Sha'ráni [2] gives a short account of the author, who is also mentioned by Ḥájjí Khalífa [3]; the latter stating that he died in the year 354. Zabídí [4] mentions two other works of Niffarí's besides the *Mawáqif* (viz. the *Da'áwá* and the *Ḍalál*), and Ibn al-'Arabí in one place [5] calls our present work *Kitábu'l-Mawáqif wa'l-Qawl*. Two MSS. of the *Mawáqif* that I have examined (G, M) contain a considerable quantity of additional matter amounting altogether to about one half the length of the *Mawáqif*; this is similar in style and subject to the *Mawáqif*, and there seems little reason to doubt that it is by the same hand. These two MSS. also include a short piece not found elsewhere, apparently of Mahdí significance, entitled "Mukháṭabát wa-Bashárát wa-Ídhán."

Brockelmann [6] gives a list of the MSS. of the *Mawáqif* known to him, and on these MSS. I am basing my edition. So far I have collated all except the MS. at Constantinople and this I hope to examine soon. The other five are:—

B = MS. Marshall 166 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. A clear well-written MS., slightly illuminated, containing the *Mawáqif* and the commentary of Tilimsání, completed in 694 A.H., of 220 folios.

G = MS. Gotha 880. A good MS., the basis of my edition, containing the *Mawáqif* and the additional material without commentary, completed in 581 A.H., of 132 folios. At present its numeration is in slight disorder. This MS. I have been able to examine at leisure, thanks to the courtesy

[1] (Publ. Cairo, A.H. 1293) i, 505, 771; ii, 187, 805, 827. These references I owe to the kindness of my friend Shaikh Abú'l 'Alá 'Afifi.

[2] *Ṭabaqát al-Kubrá*, i, 270.

[3] *Kashfu'l-Ẓunún* (ed. Flügel), vi, 235 = No. 13355.

[4] *Táj al-'arús*, s.v. nafar.

[5] F.M., i, 505.

[6] *Geschichte der arab. Litt.*, i, 200.

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of the Gotha Ducal Library, who loaned it to the Cambridge University Library for three months.

I = MS. India Office 597. With this I am acquainted through a copy made from it by Prof. Nicholson. Contains the *Mawáqif* and Tilimsání's commentary, and completed in 1087 A.H., of 156 folios.

M = MS. Marshall 554 of the Bodleian. Written in a small neat hand, of 175 folios, containing the *Mawáqif* with a short anonymous commentary, and the additional material. Undated, but mainly of the same tradition as G.

T = MS. Thurston 4 of the Bodleian. A parchment MS. of the same tradition as B and I, undated, of 115 folios.

My present intention is to edit the text of the *Mawáqif*, and to publish with it an English translation and such commentary as may be necessary to elucidate the difficulties of expression and thought in the original, which are numerous.

Concerning the form of the author's *nisbah*, al-Niffarí, it is necessary to point out that the variant al-Nafzí, which has appeared in several places,[1] is of old standing, but little probability. G has al-Nafzí on the title-page, al-Niffarí everywhere in the text; the same inconsistency occurs in B; I has the form al-Niffarí; M and T omit the *nisbah* altogether on the title-page, and T has the form al-Nuffazí once in the text. Arabic authorities universally adopt the form al-Niffarí[2]; and indeed this must be the correct one, as I hope to demonstrate in my edition. The *nisbah* refers to the town of Niffar[3] in Mesopotamia, the site of important excavations in modern times[4]; it is identical with Nippur of the Assyrians and Nopher of the Talmud.[5]

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[1] Massignon, op. cit., loc. cit.; cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arab. Handschriften*, iii, 166 (cf. MS. Berlin 3218 = We 1775 f. 11*b*).

[2] That is, as far as I have been able to trace.

[3] Cf. Yáqút, *Mu'jam al-Buldán* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii, 798. Niffarí is associated with Niffar by Zabídí, loc. cit.

[4] Reported in J. P. Peter's *Nippur* (publ. New York, 1897).

[5] Cf. G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, i, 154.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA. By W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xvii + 283 pp. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1929. Price 15*s*.

Mr. Moreland is known to students of Oriental history as the author of several important works on the economics of the Mogul empire: and he has from time to time published papers in this *Journal* and elsewhere dealing with special aspects of the Mogul Revenue System. In his new treatise he has given us in full detail his views on the whole question of the Moslem agrarian system in India.

He has undertaken a formidable task. There are few subjects more difficult to grasp than a description of a particular system of land revenue in the working of which the reader has not had actual experience. In any such description the omission of a single detail may entirely alter the impression created. The subject, moreover, lends itself to technical language, and those whose duty it is to deal with it have in all ages delighted in mystifying others by their technicalities. When the description is given in a language foreign to the reader, when the technicalities are in a language foreign to the country where they are used, when the meaning of technical terms varies both from time to time and from place to place, when the description of any given system may be set forth by compilers who incorporate the reports of others, and when these compilers take pleasure in varying the technical words used in order to suit their literary style, the difficulties in the way of the historical investigator may well seem almost insuperable. All these impediments lay in Mr. Moreland's path, and he had also to contend with the singular liability of printers and copyists to go astray in the reproduction of texts of the kind with which he has had to deal.

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He has faced these difficulties with courage and also with prudence. There are few jargons more widespread through the length and breadth of India than the Persian technicalities of the land revenue, but Mr. Moreland has wisely determined to foreswear "haftams" and "panjams" and to employ an English terminology which he has himself carefully defined. He has a thorough personal knowledge of revenue conditions throughout a large part—and that the most typical part—of the area with which he is dealing, and although a personal knowledge of this kind not infrequently goes some way to disqualify an expert from appreciating systems unfamiliar to his own experience, Mr. Moreland has exhibited a complete understanding of forms of assessment very different from those now prevailing in the tracts where his own experience has lain. He has avoided the temptation to describe old systems in the terms of the current administration, and the further temptation to deduce economic or political conclusions from comparisons between the ancient and the modern conditions; such comparisons would no doubt be of great interest, and few could be better fitted to make them than Mr. Moreland, but they are outside the scope of his present work. His treatise is a purely historical inquiry. He gives us the facts and the authorities, and if he has at times to put forward views based on conjecture, his conjecture is untinged by any partialities or prejudices outside the purely historical issue.

He himself recognizes fully the uneven and scrappy nature of the evidence on which he has to rely, and the slender basis it provides for anything in the shape of complete or definite conclusions of a dogmatic character. "We know much, if not everything," he says, "regarding certain periods during which the State entered into direct relations with some, or all, the peasants owning its authority; but, measured by time, these periods are merely episodes, and we know very much less of the rest of the story. A few great names—Alāuddīn, Sher Shāh, or Akbar, Todar Mal, or Murshid Qulī—

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stand out like mountain tops rising clear-cut above a sea of mist; but for a just appreciation of their significance we need to obtain a view of the much wider country which the mist conceals. I cannot claim to have presented that view as a whole, but in places the mist allows occasional glimpses of portions of it, and in the paragraphs which follow, I base on these glimpses a hypothetical reconstruction, which I offer, not as fact established by evidence, but as tentative inference, to be confirmed or modified in the light of further knowledge."

His survey covers the whole period from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, and there is much that is both new and interesting in his sketch of conditions under the earlier Muslim dominion and his description of the developments under the later Moguls, but the portion of his work that will probably present the greatest features of interest to his readers is that which deals with the reign of Akbar (1556–1605). The account of Akbar's revenue given by Abû-l-faẓl in the eleventh to the fifteenth sections of the Third Book of the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī has been long open to English readers in translation, and many British officials working at modern problems of assessment have turned to those sections for information. Unfortunately, owing partly to their own prepossessions and partly to the faultiness of the translations and corruptions of the text, they have only too frequently been led into error. Some have failed to realize that a "fixed assessment" in the modern sense was unknown to Akbar's officers. Others have imagined that Akbar introduced a settlement with a term of ten years. Others have deduced from one of the sections that Akbar's assessments were based on a careful classification of soils. Others, misled by a faulty reading of the manuscripts in another section, have gained the impression that Akbar applied to all crops the rates based on the highest class of crops. All these imaginings are set at rest by Mr. Moreland's exposition of the facts. He goes back to the Persian text and collates

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the various readings where it is corrupt. The information thus made available has been carefully compared with that given in the *Akbarnāma* and elsewhere, and although he has not infrequently to admit uncertainty and to have recourse to conjecture, he has been able to piece together an outline of the systems described in the Á'īn which in view of his experience and research we may well accept as authoritative.

To give a brief and intelligible exposition of these systems without falling into pitfalls would need Mr. Moreland's own practised hand, but, subject to necessary qualifications (more especially with regard to the subject of Valuation mentioned below), it may be said that in the standard Provinces of Northern India the question of assessment passed in Akbar's time through three main stages.

From 1561 to 1565 the cash demand for each harvest, representing one-third of the produce, rested on an assumed fixed rate of outturn (that adopted by Sher Shāh) for each crop and an assumed price applied each year to these outturns; the assumed rate of outturn and the assumed prices being uniform throughout the Empire.

From the year 1565 a certain amount of local differentiation was increasingly applied to the assumed price rates in each harvest; and from the year 1570 a degree of differentiation by circles or parganas was introduced in the assumed fixed rate of outturn.

Under the above arrangements the price rates still varied from year to year, and could not be applied in any harvest without sanction from headquarters. Accordingly, in 1580, Akbar, while maintaining the rates of outturn then in force, introduced a schedule of fixed prices for each crop, representing the average of those assumed in the previous ten years.

Or, as Mr. Moreland puts it, "a uniform set of grain rates per bigah, valued first at uniform, and then at local, prices, gave way to local grain rates valued at local prices; and

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when commutation broke down, schedules of cash rates were fixed on the basis of past experience." The difficulty throughout was with the commutation prices. The use of a single uniform price for each crop in each year throughout the Empire had soon to be abandoned, but the adoption of different prices for different areas, each of which had to be referred for sanction at each harvest, was still more vexatious. The great reform introduced by Akbar was the adoption of fixed average prices for each locality which would not need to be referred for approval. The extraordinary feature of the arrangement is that no one seems to have felt that there was any hardship in applying these prices to rates of crop outturn which, though differentiated to some extent by locality, were applied uniformly to all established cultivation irrespective of varieties of soil or means of irrigation.

The above is, of course, but a bald abstract of one item in Mr. Moreland's *menu*. To appreciate his fare fully we must follow him in his explanations—sometimes provisional explanations only—of a number of specialized terms: such, for instance, as the *ray'* or schedule of crop rates (a word which, by the by, though defined in the Glossary, fails to find a place in the otherwise admirable index), the *dastūr-ul-'amal*, the *raqamī* or *qalamī jamā'*, the system of *muqtī'*, assessments by *nasaq*, *zabtī* rates, and so forth. It is profitable, too, to follow him in his analysis of the Nineteen-Year Cash Rates of the 15th Ā'īn and to note his interesting discovery (already published by him in this *Journal*) that the relation between the prices of the various crops in the Tables of the Ā'īn is very much the same as in 1910–12. "Prices of wheat and gram, for instance," he writes, "have varied enormously in the course of six centuries, but the value of a pound of wheat in terms of a pound of gram has been one of the most stable relations in history."

The most marked feature of Mr. Moreland's book is, however, his insistence on the fact, which has been imperfectly realized by previous writers, that during the flourishing

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period of the Mogul power the rule was to pay the servants of the state by assignments of land revenue, and the exception to pay them from the Treasury. "Almost throughout the period," he says, "the great bulk of the Empire, sometimes seven-eighths of the whole, was in the hands of assignees." Instead of arranging for the collection of revenue in a treasury and its subsequent disbursement from the treasury to the officials, each official was assigned the land revenue on an area calculated to bring in the value of his salary, and he collected the revenue himself. Land revenue became in fact the currency in which the officials were paid. It was accordingly necessary for the headquarter offices to have information as to the probable income of the different areas during a term of years. The actual assessment for a particular harvest or year—the Demand, as Mr. Moreland terms it—was inadequate for this purpose owing to variations from year to year in the area sown and the yield at harvest, and the headquarter offices were more concerned with the standard or probable average income of each village or pargana, a hypothetical but very valuable item which Mr. Moreland labels as the Valuation. This aspect of the Mogul system alters very seriously the manner in which the historical data present themselves, and it explains many passages in the authorities which were before obscure, including the heart-breaking sentence at the end of the 15th Ā'īn about the rates applied to the best crops. Whether, as Mr. Moreland surmises, there were no data of demand available in assigned areas is perhaps open to argument in view of the constant changes in the assignments, but it seems likely enough, as he suggests, that the Provincial *jama's* given in the Ā'īn represent the valuation reached in 1580, with only local modifications up to the date of their incorporation in the Ā'īn.

Mr. Moreland discusses the contents of two *farmāns* of Aurangzeb which bear on the agrarian policy of the day; and it is permissible to hope the diligence of Indian students may unearth *farmāns* and *sanads* of earlier date also, which

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would throw further light on the questions raised in Mr. Moreland's scholarly treatise.

It is a satisfaction to observe from Mr. Moreland's Preface that he has received assistance in his researches from the officials of this Society and has obtained help from the Society's Library. It is a distinction for the Society to have lent a hand in the preparation of a book of this calibre.

E. D. M.

A HISTORY OF MUGHAL NORTH-EAST FRONTIER POLICY, being a study of the Political Relation of the Mughal Empire with Koch Bihar, Kamrup, and Assam. By SUDHINDRA NATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, XXV + 434 pp., with map. Calcutta : Chuckerverrty Chatterjee, 1929. Price 15*s*.

After two preliminary chapters, dealing with "The Land, the People and their Early History" and "The pre-Mughal Muslim Relation with North-Eastern India", Mr. Bhattacharyay devotes the rest of this volume to describing the relations of the Mughal emperors with the Mongoloid states of the North-East Frontier from the time of Akbar's final conquest of Bengal in 1576 up to the year 1682, in the reign of Aurangzeb, when the Ahoms drove the Mughals out of Kāmrūp, never to return. In the first chapter special attention is fitly directed to the geographical features of the area concerned, the peculiarities of which have so largely shaped its history, so much so that there is a remarkable sameness about the many ill-fated invasions of the upper Brahmaputra basin. In the second chapter we have a somewhat detailed summary of the earlier expeditions against this frontier, from the time of Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār's disastrous incursion into Tibet, of *circa* 1206, down to the beginning of Humāyūn's reign. Some of these expeditions are still more or less conjectural, and where substantiated only by coin finds, require further corroboration. For the history of the period 1576–1682 the data are more abundant. There are the voluminous

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Assam and Ahom *buranjis*, a prolific and very valuable source of information; and then we have the numerous references to this area in the better known Muhammadan histories. But, besides these, there are two works, which, though less known, are of special importance for particular periods, namely, the *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī*, of which an apparently unique manuscript [1] is possessed by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the *Fatḥiya-i-ibriya* of Shihābu'd-dīn Tālish. The discovery of the value of the *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī* lies to the credit of the well-known historian, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, who first published a full table of its contents in the *JBORS*. March, 1921 (vol. vii, p. 1 f.). It is valuable not only for the fresh information it gives regarding the subjugation of the Bengal and Orissa zamīndārs in Jahāngīr's reign, but also for the details furnished in respect of the campaigns in Kāmrūp and its vicinity during the years 1612–24, in which the author himself took a prominent part. The *Fatḥiya-i-ibriya* has been longer known. In 1845 M. Théodore Pavie translated into French a Hindūstānī version of Shihābu'd-dīn's history from a manuscript in the collection of M. Garcin de Tassy. Blochmann gave an analysis of the work in *JASB*. 1872, from the Persian MS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; and Mr. Jadunath Sarkar published a literal translation of the portion describing Assam and its people in *JBORS*. December, 1915 (vol. i, pp. 179–95), after collating three different manuscripts. The work is of essential value for the most important of all the campaigns, namely that of 1661–3, under the personal command of Aurangzeb's great general, Mīr Jumla, whom the author accompanied in the capacity of news-writer; so that it constitutes to all intents and purposes an official record of the operations.

The chief value of the present work lies in the fact that Mr. Bhattacharyya has made an intensive and critical study

[1] This seems to have been one of the many manuscripts collected by Colonel J. B. J. Gentil, and presented by him to the *Bibliothèque du Roi* after his retirement to France in 1778.

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of all this material, as well as of all the epigraphical and numismatic evidence available to date, enabling him to correct several errors in the accounts of previous historians and to present a much fuller and more consecutive history of the times than has hitherto been attempted. The narrative has been subdivided into periods, each thought to mark a distinctive line of policy, e.g. the policies of "defensive alliance", "subordinate alliance" and "aggressive imperialism", and "defensive and constructive policy", "imperialism at its acme", etc. These somewhat fanciful headings tend to give the impression that the Mughals had from time to time determined fixed lines of policy to be pursued in respect of these outlying states, whereas the fact seems to be that the ever-changing local conditions and the erratic behaviour of the rulers, so often at feud *inter se*, rendered any continuity of policy impracticable, if not impossible. It is notorious, moreover, that any action taken or policy pursued depended chiefly upon the character and aims of the provincial governor for the time being. That Akbar would sanction "a peaceful and defensive alliance, established on equal terms" with the Koch Bihār chief (whom Abul Faẓl has described as a "landholder", and a successor of whom Jahāngīr, in his *Memoirs*, once refers to by the same title) is hardly to be credited. A tendency has perhaps been shown to over-estimate the importance attached by the Mughal Court to the rulers of these frontier states; and the views expressed as to the motives and designs of the Mughal Government in their several campaigns are not always convincing. Take, for instance, the case of Mīr Jumla's invasion. This is ascribed (p. 313) to a scheme of deliberate territorial aggression evolved by the viceroy with the tacit consent and approval of Aurangzeb. A simpler explanation, however, suggests itself, namely, that the hostile activities of Prāṇa Nārāyaṇa and Jagadhvaja and the failure of Rashīd Khān and Sujan Singh, whom he had deputed in the first instance to restore order, left no alternative to a soldier of Mīr Jumla's

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calibre but to take the field himself with an adequate force. By the death of Mīr Jumla, Aurangzeb lost more than Kāmrūp and Koch Bihār; and in regard to the sequel it may be added that had Shāyista Khān been younger, and not so fully occupied otherwise in the earlier years of his viceroyalty, and had more capable officers been deputed to the charge of Kāmrūp, the fruits of Mīr Jumla's campaign would not have been so rapidly lost. But disintegration was setting in upon other frontiers as well.

The author's reference to the kingdom of Kāmrūp as having "originated from its parent state of Koch Bihār" (p. 116) perhaps calls for comment. Koch Bihār, as the name of a separate state, is a mushroom growth as compared with Kāmrūp, which was the name of an extensive and important kingdom from the earliest times, and is constantly referred to in the Purāṇas and old records, down to the time of the Pālas. Minhāj-i-Sirāj calls it Kāmrūd, and Ibn Batuta, Kāmrū. The ancient name survived the Ahom irruption, and still persists as the name of a small area forming one of the districts of Assam: it was its area and its rulers that changed from time to time.

We notice a number of clerical errors and some misprints in dates (e.g. on p. 288, l. 9, 1601 should read 1641; on p. 314, 19, 1681 should read 1691; in App. B, 1680 should be read for 1683 as the beginning of the second viceroyalty of Shāyista Khān). The provenance of passages quoted within inverted commas has not always been noted. These defects and some unnecessary repetition will, no doubt, be remedied in the next edition of a work that otherwise discloses much industrious research, supplies a distinct want, and gives promise of further useful historical work on the part of the author.

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. Vol. v: British India, 1497–1858. Edited by H. H. DODWELL, M.A. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxii + 683 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Price 30*s*.

This is the third volume to appear of the *Cambridge History of India*, and deals with the period 1497–1858, which, roughly speaking, includes about a century before the British connection with the country. Following the arrangement of preceding volumes, it consists of a series of monographs, in 32 chapters, by many authors on the political and administrative phases of the period. In the first chapter Sir Denison Ross gives a survey of the Portuguese relations with India during the hundred years 1498–1598, when they practically held a monopoly of the eastern trade. This is followed by an account of the Dutch in India by Dr. P. Geyl, and of the French factories by M. Henri Froidevaux; while M. Alfred Martineau, who has done so much to elucidate the history of his compatriots in India, furnishes an instructive chapter on those two great Frenchmen, Dupleix and Bussy. The histories of the Portuguese and French in India have received attention at the hands of English historians, but the importance of the Dutch connexion with that country in the 17th and 18th centuries has been insufficiently realized in the past, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the Dutch ultimately concentrated upon the development of their possessions in the Archipelago, which were enough to absorb their whole attention, and where they were less exposed to interference from other European powers. Dr. Geyl's concise and impartial review is all the more welcome on this account. Sir William Foster, as might be expected from his unique knowledge of the subject, contributes a masterly account of the history of the East India Company from 1600 to 1740; the matter is judiciously selected, and the arrangement appropriate. Mr. Dodwell, the editor of the volume, who contributes no less than eight chapters, gives an interesting and in some respects a fresh review of Clive's work in Bengal in 1756–60.

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His chapters on Carnatic and Mysore affairs show close familiarity with the history of Southern India during the eighteenth century. Among the best chapters in the volume are those by Mr. P. E. Roberts on the East India Company and the State, and on the events with which the reputation of Warren Hastings is so closely associated. These chapters are characterized by a breadth of view and judicial spirit not often shown in treating of the incidents concerned. It is hard for an English historian of the present day to appreciate the effect of the peculiar local conditions at the time when action was taken; and Mr. Roberts has shown that he is fully cognizant of this difficulty. The Dean of Winchester tells the stories of Tipu Sultan and of Oudh under Cornwallis, Shore and Wellesley with his habitual command of style. The important subject of our struggles with the Marāṭhās, who at one time threatened to dominate the whole country, has been dealt with by two very competent scholars, the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes and the late Col. Luard, whose untimely deaths we greatly deplore. Our relations with Afghānistān under Lords Auckland and Ellenborough and the melancholy tale of what is generally known as the first Afghan war have been ably and lucidly handled by Mr. W. A. J. Archbold, who also contributes a concise but clear account of the conquest of Sind and the Panjāb. The least attractive chapters, perhaps, are those dealing with purely administrative details, with the exception of Mr. Gwynn's excellent sketch of the development of the Madras system down to 1818, which reveals the hand of an expert.

While avoiding detail generally, one or two points may be noticed. At p. 166 Caillaud is said to have relieved Patna by the action at Sirpur (22nd February, 1760). The little village that gave its name to this battle is not Sirpur, but Sherpur, which lies about 4 miles E.S.E. of Bakhtyārpur, and some 10 miles (a distance correctly recorded by Ironside) W.S.W. from Bāṛh. At p. 169 the Shāhzāda is stated to have

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been defeated by Carnac on the 15th January, 1761, "on the Son". The battle in question, however, was fought nowhere near the Son, but between Hilsā and Bihār, near an old channel of the Mohāna River. Carnac's "Suan" and Ironside's "Soane" are but corruptions of a local name. The site of the battle is marked on Rennell's maps (of 1773 and 1779). Again, at p. 174, in reference to Hector Munro's campaign of 1764, it is stated that Munro "invaded Oudh, and on 22nd October, after a stubborn contest, completely defeated the enemy at Baksar". There is a place called Baksar in the Unao district of Oudh, but Munro never went so far up country as this. This famous, and fateful, battle was fought, not in Oudh but at Buxar (the English form of the local vernacular name, Baghsar) in the Shāhābād district of Bihār on the 23rd (not 22nd) October, 1764. The spelling of names and Oriental words also leaves something to be desired. Three examples may be cited: (1) Mongir. The name, as known to Indians, is Munger. This has been anglicized into Monghyr. It is undesirable to add to these corrupt spellings of place names. (2) Kavari. The correct name of this river is Kāvēri. (3) Diwanni. The word is *dīwānī*, so that one *n* only is required. The absence of maps will also be felt by many readers to whom the geography of India is not familiar.

The difficulties that beset the task of writing a connected history of the whole of India have been indicated by the late Mr. V. A. Smith in the introduction to his *Oxford History of India*. The plan adopted in the Cambridge History meets some of these, but necessarily involves others, such as overlapping or repetition, unevenness, and even discrepancy; and the difficult nature of the editor's task can easily be imagined. At least, he should not be held responsible for the inequality of standard attained.

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ROMANTIC TALES FROM THE PUNJAB, with INDIAN NIGHTS' ENTERTAINMENT. Collected and edited from original sources by the Rev. CHARLES SWYNNERTON, F.S.A., with numerous illustrations by MOOL CHUND OF ULWAR. Vol. i of a new issue. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, xv + 353 pp. Oxford University Press, 1928. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Folk tales of this character are to be found the world over. They abound among most of the peoples of India, where they are often handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation by the local bards or reciters. Interesting from the point of view of comparative folklore, and not infrequently enshrining information of ethnological or linguistic or even historical value, they present a vast field for research and study, such as has been applied to the sagas of other countries. A debt of gratitude is due to men like the late Mr. Swynnerton who have got into close touch with the people and have devoted time and labour to the faithful record of the local versions of the tales from the lips of the village folk, who so often preserve genuine tradition more undefiled than the more literate population of the towns. Mr. Swynnerton's intention, apparently, was to reissue all the stories contained in his *Romantic Tales from the Panjab* and his *Indian Nights' Entertainment* in three volumes, most of the descriptive detail in the original introduction to the *Romantic Tales* being brought up to date in an appendix to appear with the final volume, with explanatory, historical and philological notes and a general index. Only the first volume of this reissue has been printed, containing some thirty legends, including the widely current story of Hīr and Rānjha, and twelve tales of the popular Rasālu legend. We understand, with regret, that no further volumes will now be published.

C. E. A. W. O.

LE CONCILE DE RĀJAGṚHA: Introduction à l'histoire des Canons et des Sectes bouddhiques. By JEAN PRZYLUSKI. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, vi + 434 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926–8. Price fr. 200.

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Many years ago Minayeff advanced the thesis that the then available accounts of the first Buddhist Council contained matter of widely differing periods and, as regards the constitution of the Canon, were tendencious in character. That the ensuing discussions bore no definite results was due to the incompleteness of the material; this want has now been made good by Professor Przyluski, who gives us in this book translations of fourteen accounts from the Chinese as well as of that of the *Cullavagga*, that is, of all the accounts which have any value, if we except that of the *Dulva* translated by Rockhill. The deductions drawn by the author from a comparison of these accounts are set out in six chapters which are rendered attractive by the brilliant theorizing we have learnt to expect from him. The most important results are given in the chapters on the inter-relationship of the Buddhist sects and the growth, especially the later growth, of the various Canons, in which the evidence is handled so well that his conclusions will, no doubt, be accepted in the main. While the same cannot be said of the chapter on the Saṁgha and of the final summary, which combine much that is excellent with much that, if stimulating to thought, is highly disputable, I can only find room here for a brief criticism of the other two chapters.

Of the fourteen versions taken from the Chinese, ten belong to the Sūtra literature and four, which like the *Cullavagga* represent the fully developed state of the legend, to the Vinaya. The most instructive account is to be found in the *Kia-ye kie king*, a sūtra translated by itself about the middle of the second century A.D., at which date it was the practice to extract specially important passages from the canonical compilations and translate them independently of their context. It consists of twenty gāthās or double gāthās with a more detailed version in prose interspersed. These verses by themselves would, with only the addition of the speakers' names, form a complete and intelligible poem of the type of those in the *Sutta-Nipāta*; several of the verses

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recur in later versions and echoes of them may be traced in others. The important points of this poem are that it names Kāśyapa as the convener of the Assembly, though it does not mention the place of meeting; that it gives prominence to the story of Gavāmpati which tends to disappear in the latest accounts, especially in the Vinaya; that it knows nothing of Ānanda's failure to obtain Arhatship or of his indictment, describing him on the contrary as "le premier de l'Assemblée"; and that it makes him recite the entire law (including the "interdictions", i.e. the śikṣāpadas), the terms used suggesting that there were neither separate piṭakas nor āgamas (nikāyas) then in existence. There is nothing tendencious in it and, except for the Gavāmpati episode, nothing prima facie incredible or improbable. It seems to be centuries older than any other extant version and to be the source from which they derive by way of legendary accretion and tendencious additions, such as that of Purāṇa, of which an ingenious and apparently sound explanation is given in chapter iv. The developed version given in the prose portion is much later and has no special authority.

I have dwelt at some length on this poem, because it is Professor Przyluski's failure fully to grasp its significance that seems to me responsible for his unsatisfactory mythological explanations in chapters i and ii of the episodes of Gavāmpati and of Ānanda's indictment. The former is said to be a Buddhist version of the Rudra-Śiva myths, but the only substantal evidence for it lies in later additions to the legend which require no such elaborate explanations, and in the connexion of Gavāmpati with Śiva's bull in Burma, which belongs to a much later period when Buddhism had been contaminated by Śaivism. If we keep to the oldest version, the explanation is neither necessary nor probable.[1]

[1] Is it not possible, by the way, that the *che-li* grove of this version (according to Przyluski *che-li* = *śirīṣa*, a sub-Himalayan acacia) is identical with the Añjanavana on the Sarabhū of the commentary on *Theragāthā*, 38? The tree indicated by *añjana* is uncertain and the trees

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The indictment of Ānanda similarly is identified with a scapegoat ceremony at the pravāraṇā. Now this episode rests on the story that Ānanda had not obtained Arhatship at the time of the Buddha's decease, but, while universally accepted later on, it does not appear till the latest stage of the Pali Nikāyas and then in circumstances that suggest interpolation (e.g. *Dīgha*, ii, 143 ; *Aṅg.* i, 225) ; on the face of it it is merely an invention to allay monkish scruples aroused by certain of Ānanda's traditional actions. Not only is it not mentioned in the poem of the *Kia-ye kie king*, but it is also quite inconsistent with the wording of it, so that the story is later than the gāthās. If the author's explanation is correct, the idea of a scapegoat ceremony must still have attached to the pravāraṇā ritual in the minds of those who concocted the legend, that is, at a time when the Canon had reached an advanced stage, and we should, therefore, expect still to find traces of it in the literature. There are no such traces, and the theory rests in the air without evidence to support it.

Inability, however, to accept all Professor Przyluski's views does not imply any lack of appreciation of a brilliant and important book, which makes a serious addition to our knowledge and merits careful study by all interested in the history of Buddhism.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

A VOYAGE TO SURAT IN THE YEAR 1689. By J. OVINGTON. Edited by H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., Indian Educational Service. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$. xx + 313 pp. Oxford University Press. London : Humphrey Milford, 1929. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

Ovington deserved reprinting. It is true that his narrative has many defects. He was not a heaven-born geographer ;

of similar names in the modern vernaculars do not belong to Oudh. I would suggest that it might mean the sisam, Dalbergia latifolia, which Watts notes as being said to produce a gum and an oil. It is not uncommon in this part of India and Watts gives *siras* as one of its vernacular names, which seems to imply a confusion of name with the *śirīṣa*.

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his experience of India was limited to one term of service as chaplain on the West Coast; like some other writers of the time, he made mistakes, he borrowed without acknowledgment, he generalized, and he philosophized; but, after all necessary deductions, there remains an amount of first-hand observation, which makes the book indispensable to serious students of India at the close of the seventeenth century. The question for a reviewer is, therefore, the presentation, not the substance, of the narrative.

The text, spelling and all, is an exact reproduction of the original narrative, except that some printer's errors have been corrected. Mr. Rawlinson states that he has omitted the Appendix (which can well be spared), but this is not quite accurate, for one section of it—the "Collection of Coyns now currant . . ."—is reproduced without explanation or comment. As it stands, this section is hopelessly unintelligible to ordinary readers; if anyone desires to elucidate it, he will find the beginning of wisdom on p. 256 of *The English Factories in India*, 1665–7. Ovington's illustrations of Bombay are unfortunately not reproduced, but in their place we are given four pictures, with scarcely a hint of their source or their relevance. There may be two opinions as to the practice of introducing new illustrations in such books, but there can be no doubt that, if this is done, enough information should be given to enable the reader to decide whether or not he is seeing what the author saw, or, in other words, whether they are illustrations or just pictures.

The editor's introduction is concise and informing. It does not give us a complete delineation of Ovington the man, but that task is now probably impossible, and it tells us much that was not previously known. The notes, too, are concise, and as a rule they are adequate and correct, but some exceptions to this general statement must be pointed out. As regards adequacy, there is the "Collection of Coyns", already mentioned, which cries out for elucidation. Again, there are various archaisms which should be explained,

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especially in a book which will be read so widely in India: one cannot expect ordinary Indians to understand "purchase" in the sense of "prize" (p. 100), or "unmanured" in the sense of "uncultivated" (p. 290). Apart from archaisms, there are various puzzles, of which I may instance two. What was the "Bottled Drink" which frothed and flew about (p. 230) when opened? Did the Surat factors at this time drink sparkling wine? Or is this a very early—perhaps the earliest—reference to bottled beer? Or, again, why was the devil called "Gregory" in the Island of Johanna? That question has puzzled me for years: perhaps it has puzzled Mr. Rawlinson, too; but, anyhow, he ignores it.

The notes contain some misleading half, or quarter, truths. Thus (p. 167) calico is defined as "cottons from Calicut". Probably the first cotton goods to reach Western Europe were, in fact, shipped from Calicut, but in Ovington's time calico had entirely lost this meaning, and denoted stout cotton cloth made in any part of India. Again, a false picture is evoked by the statement (p. 139) that the Fauzdār (faujdār) "was the chief of police". In those days there were no police in the modern sense: the faujdār was in charge of the general administration, and his troops, among other duties, did what would now be called police-work. The note on units of weight (p. 133) is unsatisfactory. There is only a reference to Fryer and Hobson-Jobson, followed by the irrelevant scale now in force in British India, which is quaintly described as "the Bombay rate", as though one should describe the avoirdupois scale under the name of "Liverpool". The passage needs elucidation, because Ovington's ser of 13⅓ oz. points to the old Gujarat maund of about 33 lb. This was superseded in Surat in 1636 by the half-Shahjahani of about 37 lb., which lasted at any rate up to Fryer's time. Either then Surat had recently reverted to the old Gujarat maund, or Ovington took his figures from some obsolete book: the reader should be told which alternative is true. Again, the note on

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"cuttanee, etc." (p. 131), will probably lead the reader to infer that the fabrics named were among the staple cotton-goods produced in India, but the text shows that they were "rich silks"; in fact, Ovington's omission to say anything about the staple production of Gujarat is one of the most striking features of his account. There are other defects in the notes, but the examples given suffice to show that they are not entirely satisfactory.

Lastly, I may note two obscure passages where my reading differs from Mr. Rawlinson's. On p. 131 we have "aggats, cornelians, niggannees, desks, scrutores, and boxes". Mr. Rawlinson takes the third word as "niccanees", one of the lowest grades of cotton goods, but I doubt if even so unsystematic a writer would have inserted these "slave-clouts" among art ware; more probably Ovington wrote niggarrees, which would be a commercial description of some decorated goods, formed from the Persian *nigār*. On p. 243, "a garden near that of Nocha Damus's" is referred to the village of Nava Dumas; but this is rather violent, and does not account for the possessive case. I suspect the garden belonged to a ship's captain—Nākhudā Mūsa.

These criticisms on points of detail must not be read as a condemnation of the book as a whole. It gives the student a sound and trustworthy text, which is the most important thing; the presentation falls short in some respects of the ideal.

W. H. Moreland.

The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China. Vol. v (supplementary), 1742–74. By H. B. Morse, LL.D. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, x + 212 pp., 2 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Price 15*s*.

At the time when Dr. Morse was preparing his comprehensive account of the history of the East India Company's trade with China (issued in 1926), he was troubled to find

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that the official records were entirely silent as regards the period 1754–74 and very imperfect for the preceding eleven years. There seemed to be no hope of filling the gap satisfactorily, and so he was obliged to do the best he could with such information as he could procure from other sources. However, after the publication of his work it struck him that the duplicate records which must have been preserved at the Canton factory had never been accounted for; and after diligent inquiry it was found that these had found their way to the British Legation at Peking. The authorities were easily persuaded to send them home, and they were then added to the existing series at the India Office. On examining them Dr. Morse discovered that while from 1742 to 1757 the fresh material was more or less fragmentary, for the later years a considerable amount of new information was forthcoming. With characteristic energy he set to work once more, and the present volume is the welcome result.

The subject is dealt with on the same lines as in the main work, with a close analysis of the method of trading, the cargoes purchased, and so forth. The narrative is rather melancholy reading, for it is full of the humiliations inflicted on the foreign merchants, the contemptuous treatment of their remonstrances, and the shameless exploitation of their needs by the local officials. The conditions of trade at Canton being so unsatisfactory, attempts were made in 1755–7 to open up commercial relations at Ningpo; but the Chinese authorities soon countered this move by forbidding foreign ships to resort to any other port than Canton. In 1759 some mitigation of the abuses there was experienced, as the result of a petition, which had been got through to the imperial court; but Mr. Flint, who had translated it into Chinese and presented it to the central authorities, was punished by three years' detention at Macao. In 1760 was established the system under which the European merchants were allowed to trade only with an association of Canton merchants—a system which lasted until the treaty of Nanking in 1842.

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It is impossible to do more than indicate very briefly the nature of the fresh information provided. Needless to say, the volume displays on every page its author's thorough grasp of the subject, of which he has an unrivalled knowledge; while the statistical and other details it contains will make it indispensable both to the student of economics and to everyone interested in the foreign trade of the British Empire.

W. F.

INDIAN STUDIES IN HONOUR OF CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, $x + 258$ pp. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929. Price £1 2*s.* 6*d.*

This volume in the familiar dark blue cover and fine typography of the Harvard Oriental Series comprises in various sections articles by Meillet, Bloomfield, Edgerton, and Andersen; Lévi, Rapson, and Konow; Geldner and Formichi; Takakusu, Kimura, Ono, Ui, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Hopkins, Poussin, and Haughton Woods; Masson-Oursel and Jacobi; Keith, Belvalkar, F. W. Thomas, and Ryder; W. E. Clark; Jolly; Grierson; and, finally, three Indo-Iranian notes by Williams Jackson. Such a list of contributors might well be left to speak for itself. But an indication of some topics and points of view will perhaps be of use.

Buddhism occupies nearly one-quarter of the volume, and in this section Japanese contributors rally in support of Takakusu's dating of Vasubandhu (420–500) against Péri's proposed date (*d.* 350). Ui assigns to Maitreya, as an historical person and instructor of Asanga, seven works commonly attributed to Asanga, and fixes the *terminus ad quem* for Maitreya at A.D. 350; but he would not place Vasubandhu later than 320–400. It does not seem that Takakusu's hope of settling the question once for all has been realized in the lapse of a quarter of a century since his first discussion of

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the problem. The remaining articles treat of Buddhist teaching. Mrs. Rhys Davids, in some characteristic remarks on "The Well", says that Theravāda Buddhism teaches in negatives, and therefore fails to find worthy words for "the well" and "the man". "Men cannot eviscerate religion of so much as did Theravāda Buddhism and yet preserve the kernel." Hopkins says the same thing in another way in an article entitled "Buddhistic Mysticism": "In the Buddhism of the Great Vehicle . . . is found the real mysticism of metaphysical theology, Gautama the man being one with a Holy Spirit, who is a form of the Absolute. But in the records of the primitive Congregation there is no mysticism and nothing to warrant any discussion of the early Buddhist as a mystic seeking to realize himself in a new and wider world." *Nibbāna* is a blowing out, without hope of a re-illumination. Poussin and Woods end this section with brief notes on *Aṅguttara*, iii, 355, and Dharmapāla's commentary on *Visuddhi Magga*, vii, 203.

Keith opens the section on classical poetry with a reconsideration of Jacobi's argument for the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin. He accepts the (perhaps not very cogent) evidence adduced by Jacobi of reference to Dharmakīrti in the logical section of Bhāmaha's work, and is prepared to fix A.D. 700 as the earliest date for the author; but he does not accept the argument that Daṇḍin was a critic of Bhāmaha. "We have not a single passage in which we can say with any validity that Bhāmaha is probably criticized by Daṇḍin. . . . Passages adduced to prove Bhāmaha's priority have also been used for the purpose of establishing exactly the opposite conclusion and probably with about equal or superior justification." And "there is sufficient evidence to turn the scales strongly in favour of the view that Bhāmaha knew and attacked Daṇḍin". S. K. Belvalkar defends the genuineness of the longer Kashmir-Bengali version of *Śākuntala*, Act iii, on the ground that Śrīharṣa in the *Ratnāvalī* imitates the longer or "Śṛṅgāric" version. Perhaps the

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most remarkable contribution to the volume is that in which F. W. Thomas gives an abstract (with verse-portions edited and translated) of a Tibetan version of a *Rāmāyaṇa* story, contained in four documents brought from the "hidden library" of Tun-huang on the eastern boundary of Chinese Turkestan by Sir Aurel Stein, and now preserved in the India Office Library. Professor Thomas assigns these documents to the period A.D. 700–900. The documents, in his opinion, go back to the same original; and the question of the original of this very interesting find—perhaps unique in character among the otherwise Buddhistic manuscripts which constitute the literary part of the Stein collections—stirs the imagination. "The story, as told, is in form and substance wholly Indian, and the interspersed verses are unmistakably Indian in style and sentiment. But we should seek in vain for an Indian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to which the text closely corresponds. It follows the general lines of the narrative in the *Mahā-Bhārata* (*Vana-Parvan*, chaps. 274–90); but the incidents and the nomenclature differ widely, and indeed surprisingly."

In the philosophical section Jacobi's article *Mīmāṁsā und Vaiśeṣika* adduces evidence of very close connection between the early grammarians and the Mīmāṁsā, and shows that the Vaiśeṣika developed its new, naturalistic and realistic, *Weltanschauung* in conscious opposition to the Mīmāṁsaka standpoint. Thus Kaṇāda's opening definition of *dharma—yato 'bhyudaya-niḥśreyasa-siddhiḥ*—taken in conjunction with the following *sūtra—tadvacanād āmnāyasya prāmāṇyam* (a *sūtra* obscured by the commentators, the true meaning of which is "weil er ihn lehrt, hat der Veda Autorität")—is a complete reversal of the standpoint expressed in the Mīmāṁsaka definition, *codanālakṣaṇo dharmaḥ*, which makes the value of the command depend on the authority of Veda—and not the authority of Veda on the value of the command. In one instance Professor Jacobi has perhaps used an argument which proves too much, in

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inferring that Uddyotakara would not have answered suppositious opponents of the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* with the stereotyped phrase "*na, sūtrārthāparijñānāt*", if there had been an authoritative written exposition of the meaning of the *sūtras*; and that therefore the Vaiśeṣika doctrine must have long remained oral (Praśastapāda's so-called *bhāṣya* being no true *bhāṣya*). For an equivalent phrase is used by Uddyotakara in reply to Diṅnāga's misinterpretation of *Nyāya-sūtra*, I, i, 6, of which the interpretation accepted as correct is given in the written and authoritative *bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana, with which Diṅnāga shows acquaintance. Not even the authority of a written *bhāṣya* would debar opponents (whether suppositious or historical) from interpreting a *sūtra* in the sense which it seemed to bear. Professor Jacobi's argument is developed in a series of masterly interpretations of crucial passages in the *sūtras*, interpretations which cannot be summarized here but which constitute a contribution of great value to the understanding of the two systems. Some printer's errors in the Sanskrit citations have escaped correction.

In a review of a volume such as this much must be left without mention which calls for more than passing reference. There is one brilliant article in the remaining sections which may be noted in conclusion, Sylvain Lévi's *L'Inscription de Mahānāman à Bodh-Gaya*. This is a re-interpretation in the light of later knowledge of the inscription edited forty years ago by Fleet in the *Gupta Inscriptions*. The ingenious reading into the first stanza of references to Vasubandhu and the *Abhidharma-kośa* may not carry complete conviction; but the explanation of the obscure second stanza seems fully to justify the claim that Buddhist epigraphy is inseparable from the study of the texts.

H. N. Randle.

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VAIKHĀNASASMĀRTASŪTRAM. The domestic rules of the Vaikhānasa school belonging to the Black Yajurveda. Critically edited by Dr. W. CALAND. Bibliotheca Indica, Work Number 242. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, vii (2) + 145 pp. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927.

VAIKHĀNASASMĀRTASŪTRAM. The domestic rules and sacred laws of the Vaikhānasa school belonging to the Black Yajurveda. Translated by Dr. W. CALAND. Bibliotheca Indica, Work Number 251. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxi + 237 pp. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1929.

The full text of the *sūtra* comprises a *gṛhya* (Praśnas i–vii) and a *dharma* section (viii–x), and concludes with a *pravara-sūtra* (xi). The last-named, "a list of proper names which agrees closely with that of the Āpastamba," is printed in an *ekādaśapraśnātmaka* Kumbakonam edition (1914), but omitted by Dr. Caland. The *dharma* portion has been translated by W. Eggers in his *Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas* (Göttingen, 1929; reviewed in this *Journal*, October, 1929); and the text of it was printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 28, 1913).

Eggers in the work just mentioned has expressed the opinion that the inadequacy of the materials available makes it impossible to establish an authoritative text, and for this reason he contented himself with a translation, supported however with notes which supply an *apparatus criticus* for the *dharma* section; and he finds in Caland's text justification for this caution. Caland's materials fall into two classes, manuscripts in Telugu character, and manuscripts in Grantha; including however with the latter the Kumbakonam print, which he has "considered as a manuscript, though a fairly correct one": an attitude applicable to a number of Indian prints, which are sometimes as difficult of access as manuscripts. This particular print is in the India Office Library, but was not used by Eggers. Bühler reported North Indian manuscripts of the *Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra* in Gujarat; and

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Eggers states that inquiries have been made for these, but apparently without result so far.

Where a text cannot be established it follows that a translation must be at best tentative; and in this work there is one passage which both Caland and Eggers find it necessary to leave untranslated, the text being desperate. This is the account of the *sambhakta* variety of *ekārṣya* yogins given in the last section of Praśna viii. The Kumbakonam print has here some variants which Dr. Caland has not noted: *tat-sarvavyāpī hy ākāśavat tiṣṭhati* (Caland: . . . *vyāpyākāśavat* . . . p. 120, l. 14; with a fault in the print which leaves the preceding *akṣara* doubtful); and in the next line *ātmanaḥ* (Caland: *ātmānaṃ*). In l. 13 Caland reads *devatāṃ namaskurvanti*, and notes *devatā* as the Kumbakonam reading: the print actually has *devatānamaskāraṃ kurvanti*. What is of more interest is that the print in the following paragraph consistently reads *Visaraka* as the name of the last class of yogins. Both Caland and Eggers give the name in the form *Visaraga*, without noting this variant. (*Visara* has a secondary meaning, "herd," which gives a point to the twice-repeated addition of the word *paśu* to the name.)

Dr. Caland uses the betel argument, and the argument from the Greek sequence of the planets and the designation of the days of the week after these planets, to fix the date of the *sūtra* (traditionally a late one) after the middle of the third century A.D. He finds in its grammatical irregularities corroboration for the view that it belongs to a period when Sanskrit was a dead language; and he suspects Tamil influence in such forms of expression as *tāṃ vivāhaṃ kurute* (but, as he himself suggests, other vernaculars might provide a parallel). A point of particular interest in this work is its relation to the *Mānava-dharma-śāstra*. In vi, 21, Manu specifically refers to a *Vaikhānasa-mata*, and Dr. Caland finds in the present work (ix, 5) a passage the agreement of which with the very words of the *mata* as reported by Manu

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is striking. He adduces besides a series of passages in which Manu agrees (exclusively) with this *sūtra*. "The conclusion seems to be obvious that Manu has known our Vaikhānasa-texts." But a Vaikhānasa-śāstra is spoken of in the *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra*, which is "at least pre-Christian". There must then have been a Vaikhānasa-text older than the present one. And if so, might not Manu be speaking of this lost older text? Dr. Caland gives reasons for thinking that it is our present text to which Manu was referring; and accepts the corollary that the *Mānava-dharma-śāstra* was composed at a later date than is usually assigned.

Some of the mantras cited here by their *pratīka* only (indicating that they are to be found in the Saṃhitā or Brāhmaṇa of the school) are not found in the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* or *brāhmaṇa*. Dr. Caland has made the interesting discovery that there is a Vaikhānasīya-saṃhitā (preserved in a Mysore manuscript, and partly printed), and has been able to trace in it all these mantras. Its relation to the *sūtra* "is of precisely the same kind as the relation between the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha . . . and the Āpastambīya-gṛhya-sūtra". Similarly the Gṛhya-sutras of Gobhila and Khadira imply the Mantra-brāhmaṇa of the Sāmavedins; and "it is now certain that the Kāṭhaka-gṛhya-sūtra likewise presupposed a collection of mantras". By the edition and translation of this *sūtra*, which has the special interest of giving the most detailed account available of the *vānaprastha-dharma*, Dr. Caland's researches into *sūtra* literature have been carried an important stage forward.

H. N. RANDLE.

NAPIER'S RIFLES. By H. G. RAWLINSON. 9 × 6, pp. ix + 200. Oxford University Press. Price 15*s*.

This is a history of a regiment distinguished even among the ever loyal units of the Bombay Army for good conduct and faithfulness. It had its origin in a force which displayed

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steadfastness amid much temptation in the last Maratha war; and, as the 25th Regiment of Bombay Infantry, it won an undying reputation in Sind and the Indian Mutiny. In the former it earned the highest praise of Sir Charles Napier, whose name it bears. In the latter, it was the first Sepoy regiment to engage with the Mutineers, and achieved perhaps the greatest feat performed by Indian soldiers in that campaign, the surprise capture of the fortress of Gwalior. After creditable service in Abyssinia and Burma, it maintained its ancient reputation in the Great War, where it fought and suffered heavily on three Fronts.

The way of the regimental historian is hard. He must avoid too much quotation from Inspection Reports and Presentation Parade addresses, with which regimental records are filled. He must, on the other hand, equally avoid padding his history with descriptions of events not directly connected with the regiment, while at the same time he must summarize the condition of affairs prevailing at the time of intervention of his regiment in any particular campaign. It cannot be said that Mr. Rawlinson has entirely surmounted those difficulties. Even allowing that the regiment was immortalized in Sir William Napier's purple passages, it was surely unnecessary to quote him at such length, especially when, as Mr. Rawlinson suggests, Napier's accounts of the battles are misleading and incorrect. An unfortunate result is that the conquest of Sind is given as much space as the Great War, in spite of the quite exceptional amount of fighting which Napier's Rifles did in the latter. Summaries of the conditions of the campaigns of the War are lacking, and it may be said that the only passages that really bring home actual fighting are those extracted from Capt. Rees' diary.

From the historical point of view it is perhaps a pity that Mr. Rawlinson could not give a fuller account of the change of personnel which transformed the Corps from being a regiment of Bombay men, albeit with a strong Hindustani element,

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into one recruited from Rajputana and the Panjab. It was doubtless due chiefly to the view, proved in the Great War to be entirely mistaken, but held previous to it by the military authorities at Simla, of the value of the Maratha soldier, and to the inability of Bombay in changed conditions to provide sufficient recruits; but that inability was mainly caused by the increased caste feeling among the Marathas themselves which led them to reject such other castes as Bene-Israel, Mahars, Bhandáris, and Kolis, who had before furnished much of the most trustworthy material of the Bombay regiments.

An essential of a regimental history should be absolute accuracy, if only because it should be a text-book to future generations of soldiers in the regiment. When the author is so skilled a historical writer as Mr. Rawlinson, we may expect accuracy of historical fact as well as of military detail. There are too many small errors in this book; and the following are quoted in the hope that subsequent correction may be possible. The Treaty by which navigation of the Indus was secured was not that of Burnes with the Mir of Khairpur, but the agreement of Pottinger with the Hyderabad Mirs in 1832, and afterwards with the Khairpur Mir. "Machans" is an incorrect phrase for the shooting booths or "Kudnas" of the Mirs. Shah Shuja was deposed by Dost Mahomed, not by Sher Mahomed. Sir Charles Napier's father was not descended from Montrose. Indian troops were sent to Malta in 1878, not in 1874. An officer long with the Regiment is invariably named as Beckenham, instead of Beckham. The Lancashire Regiment mentioned as crossing the Diala River is unknown to the Army list. The book as a whole, however, is extremely readable, and is well furnished with maps and illustrations.

P. R. C.

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SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES. By JADUNATH SARKAR. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 431 pp. 1929. 5 rupees.

SOURCE BOOK OF MARATHA HISTORY. Vol. i. By R. P. PATWARDHAN and H. G. RAWLINSON. 10×7, ix + 243 pp. Bombay Government Central Press. 1929. Price 5 rupees.

These two books, complementary to each other, are of much value to readers of Indian history. Professor Sarkar's book is a third edition, rewritten and recast, of his standard work on the great Maratha. It is marked throughout by his well-known thoroughness and impartiality and is especially valuable for its rejection of the *bakhars* and poems which certain writers appear too ready to accept as statements of fact. Professor Sarkar regards Shivaji as the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindus have produced, and is fully appreciative of the qualities of the Maratha race, while he does not fail to indicate the weaknesses in the Maratha character, and in Shivaji's own policy. Regarding the most debated incident of Shivaji's career, the slaying of Afzal Khan, Professor Sarkar considers that the Muhammedan General struck the first blow of treachery. This may be so, but it can hardly be doubted that Shivaj's preparations for a treacherous attack were much the more complete, while the foreign writers who refer to the incident, are, as Principal Rawlinson's extracts show, unanimous that Shivaji was the aggressor. In a book so packed with fact and incident some minor errors are unavoidable. The ship referred to as H.M.S. *Convertite* is the *Convertine*; but, though it had brought out some of Marlborough's soldiers, it seems at the date mentioned to have been a Company's, and not a King's, ship. Bombay was given to the English by the treaty of 1661, and not in 1668, which is the date of the cession by the Crown to the Company. The book suffers seriously from the absence of any sort of map. In the second book under review an adequate map is provided. This volume marks the first attempt to carry out an ambitious

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scheme for a comprehensive Source Book of Maratha History. As such it is a useful supplement to Professor Sarkar's book; but it must be used with caution, since the Marathi sources are of varying degrees of reliability and authenticity; and these degrees are not indicated by Mr. Patwardhan. The notes on the foreign sources are made with Principal Rawlinson's usual care. These sources do not include the Letters recorded at the English and Dutch Factories which, as Professor Sarkar points out, are the best evidence for the facts of the period; but the English Factory Records have been fully dealt with by Sir W. Foster, and we are promised a further monograph under the patronage of the Kolhapur Darbar.

P. R. C.

History of the Assam Rifles. By Colonel L. W. Shakespear. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxiv + 301 pp. Macmillan & Co. Price 30*s*.

This is a full account of the Military Police forces on the North-Eastern Frontier of India, which have now culminated in the five Battalions of the Assam Rifles. In addition to the more local side of the information it contains, there is much of general interest regarding a country which is too little known even to the student of Indian affairs. The area dealt with is a true meeting ground of diverse races: it contains many relics of an ancient civilization overthrown by the Jungle, and its proximity to the Frontier of the Empire invests it with an importance that may well increase with time. It is difficult to imagine any portion of India where it will be more impossible to dispense with the steel frame of British Officers. No one is better qualified, both by family connections and from personal experience, to deal with it than Colonel Shakespear. He tells the story of a century of petty hill and jungle warfare, marked by many mistakes

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and reverses, as well as by much heroism, but always tending towards a gradual extension of law and order. The good work done by the Assam Rifles in the Great War, in the Moplah Rebellion, and in combating the forces of sedition in the plains of Bengal, will be new to many readers. The book is very well provided with maps and illustrations. It may be noted that the subsequent victor of Talana is referred to as Penn Symonds instead of Symons. The division of the book, doubtless for local use, by areas of country, rather than by any chronological sequence, makes it somewhat difficult reading, which is not lessened by any clarity of style; but these drawbacks are recompensed by the thorough manner in which the subject is treated.

P. R. C.

India under Wellesley. By P. E. Roberts. 9 × 6, xii + 323 pp. Bell. Price 15*s*.

Mr. Roberts expresses the modest hope that his work may inspire some other scholar to write the authoritative biography of the great Pro-Consul that is long overdue, but most people will agree that his book gives by far the best account yet available of Wellesley and of his great achievements in India. Mr. Roberts ranks him, we think rightly, in the class which contains Clive, Warren Hastings, and Dalhousie, without seeking to allot the individual placing. In two respects Wellesley outshone any other of the great Governors-General; his grasp of military problems and the smoothness of his relations, in spite of his all-pervading spirit, with the Governments of the Provinces. For the former he was, as Mr. Roberts points out, largely indebted to the presence and advice of his brother, the even greater Arthur Wellesley. The best justification for his policy is his own statement that, "I can declare my conscientious conviction that no greater blessing can be conferred on the Natives of India than the extension of the British authority, influence, and power." We may

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fully accept this while agreeing with Mr. Roberts that, in the case of Oudh, the objects achieved were far better than the means employed to attain them. The author deals at especial length with the Treaty of Bassein, the most momentous act of Wellesley's reign, and entirely justifies it. War with the Marathas was in any case inevitable; it was better that it should come through a treaty made at his own request with the head of the Maratha confederacy, and with him, at least nominally, on our side. Without the treaty, the position of the British on Bombay Island and on the West Coast of India in general, must have continued to be precarious. Apart from the story of actual events in India, Mr. Roberts is particularly good in his treatment of the relations between the Governor-General, the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors. He realizes the difficulties in which Wellesley's policy placed the latter bodies, and does not, like most of Wellesley's admirers, abuse the Directors because they failed to agree with the Governor-General.

As the author informs us that the proofs of the book were corrected by Professor Dodwell and Sir Verney Lovett, there is naturally very little in the way of facts to be cavilled at. It was perhaps unnecessary to record the suggestion of one modern history that the death of Madhu Rao Narayan Peshwa was due to accident and not to suicide. Grant Duff, at any rate, had no doubt in the matter. It is not clear why the author denies to Frazer, the victor at the battle of Dig, the rank of General. Finally, though the spelling of Indian names in English always causes difficulty, and sometimes permits of doubt, there can surely be no necessity for such forms as "Serfogi", "Winaek", "Adjunta", and "Myhie". These are, however, extremely small faults in so excellent a production.

P. R. C.

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Indica and Indo-Iranica by L. D. Barnett

1. Beiträge zur Erklärung des Awestas und des Vedas. Von Johannes Hertel. (Des XL. Bandes d. Abhandl. d. philol.-hist. Klasse d. sächsischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften, Nr. II.) $11\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, xxix + 284 pp. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1929.

The primary object of these studies is to corroborate and supplement the exposition of Aryan religious thought (or, more exactly speaking, "Weltanschauung") presented by the author in the introduction to his *Die Sonne und Mithra im Awesta*, and a dispassionate criticism must admit that in the main they are successful. In my notice of *Die Sonne und Mithra* in this *Journal* (January, 1928), I stated my belief that Dr. Hertel's "hypothesis for the most part *works*", and this opinion is strongly confirmed by the present series of studies, in which *inter alia* a number of Avestic texts are interpreted simply and naturally with a minimum of alteration and athetesis. Dr. Hertel rightly remarks (p. viii) that it is humiliating that after more than 150 years Avestic philology has failed to understand such common prayers as the *ašəm vohū* and *yeŋhē hātąm*; that he has been able to explain them, together with other texts, without violence to grammar and common sense, is the strongest argument in favour of his general position.

The first section of the book consists of a study and interpretation of the *ašəm vohū* and the commentary upon it contained in Y. xxvii. 14 and xx, with an important chapter on the Aryan root *ar*, with its derivatives, in which Dr. Hertel, following the view of Grassman (WR., col. 110) presents an exhaustive catalogue of Vedic and Avestic words from $\sqrt{ar}$ and roots thence derived which may bear the meaning "shine", etc. The next section deals with the Vedic *arámati* and Av. *āramaiti*, the general conclusion being that (1) *a-râmati* in RV., literally "not-resting", denotes primarily the driving of herds to pasture in the *nomad* life, and secondarily the herds' grazing grounds, and that (2) Zara*θ*uštra, whose main

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object was to convert nomads into settled herdsmen dwelling in regular villages, with deliberate reference to *a-ramati* introduced *ā-ramati*, literally "settlement", to express his social ideal, the life of the *pastoral village*, the term secondarily meaning also the land grazed over by the herds of the village (and in the Vendīdād further, the land tilled by the agriculturist). Thirdly comes a section in which the Av. *spən-*, *a-spən*, *-span* are derived from √*ku* "shine," with which is also connected *saošyant* (fut. partic.) in the sense of "one who shall turn beings into (heavenly) fire", i.e. the saviour through the Mazdayasnian law; and to this are attached some remarkable studies in Avestan eschatology and the unfitness of rendering *spənta* by "holy".[1] The fourth section is devoted to Y. iii, which is printed in metrical form, and interpreted simply and naturally as an exorcism against disease and the Druj, and to this attached a study of the famous prayer *yeṅhē hātąm*, which here, we believe, is correctly explained for the first time. Last come annotated translations of three Gāθās, Y. xxxii, xliii, and xliv.

Apart from a few minor points which admit of a difference of opinion,[2] it must be admitted that the cumulative result

[1] According to Dr. Hertel's view, as Zaraθuštra had declared a war of reason and economic utility against the old Aryan *daēvas* as powers of falsehood and mischief, but nevertheless the *daēvas* continued to be worshipped *mutato nomine* after him in his name by the Magians, the latter in a crude effort to assimilate his philosophic doctrines created a new class of deities, the *amәša spəntas*," radiant immortals," to take the place of the *daēvas* or "shining ones" whose name they were bidden to abhor but whose worship they maintained. *Saošyant* in the Gāθās denotes Ahura Mazdāh or any being of the Ahuric order who "saves" the world by giving forth the emanation of the divine Fire or illumination; in the later Avesta it signifies (1) all who propagate the Mazdayasnian law, (2) all who believe in it and observe it, and (3) all men who belong to the Ahuric order; then, with eschatological emphasis on the future sense of the word, (4) a man of the Ahuric order in the future, (5) a mortal being of that order in the coming *frašōkərəti* (inasmuch as *saošyant* = *frašōcarətar*, "illuminator," *fraša* being for **fra-xša*, from √*xšā*, *xšāy*); then (6) Astvaṭ-ərəta, who in the ultimate victory of Light in the world is the leader of the Ahuric powers, and finally (7) his two imaginary predecessors and the six assistants assigned to him by later doctrine.

[2] Thus I venture to doubt the suggested identification of Pūṣán with the moon (p. 89) and of the Fravašis with the stars (p. 191).

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of these studies is a valuable addition to Aryan philology. A regrettable necessity has decreed that a large amount of space in them should be given to criticism and confutation of the writings of other scholars, especially Herr Lommel, whose recent work on the Yašts has drawn down upon his back abundant flagellation. Now, however, as it seems to us, Dr. Hertel by the publication of this volume has made good his fundamental principles, and henceforth we hope he will find himself relieved from the need of negative controversy, and free to devote all his time and energy to positive research.

2. MÂNAVAGṚHYASÛTRA OF THE MAITRÂYAṆÎYA ŚÂKHÂ, with the Commentary of AṢṬÂVAKRA. Edited with an introduction, indexes, etc., by RAMAKRISHNA HARSHAJI SASTRI, with a Preface by B. C. LELE, M.A. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xxxv.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 9 + xxxi + 258 + vi pp. Baroda, Bhavnagar printed: Oriental Institute, 1926.

3. ADVAYAVAJRASAṂGRAHA. Edited with an Introduction, by MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARAPRASAD SHASTRI. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xl.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, xxxix + 68 pp. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1927.

The code of domestic rituals of the Mānava school, as represented by the Maitrāyaṇīya branch, is an old acquaintance, for an able critical edition of the text with an abridged commentary was published by Knauer in 1897 at St. Petersburg. The present edition, however, is not on that account superfluous; on the contrary, it deserves a welcome, for in addition to the text of the Sūtra, edited on the basis of new manuscript materials, it contains the commentary *Pūraṇa-vyākhyāna* of Aṣṭāvakra. The latter, a writer who is otherwise unknown, bears an intriguing name, apparently borrowed from the legendary sage to whom is ascribed the popular *Aṣṭāvakrā-gītā*. His commentary shows considerable merit and erudition, and is a useful contribution to the literature of Indian ritualism.

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Advayavajra was a professor of the decadent school of Buddhism which expresses itself, e.g. in the *Ādi-karma-pradīpa*, and he flourished, according to Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (*Sādhana-mālā*, ii, p. lxii) in the eleventh century. His *Saṃgraha* comprises twenty-one short tracts, in Sanskrit verse and prose, expounding various phases of his creed and praxis; if they teach us nothing very new, they are nevertheless of some value and interest as showing the dissolution of Mahāyāna in the muddy waters of Tantric Śāivism and the rise therefrom of a fantastic amorous mysticism, in which the idea of sex-union (*yuga-naddha*) plays a leading part, and which later reappeared in the Sahajīya movement in Bengal. The text has been edited on the basis of a single manuscript in the Darbar Library of Nepal, which is faulty in many places. As the style is often crabbed and obscure, the editor has not ventured upon extensive emendation, and presents the work in a somewhat imperfect state. This is regrettable, for a critical study of kindred works would perhaps have furnished materials which might have enabled him to emend many corruptions; and in any case, we venture to think, he would have done well to correct the errors in spelling (especially the use of *b* for *v*) which not seldom deface his pages. To the text the learned Mahāmahôpâdhyāya has prefixed surveys of the development of the Maḥāyāna schools and of Advayavajra's doctrines, which, as is usual with him, are marked by erudition and ability, but seem to us to be in places somewhat lacking in exactness and lucidity and occasionally rather arbitrary.[1] In fine, the book is a *Beitrag* to Buddhist studies for which we may be thankful, but its value would have been greatly enhanced by more careful workmanship.

[1] I take the opportunity to record with due respect my dissent from the somewhat startling view advanced on pp. ix and xxviii that the "five Dhyāni Buddhas are the Śūnya representation of the five Skandhas". What suggested the idea of the Dhyāni Buddhas is an obscure problem. To find any deities really like them, we have to step across the frontier of India into Iran, where we may discover something parallel in the post-Zoroastrian cult of the Fravašis.

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4. TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES. No. xcii. THE RASOPANIṢAT. No. xciii. THE VEDÂNTAPARIBHÂṢÂ of DHARMARÂJÂDHVARÎNDRA, with the Commentary PRAKÂŚIKÂ OF PEDDÂ DÎKṢITA. No. xciv. THE BṚHADDEŚÎ OF MATANGAMUNI. No. xcv. THE RAṆADÎPIKÂ OF KUMÂRA GAṆAKA. Edited by K. SÂMBAŚIVA ŚÂSTRÎ. (Śrî Setu Lakṣmî Prasâdamâlâ, Nos. iv–vii.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, (1) $3 + 4 + 211 + 20$, (2) $2 + 3 + 6 + 152 + 12$, (3) $1 + 2 + 3 + 155$, (4) $2 + 3 + 25$ pp. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1928.

The Trivandrum Series is marked by a catholic variety of subject—its motto might almost be *quidquid agunt homines*—and this multifariousness is well exemplified in the four volumes before us. The *Rasôpaniṣad* is a medical treatise of eighteen chapters, which instructs the native practitioner in the preparation and application of the various recipes compounded of mercury, and the like. The text is not in a very satisfactory condition, as only two manuscripts were available, of which one was incomplete and the other very dilapidated; but the book is nevertheless of some importance. It bears the secondary title *Mahôdadhi* (which is not, as the editor states, the name of a larger work from which the Rasôpaniṣad is extracted); and a curious feature in it is that in the beginning, after naming in advance the topics which he intends to treat in his eighteen chapters, the author proceeds to give us a list of some matters which, he says, are handled in his eighteenth chapter, but are not found in the present work, and then he announces the topics of his 24th–29th chapters, which are not existent here. It may be, as the editor suggests, that these lists of missing matters have been interpolated from some other treatise; but it seems more likely either that the work was not completed according to plan, or that the MSS. are derived from a defective archetype. Dharmarāja's work is an epitome of monistic Vēdânta which still finds much favour and has been several times printed in India. Peddā's commentary, however,

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is new, and is a useful addition to available Vedantic literature. Of Peddā himself, nothing is known, though the wording of his reference to Dharmarāja suggests discipleship; the editor, however, is of opinion that he may be the same as Pettā Śāstrin, otherwise known as Hṛṣīkēśa, who composed a commentary on the *Chandō-viciti*, and this view has some probability. The *Bṛhad-dēśī*, or "great treatise on sound" (*dēśī* being somewhat quaintly derived from *dēśa*, in the sense that sound is heard in every place), is a manual of music ascribed to a probably mythical Matańga Muni, and has some value, especially as it borrows freely from ancient sources; but it is incomplete, breaking off abruptly at the end of the sixth chapter with an unfulfilled promise to discuss the subject of *vādya-nirṇaya*. As with the *Rasôpaniṣad*, the text is based upon only two defective MSS., and leaves much to be desired; the editor however, consoles us by a conditional promise to publish in his series Dattila's ancient handbook of music—a pleasing prospect. Finally, we have in the *Raṇa-dīpikā* a little manual of the art of war from the astrologer's standpoint, which in not very correct Sanskrit retails recipes whereby the *gaṇaka* may guide an ambitious monarch to victory by due observance of the rules concerning the lucky positions of the heavenly bodies, the significance of omens and portents, the preparation of magic diagrams, the knowledge of the mystic powers of the vowels, the observation of fortunate times, and other germane mysteries, the whole being preceded by a chapter on polity, based on familiar *nīti-śāstras*. As the book is quoted in the *Praśna-mārga*, it is earlier than A.D. 1650; but its exact date is dubious.

5. Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba. Sechszehntes bis vierundzwanzigstes und einunddreissigstes Buch. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von W. Caland. (Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, D. xxvi, No. 4.) $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7$, 459 + i + i pp. Amsterdam, 1928.

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The first instalment of this translation appeared in 1921 at Göttingen in the *Quellen der Religions-Geschichte* (Gr. 7); the remainder has been published by the Akademie of Amsterdam. The present volume is probably the most important of all, for it embraces books 16–24 and 31, which among many other topics deal with the construction of the great altar, the rituals of the Vāja-peya, Rāja-sūya, Aśva-mēdha, and Puruṣa-mēdha sacrifices, and the ceremonies of burial; and with it is now felicitously concluded the arduous labour of many years, a work of which it may be truly said that it "praiseth the Master". Dr. Caland's translation, with its brief but helpful annotations, is a triumph of scholarship.

"Studies," Bacon remarks, "serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability." Study of the dreary and crabbed documents of brahmanic ritualism can engender little either of delight or of ornament; but it certainly may beget no small measure of ability—an insight into numberless phases of religious thought and action which is of inestimable value to those who seek to read aright the riddling history of man's culture. Among such documents, Āpastamba's *Śrāuta-sūtra*, a complete handbook of "sensual rites and ceremonies" and of an "excess of outward and pharisaical holiness" (again to quote Verulam), may be said to occupy a "bad eminence". For that very reason it is peculiarly instructive aud precious, and Dr. Caland has laid students of many denominations under a profound debt of gratitude.

After this tribute of admiration to the work as a whole it is the reviewer's painful duty to strike a note of dissatisfaction at one detail. The "Sachindex" which concludes the book is very meagre and incomplete. Scores of data, of various degrees of importance, which might be expected to appear in it, are omitted; in fact, it is quite inadequate for purposes of reference.

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6. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien. herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität. 1. Die Rāma-sage bei den Malaien, ihre Herkunft und Gestaltung, von Alexander Zieseniss. 2. Der Kumārapālapratibodha, ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa und der Erzählungs-Literatur der Jainas, von Ludwig Alsdorf. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, (1) i + 123 pp., (2) xii + 227 pp. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Co., 1928.

Among the various publications which the young and businesslike University of Hamburg is producing it is gratifying to see a special series dedicated to India, and indologists will welcome its first fruits in the present excellent monographs, which promise well for its future.

The *Ḥikāyat Śrī-Rāma*, the Malay saga of Rāma, is preserved in the recensions represented by the texts published by Roorda van Eysinga and Shellabear, besides the version given by Maxwell in the *JSBRAS.* for 1886; and the fascinating problem of its origin and relation to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* has attracted the attention of several scholars. In the present work Dr. Zieseniss gives first an analysis of the story as told in the versions of van Eysinga and Shellabear, and then in his *Kritischer Teil* compares them section by section with the corresponding parts of Vālmīki's poem, with notes. Finally he sets forth his conclusions, which in sum are that (1) these two versions are derived through oral tradition from a primitive saga in which a number of episodes of the cycle were loosely strung together; (2) this saga to a considerable extent agreed with Vālmīki's poem, and where it differed, it drew most of its materials from other Hindu Rāma-legends; (3) it treated its themes in a manner and spirit which indicate that it arose long after the epic period, probably after the twelfth century and before 1600; and (4) its materials were conveyed, probably orally, from both the eastern and the western coasts of India to Indonesia, where it was put together,

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and has been preserved in several versions, of which that of van Eysinga has remained most faithful to the original form of the cycle, while that of Maxwell is the most deeply influenced by the local conditions of Indonesia. Dr. Zieseniss has handled the subject in a thoroughly workmanlike manner, though in a somewhat ponderous style, and his conclusions seem on the whole to be sound. He appears, however, to have overlooked Sir George Grierson's abstract of the *Ānanda-rāmāyaṇa* in the *BSOS.*, vol. iv, p. 11 ff., which might have usefully supplemented his materials.

Somaprabha's *Kumārapāla-pratibōdha* (published at Baroda as No. 14 of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in 1920) consists mainly of a string of homilies and fifty-eight illustrative stories, which are represented as leading up to Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism ; and in the midst of its Sanskrit text are inserted various passages in Apabhraṃśa verse, viz. an allegorical dialogue between soul, mind, and the senses, the legend of Sthūlabhadra, a short doctrinal tract, a hymn to Pārśva, descriptions of the seasons, and forty-two odd verses, making in all about 250 stanzas. Dr. Alsdorf's work is devoted to the study of the stories and the Apabhraṃśa, and consists of (*a*) a list of all the tales in the *Kum.* with parallels elsewhere, (*b*) an analysis and study of the structure of the first two Apabhraṃśa passages, (*c*) an examination of the Sthūlabhadra-legend, which is traced in its different versions, (*d*) a short survey of the remaining Apabhraṃśa passages, (*e*) a grammar of the Apabhraṃśa of the *Kum.*, with an account of its metres, (*f*) the text of the Apabhraṃśa, critically edited and translated, with notes and glossary, and (*g*) an appendix containing extracts from Sanskrit authors on the legends of Śakaṭāla and Sthūlabhadra, with Jinapadma's Gujarati *Thūlibhadda-phāga* and excerpts from three *dāsas*. The work is throughout marked by accurate and methodical scholarship, and is especially valuable on the linguistic side, in which Dr. Alsdorf has distinctly enlarged the bounds of our knowledge of Apabhraṃśa and its relation to tertiary Prakrit.

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7. Introduction to Prakrit. By Alfred C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., F.A.S.B. Second edition. (Panjab University Oriental Publications.) $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 17 + 230 pp. Lahore, Calcutta printed: Baptist Mission Press, 1928.

Mr. Woolner's book was written for the use of Indian students, and hence is designed on lines of practical utility rather than of theoretical finesse. As such, it well merits the success which it has won; and its usefulness is not restricted to India, for European neophytes also will find it very helpful when embarking upon Prakritic studies. The grammar is succinctly set forth in Part I, especial regard being paid to Śaurasēnī and Māhārāṣṭrī owing to their dominant importance in literature, and Part II comprises copious extracts from texts in various dialects—Śaurasēnī, Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardha-māgadhī, Māgadhī, and others, with specimens also from Pali, the inscriptions of Aśōka and Khāravēla, and the Apabhraṃśa of the Bhavisatta-kahā—together with notes and translations, followed by an index of words.

Though care has been taken to rectify the misprints of the previous edition, something still remains to be done in that direction. The punctuation, spacing of words, and similar matters are capable of further improvement, and there are slips in the printing (e.g. "Indo-Arayan" on p. i, *davanaṇāhiṃ* on p. 36); nor is the statement that "aḥ becomes o" (p. 17) strictly correct. The next edition, we hope, will remove these minor defects and do justice to a good book.

8. Rājâditya-Durgasiṃhâdi Kelavu Kannaḍa-kavigaḷa Jīvanakāla-vicāra. [Studies on the dates of Rājâditya, Durgasiṃha, and some other Kanarese poets.] By A. Veṅkaṭa-subbayya, M.A., Ph.D., LL.B. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, viii + 279 pp. Mysore: Karṇāṭaka Saṅgha, Central College, 1927.

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This work has a positive as well as a negative side. In thirty-three sections the author criticises the views expressed by Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar in his *Karṇāṭaka-kavi-charite* on the dates of the lives and writings of a number of Kanarese poets and sets forth his own with a notable wealth of erudition and ingenuity of argument. His main conclusions are these: Rājâditya flourished at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, Durgasiṃha and Candrarāja *c.* 1035, Kavitāvilāsa *c.* 990–1010, Nāgacandra (author of *Rāma-carita-purāṇa*, *Mallinātha-pº.*, and *Jina-muni-tanaya*) about the same time, Samudāyada Māghanandi *c.* 1250–82, Kumudêndu (author of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa-ṭippaṇa*) *c.* 1100, Karṇapārya *c.* 1174, Nēmicandra (author of *Līlāvati* and *Nēmināṭha-purāṇa*) *c.* 1185–95, Rudra Bhaṭṭa *c.* 1218, Dēva Kavi *c.* 1245–50, Kamalabhava *c.* 1255, Guṇavarma (author of *Puṣpadanta-purāṇa*) *c.* 1190–1218, Sumanobāṇa *c.* 1223, Jagaddaḷa Sōmanātha *c.* 1220–45, Mallikârjuna (author of *Sûkti-sudhârṇava*) *c.* 1263, Bālacandra (author of *Prābhṛtaka-traya-vyākhyāna*, etc.) *c.* 1200, Boppaṇa *c.* 1175–1200, Ācaṇṇa *c.* 1205–10, Kīrtivarma *c.* 1060–5, Brahmaśiva *c.* 1065–8, Abhinava Śruta Muni *c.* 1341–51, Vṛttavilāsa *c.* 1340, Maṅgarāja (author of *Khagêndra-maṇi-darpaṇa*) *c.* 1340, Sōmarāja some time before 1530, Śiśu-māyaṇa *c.* 1660, Śrīvardha Dēva *c.* 710, Guṇanandi *c.* 1250, Harîśvara *c.* 1250–70, his disciple Rāghavâṅka *c.* 1280–90, Kereya Padmarasa not earlier than 1260; Nāgavarma I wrote *Kāvyâvalōkana*, *Chandōmbudhi*, *Kādambarī*, *Vastu-kōśa*, and *Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa*; the dates of Nāgavarma II (author of *Candra-cūḍāmaṇi-śataka*) and Māuktika Kavi are indeterminable; and Kanti is probably mythical. As truth usually does not spring like Minerva fully grown and completely equipped from the head of a Jupiter, but needs for her birth much painful midwifery in the form of "argument about it and about", these differences of opinion are of good augury and the cause of Kanarese literature is sure to gain by the conflict of views between two such scholars.

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9. A New Inscription of Darius from Hamadan. By Professor E. Herzfeld. (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 34.) $12\frac{3}{4} \times 10$, $1 + 7 +$ iii pp. Calcutta, 1928.

This inscription, which is engraved on two tablets, one of gold and the other of silver, is in Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamitic, and registers the declaration of Darius: "This is the empire that I possess, from the Śaka who are beyond Sugd as far as the Kûsh, from the Hindû as far as Spardâ, which Ahuramazda has granted unto me, who is the greatest of gods." It has already been discussed by Professor Herzfeld in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for 1926, No. 42 (cf. *JRAS.*, 1926, pp. 433 f., 1927, p. 101), and the present paper is devoted by him to the consideration of some points in it which bear upon Indian history. He maintains convincingly that it must have been written between the end of 518 and the end of 515 B.C., as it implies the conquests of Sindh and Egypt, but must be previous to the expedition against the European Scyths, and that the phrase "the Śaka who are beyond Sugd" locates the home of the Asiatic Śakas in the plains beyond the Syr Darya or Jaxartes, although his argument that the Scythian tribe of *Παρικάνιοι* is still preserved in the modern Farghana is not wholly free from objection. He argues likewise, though with much less probability, that the "*Θ*ataguš" of Naqsh-i Rustam (the *Σατταγύδαι* of Herodotus) are the natives of the Panjab, the name being the Old Persian equivalent to the Sanskrit *śatagu-*, whence it follows that the Panjab was a province of Persia from the middle of the sixth century B.C. onwards, while Sindh and Gandhāra were new conquests of Darius. Be this as it may, the monograph is brimful of interesting facts and ideas.

10. Report on the Administration of the Archæological Department of the Cochin State for the Year 1102 M.E. (1926–27 A.D.). By P. Anujan Achan. $12\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, i + i + 27 pp., 6 plates. Ernakulam: Cochin Government Press, 1928.

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Mr. Anujan Achan's report on the work of his first year's service is encouraging. Useful labour has been devoted to the survey and conservation of old monuments—notably the "Travancore Lines", which broke the tide of Tīpū's advance, and the immemorial city of Tiruvañcikkuḷam—while the inscriptions of Urakam (by Nārāyaṇa Ravi Varman, A.D. 1450), the Kokkaraṇi at Trichur (sixteenth century), and Pullut (the Portuguese epitaph on the tombstone of a Christian priest, Mateus Vaz) give scope for epigraphic study, and art is creditably represented by some graceful frescoes in the Dutch Palace in Cochin, a fine classical image of Viṣṇu from Talakkat, and good carvings in wood. These results, though not sensational, are satisfactory, and suggest possibilities of still more important discoveries, even of the Roman period.

11. Maisūru-dēśada Vāstu-śilpa [Architecture of Mysore]. By B. Veṅkōba Rāu, B.A. Vol. i. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, vii + 88 pp. 48 pl. Bangalore: Karṇāṭaka Saṅgha, Central College, 1928.

The land of Mysore possesses a magnificent heritage of architectural beauties, which happily is under the stewardship of an enlightened Government; and interest in these precious legacies of the past is now spreading beyond official circles, as is strikingly proved by the present work, issued by the Karṇāṭaka Saṅgha, a society of scholarly Kannadigas which is doing excellent service to the cause of literary and historical culture in Kannada-speaking lands. Mr. Venkoba Rau, than whom no more competent writer on Indian architecture and antiquities is to be found, here furnishes his readers (who, we hope, will be many) with the first instalment of a description of the chief buildings in the Hoysaḷa and Drāviḍa styles which adorn the Mysore State, with a brief introduction on the characteristics of those styles; and, as is to be expected from him, he has performed his task with notable success. His Kannada diction is simple, lucid, and vigorous, and the

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amount of information on details which he gives is abundant. Numerous illustrations and plans complete the excellence of the work. The only point on which the critic can express dissent is the statement on p. 3 that the Drāviḍa style is that of the pre-Aryan dwellers in the Deccan.

12. Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch . . . herausgegeben von Alfred Bertholet. Zweite erweiterte Auflage. 1. Die Zoroastrische Religion (Das Avestā), von K. Geldner. 2. Die Eingeborenen Amerikas, von K. Th. Preuss. 3. Die Slaven, von Dr. A. Brückner. 4. Die Religion der Griechen, von M. P. Nilsson. 5. Die Religion der Römer und der Synkretismus der Kaiserzeit, von K. Latte. 6. Die Chinesen, von E. Schmitt. 7. Die Jainas, von W. Schubring. 8. Die Eingeborenen Australiens und der Südseeinseln, von R. Thurnwald. 9. Vedismus und Brahmanismus, von K. F. Geldner. 10. Aegypten, von H. Kees. 11. Der Ältere Buddhismus, von M. Winternitz. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, (1) iv + 54 pp., (2) iii + 61 pp., (3) i + 43 pp., (4) xii + 96 pp., (5) vi + 94 pp., (6) i + 110 pp., (7) ii + 33 pp., (8) i + 48 pp., (9) ix + 176 pp., (10) viii + 57 pp., (11) vi + 162 pp. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1926–29.

The object of this series is, where possible, to furnish for each religion or group of religions under survey a "source-book" giving illustrative documents of it, or extracts from such documents, translated from the originals, with such brief notes as may be needful to make them intelligible. Source-books of this sort are useful and illuminative companions to students following a methodical course of instruction in the history of religion, and the present series, prepared by a band of eminent scholars, well deserves the flattery of imitation in this country. A divergence from this method is of course necessary in the case of the subjects treated in Nos. 3 and 8, for which no written texts or oral communications *ab intra* are available. As regards the other monographs it may be remarked that something (though

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by no means the whole) of the practical utility of a source-book depends upon the degree of judgment with which passages especially suitable to illustrate particular aspects of the religion under survey are selected and arranged; and in this respect not all these volumes are equally satisfactory. Those dealing with the religions of Greece and Rome are here perhaps most open to criticism: the former, which contains some extracts of slight value, hardly succeeds in illustrating adequately the manifold phases of Greek religious life and is somewhat confusedly arranged in parts, while the latter devotes most of its space to the foreign cults of the Empire, though we may be grateful to Dr. Latte for the Gnostic and Neoplatonic texts given by him. The very interesting little monograph on the religion of the Slavs follows a different plan, treating separately each of the countries where the old faith survived and presented itself to the notice of contemporaries—viz. Slavia (from East Holstein to the Vistula near Danzig), Prussia, Lithuania, Samogitia, and Latvia—by giving under that head the relevant testimonies of medieval and later writers down to the seventeenth century, while for the spiritual condition of the natives of Australia and the South Sea Islands our only sources of information lie in the investigations of modern missionaries and other scholars. Thus the methods of these books are as various as the cultures which they depict; but all of them are in their kind good, some of them notably so, and the series as a whole may be heartily recommended.

Reviews on Indian Subjects by Jarl Charpentier

1. Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. By Étienne Lamotte. With a Preface by L. de La Vallée Poussin. (Société Belge d'Études Orientales.) $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, xiii + 153 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929.

Works dealing with the Bhagavadgītā are rapidly increasing in Europe, India, and America. Practically every year brings

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new contributions in the form of translations, books and pamphlets; but the question is whether our knowledge of the origin, development, and doctrines of this famous poem has gone on increasing at the same rapid pace as explanations and commentaries on it have been accumulating. It is a somewhat melancholy reflection that this may not be the case.

M. Lamotte, a pupil of Professors Formichi and de La Vallée Poussin, and a scholar whose name we now meet for the first time, tells us that works on the Bhagavadgītā are less common in French than in English and German—other languages, unfortunately, do not count in the same degree. It is, then, a curious coincidence that his own book should appear at about the same time as a very interesting paper by Professor Oltramare.[1] Together with other French scholars, the late lamented Senart and MM. de La Vallée Poussin and Oltramare, M. Lamotte holds the opinion, also cherished by other scholars that the Bhagavadgītā is the work of one single author, and is preserved in the form in which it was originally inserted in the Great Epic.

In spite of all this excellent authority, we cannot feel convinced that such is the case. W. von Humboldt, whose paper on the Bhagavadgītā still testifies to his genius, held that it had been patched up from various pieces. In later times Garbe tried, with indifferent success, to sift the Vedāntic parts from the Sāṃkhya ones; and Professor Jacobi as well as M. Lamotte have used much rather unnecessary learning in refuting this still-born idea. But it still remains the firm conviction of the present writer that the poem consists of several different strata. As, however, he hopes soon to publish his modest views on this subject, he will venture no further upon it here.

The work of M. Lamotte runs along fairly orthodox lines. It contains nothing startling, but gives a very useful exposition of the leading ideas of the Bhagavadgītā. As these are at times rather bewildering in their diversity, we

[1] Cf. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xcvii, 161 seq.

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are thankful to the author who has produced a work of considerable value to his fellow scholars. Of slips we have observed next to none, though we are mildly astonished to find, in the bibliography, a fairly well-known scholar described as *Konow-Oslo, S.*

2. Rāmdās and the Rāmdāsīs. By Wilbur S. Deming. (The Religious Life of India.) $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 223 pp. Calcutta: Association Press, 1928.

The series called "The Religious Life of India" contains a small number of well-known and useful works such as Bishop Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India*, and Mr. Kennedy's *Chaitanya Movement*, to mention only two amongst them. It is a matter of satisfaction to scholars interested in Hindu religion that the editors—among whom was the late lamented Dr. Farquhar—have apparently undertaken the publication of a further number of books dealing with similar subjects. The one recently published treats of Rāmdās and his followers, and is written by Dr. Deming, a gentleman belonging to the American Marāṭhī Mission whose best known member we believe to be Dr. Justin E. Abbott.

Rāmdās, whose original name was Nārāyaṇ, was a Brahmin, from the village of Jāmb within the present state of Hyderabad, and born in 1608, the year of Eknāth's death and Tukārām's birth. His life-story, apart from the miracles with which pious biographers have endowed it, presents nothing more marvellous than that of any ordinary Hindu saint. He at an early date abandoned the life of a householder and, after extensive wanderings through different parts of India, in 1644 settled down at Chāphaḷ in the Sātārā area, where he started a new religious movement. He won a number of disciples and founded several temples and maṭhs throughout the Marāṭha country. He became the revered teacher and intimate friend of the great Śivājī, though it may be a little doubtful at what time their mutual relations first were established. Rāmdās was strongly interested in Śivājī's campaign against the

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Muhammadans and an ardent Swarājist. It is improbable that he was his confidential adviser at the time of the dastardly assassination of Afzal Khān; it is, however, sure that he connived at it. Rāmdās survived his royal friend only by a year, being liberated from his bodily existence in 1681.

Rāmdās was the author of manifold works, but as a rule a somewhat indifferent writer. Nor are his doctrines of any striking originality, being simply a mixture of Vedānta teachings and *bhakti*, well-known since the time of the Gītā and through all the religious development of India. The Marāṭha country is one of the strongholds of the cults of Rāma, of his family, and of his faithful satellite Hanumant or Māruti; and of them Rāmdās was a most enthusiastic devotee. If there be a historic background to the story of Rāma's youth and exile—as I venture to think there is—the inference is that there exists a very old connection between him and the Deccan; also that the ancestors of the Marāṭhas were at one time strong devotees of the deified ape. In any case Rāmdās, like other sectarian leaders, gathered around him a great number of worshippers of Rāma, and his influence at one time was strong not only within the frontiers of Mahārāṣṭra. But for a prolonged period the number of Rāmdāsīs has been dwindling, though there may perhaps just now be a slight progressive movement within their ranks.

Neither the life story nor the literary activity of Rāmdās from a European point of view seem strongly attractive. However, Dr. Deming has succeeded in moulding them into a pleasant and instructive book. On the last chapter we shall not venture to pass an opinion as it contains the individual religious views of its author.

3. History of the Pallavas of Kanchi. By R. Gopalan. Edited for the University with Introduction and Notes by S. Krishna-Awamy Aiyangar. 9 × 6, xxxiii + 255 pp. Published by the University of Madras, 1928.

The history of the Pallavas, their origin, their greatness, decline, and fall, presents a series of entangled problems which

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are still waiting for solution, and will perhaps never be solved in their entirety. Several scholars such as Fleet, Rice, and Hultzsch and, among living ones, Professors Jouveau-Dubreuil and Krishnaswamy Aiyangar have contributed to the elucidation of these problems and have spread light on the main points in Pallava history. And now Mr. Gopalan, a former research student of the Madras University, has ventured to put together the results of his own and previous researches into a comprehensive volume on the Pallavas of Kāñchī. We may admit at once that he has performed his difficult task with fair success, and would like to congratulate him as well as his Guru, Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, who has contributed to his work an able introduction.

The name of the *Pallava* dynasty has been made the subject of somewhat fanciful speculations. The outward similarity with *Pahlava* (Parthian) gave rise to the theory that they were invaders from the north, and had their origin within the Arsacid kingdom. It thus only remained to conjecture, as was actually done by Rice, that the unexplained name of the Chālukyas was in reality identical with that of the Seleucids; and we might thus behold renewed, on the soil of Southern India, the far-famed battles fought long ago between the heirs of Seleucus and Arsaces. But if from the lofty atmosphere of speculations we again descend on earth we shall find that there is not even a formal reason for identifying *Pallava* with *Pahlava*. And there is no reason to doubt that the name *Pallava* is the same as the word *pallava* and is meant to translate into fashionable language the Tamil *toṇḍāi*. This again is the name of a certain creeper which was most probably at one time the totem of a local group of Southern Indian origin which became famous in history as the reigning dynasty of the Pallavas.

Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchī, mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta, is suggested to have been a Pallava prince, and was certainly not the founder of the dynasty which may have lasted for more than six hundred years up to about

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A.D. 900. It reached its greatest height in the seventh century, when Narasiṃhavarman I Mahāmalla successfully curbed the pride of the great Chālukyan prince Pulakeśin II and sent his victorious troops to conquer far-away Ceylon. But the Chālukyas took their revenge about a century later, and although the Pallava empire still held out for some 150 years, it was already shaken and shattered. Just at the end of the ninth century it fell a comparatively easy prey to the robust and victorious Chōḷas, though local princes of Pallava extraction continued to reign until the thirteenth century, and perhaps still further.

The work of Mr. Gopalan seems to be carefully done, and contains a very useful appendix on Pallava inscriptions. As is, unfortunately, usual in Hindu books transcribed Sanskrit words are not always correctly rendered, and we are somewhat shocked at forms like *Daṇḍin* and *Bhāṣa*. Concerning the dates of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin (p. 10) the paper by Professor Jacobi in the *Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1922, p. 210 seq., ought, of course, to have been quoted.

4. Some Aspects of the earliest Social History of India (Pre-Buddhistic Ages). By S. C. Sarkar. xi + v + 225 + iii pp. Oxford University Press, 1928.

We learn from the author's preface that this book is originally an Oxford thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which was presented about six years ago, but could only be printed in 1928. There is a foreword by Pargiter, who was once Professor Sarkar's Guru, and an introductory note by Professor Winternitz, who, although criticizing several of the author's leading theories, highly praises the scholarly instinct and unspared efforts of Dr. Sarkar and recommends his work " to all scholars who are interested in the history of Ancient India ".

We are willing partly to share in these recommendations. No doubt the learned author has with unstinted energy brought together an enormous material bearing upon social

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conditions in Ancient India, and upon these collections of materials rests the main claim to value of his work which, besides, makes no easy and amusing reading. But we have found him sorely lacking in that sense of proportions and evaluation of evidence which is often wanting to a certain degree in the young Hindu scholar.

Dr. Sarkar is a firm believer in Pargiter's theories concerning the historical value of the Purāṇas, which is perhaps only natural in a devoted pupil of that remarkable scholar. But none the less, such a theory cannot be upheld to the extent to which Pargiter wished to uphold it; this is only too well proved by the consequences at which he arrived in his latest work. As far as we are aware, neither was Pargiter nor is Professor Sarkar a student of historical criticism as it has been developed in Europe. And a thorough sense of criticism is necessary to everyone who wants to handle the entangled historical problems of Ancient India; lacking which he will land himself in a quagmire of inaccuracies from which there is possibly no rescue.

That brother and sister marriage, incest and polyandry were far from uncommon in Ancient India—or rather that they were common enough not to be looked upon with disapproval and disgust—are some of the leading suggestions of the learned author. It seems to have escaped him that such startling theories cannot be proved with the aid of certain myths picked out of the Vedic, Purāṇic and other literature. Such things have certainly existed amongst primitive as well as among highly cultured peoples; and it would be senseless to deny that they have also existed—and partly still exist—within the frontiers of India. But this does not mean that such things were in Ancient India a sort of institution looked upon with approval or at least connived at by Vedic seers and law-givers, as evidence does apparently speak quite to the contrary. The present writer as a rule believes but little in the paradisiacal conditions of Ancient India which are sometimes depicted in glowing colours by her present-day scholars;

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but he feels obliged to raise a protest in her favour against the suggestions of Dr. Sarkar. And this protest is nowise based on any moral indignation ; it is simply raised in the name of historical evidence which has here been singularly misused.

We cannot enter here upon a detailed criticism, though many quotations from texts seem to us to be in urgent need of rehandling. Dr. Sarkar shares with many other scholars an erroneous opinion on the real nature of the *vrātyas* ; but as space prohibits any discussion of this problem here, we would fain refer him to our own modest articles and to the bulky work by Professor Hauer.

5. Diaries of two Tours in the unadministered Area East of the Naga Hills. By J. H. Hutton. (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xi, No. 1. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 16$, 72 pp. + xvi pl. Calcutta, 1929. Rs. 11·10.

This is a diary of two tours undertaken by Mr. Hutton and his companions during April and October–November, 1923, to certain areas to the East of the Nāga Hills. No white man seems ever to have visited these God-forsaken places with the exception of the late General Woodthorpe, who in 1876 went to some of the villages, now described by Mr. Hutton.

Head-hunting, the preparation, by various means, of enemy heads as well as their ceremonial putting up in special houses, etc., studding the paths with caltrops and spikes, and other activities just as agreeable as these seem to be the favourite pastimes of the villagers visited by Mr. Hutton. The different villages are more or less constantly at war with each other, and it is scarcely the fault of their inhabitants if such wars are not carried to the verge of extinction. Under these circumstances, it is fairly obvious that touring in this country cannot be entered upon without the protection of a strong escort—especially as the natives will scarcely show any decided aversion towards acquiring also the skulls of white men. Such conditions are, of course, not favourable to ethnological researches ; and one is only astonished that

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Mr. Hutton has succeeded so well in bringing together all this varied and useful information.

Of details we cannot speak here. However, every Indologist ought to be interested in the short but valuable remarks on the origin of caste marks and on the holiness ascribed to the *Ficus religiosa*.

6. The Language of the Mahā-Naya-Prakāśa. An Examination of Kāshmīrī as written in the Fifteenth Century. By Sir George A. Grierson, O.M. (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xi, No. 2, $12\frac{1}{2}\times10$, 73–130 pp.) Calcutta, 1929. Rs. 2·4.

What at the present day we know about Kāshmīrī—as well as about nearly every vernacular of India—is chiefly due to the wonderful and never-ceasing activities of Sir George Grierson. His last work just as much as the previous ones, testifies to his marvellous grasp of every subject connected with linguistics as well as to his intimate acquaintance with every language that was or is spoken within the limits of Aryan-speaking India.

The *Mahānayaprakāśa*, a treatise belonging to the Trika school of the Saivas, is the work of a certain Śitikaṇṭhācārya, who is said to have flourished during the reign of Husain Shāh at the very end of the fifteenth century. The language is of great interest as it marks the transition from the Apabhraṃśa stage into what has finally become modern Kāshmīrī. And of this language, Sir George has given us a most thorough and scholarly prospectus which is of value to every Sanskritist, even if he be just as unacquainted with Kāshmīrī as is the present writer.

Nothing can be said in detail concerning the excellent exposition of the grammar of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, even if certain points might give rise to very interesting discussions. A special interest seems to attach to the word *phaha* " vapour " (p. 90), which cannot, of course, be derived from *uṣman-*. According to my humble opinion it must, in some way or

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other, be connected with *bāṣpa-*, which is, of course, no real "Sanskrit" word but belongs to an old dialect with which we are so far not very well acquainted. The Prākrit forms of the word are said to be *bāha-* "tear" and *bappha-* "vapour" (cf. Vararuci, iii, 38; Hemacandra, ii, 70; Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 209 seq.). Of these the former one apparently survives in Kāshmīrī as *bāha* "steam from boiling water", while with the latter one must evidently be connected *bahā* "vapour, mist, steam" as well as our *phaha*. But we cannot go into details here concerning the phonetic developments which would probably lead too far. We are in some slight doubt concerning the pronominal stem *ena-* (p. 109) as the suggested derivation *nŏm-*, *nĕm-* could perhaps have had a separate origin. That *ti* (p. 117) is from *iti* seems obvious.

Sir George Grierson in this work once more emphasizes his well-known suggestions concerning the linguistic position of the Dardic languages. His theory has met with very moderate approval. Personally we have long felt inclined to believe that it should in some way be upheld though most details still remain obscure.

Inni del Rig-Veda. Prefazione, Introduzione e Note di Valentino Papesso. I. Rig-Veda (1. Testi e Documenti per la Storia delle Religioni divulgati a cura di Raffaele Pettazzoni. 2. Religioni dell'India, Vedismo e Brahmanesimo). 8×5, $x + 148$ pp. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1929.

What will apparently be a general and extensive conspectus of the sacred lore of different religions is now being published under the able leadership of Professor R. Pettazzoni. An important place within such a collection must, of course, be reserved to the religions of India; and what we have here must apparently be the very first volume of such a series as it deals with the venerable hymn-book, which stands at the head of the whole religious development of India. Signor

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V. Papesso, whose name we have not often had the pleasure to meet with before, has in this nice little volume put together an introduction dealing with the Rigveda in general, its gods and its cults, as well as a translation, accompanied by short notes, of twenty-eight hymns belonging to the first *maṇḍala*.

The introduction makes easy reading and presents the main points of the traditional opinions in the Rigveda, its composition, its language, even its age. The chapter dealing with Vedic mythology is quite orthodox in its main tendencies which is perhaps just as well in a little book like this. As for the translations they seem well done, though in general the author walks carefully along the well-trodden paths of his predecessors; and the notes, though scanty, generally contain what seems strictly necessary. We cannot criticize the translations in detail, but would like to remark that the one of I, 165 marks no progress, the much more as Signor Papesso holds the impossible idea of "separating" it from I, 170–71. A reference to the magnificent monograph of M. Dumont on the *aśvamedha* (1927) is missing (p. 131); nor does a book by the present writer in which the theories of *ākhyāna* and ritual drama are at least somewhat fully discussed seem to have attracted the attention of the learned author.

But these are minor remarks which do not detract from the general value and usefulness of the book. We shall look forward with pleasure to the following volumes of the work of Signor Papesso.

VEDISCHE MYTHOLOGIE. By ALFRED HILLEBRANDT. Zweite veränderte Auflage in zwei Bänden. I–II. pp. 547; x + 496. Breslau: M. und H. Marcus, 1927–9.

The late lamented Professor Hillebrandt just before his death in 1927 published the first volume of a second revised edition of his celebrated *Vedische Mythologie*. It was with feelings of deep regret that one thought of how this eminent

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scholar had not been able to finish his *magnum opus*; but, fortunately, it turned out otherwise. The complete manuscript of the second volume was found in the drawers of Hillebrandt's writing-desk. And Professor Scherman, of Munich, has earned the profound gratitude of all his colleagues by seeing it through the press in a most careful and accomplished way. A young Bavarian scholar, Dr. W. Wüst, has been his helpmate in this laborious task.

Hillebrandt did not possess the brilliancy of Bergaigne and Oldenberg, nor perhaps the extreme critical acumen of Pischel and Geldner. But, on the other hand, he was possessed of a most excellent capacity of common sense to which all his writings—and especially his greatest work—bear eloquent witness. His knowledge of the Vedas and the ritual was unsurpassed, he had profound interests in the classical literature of India—as testified to by his edition of the Mudrārākṣasa and his very useful little book on Kālidāsa—and he was well read in folk-lore and the history of religions. No-one could reasonably want more from an author on Vedic mythology. Also the result was an uncommonly happy one; for, from no book have we drawn and are still able to draw more useful information concerning the Vedic deities than from Hillebrandt's monumental *Vedische Mythologie*.

The present writer is the more willing to emphasize the merits of this extraordinary work as he himself does only on very few points share the opinions of Hillebrandt. That Soma is and has always been identical with the moon, the heavenly well of *amṛta*, was one of the leading ideas of Hillebrandt; it has, however, at times been hotly contested. Notwithstanding that we would fain, with a very few reservations, subscribe to this ingenious idea. Also the chapter on Agni which, together with the great treatise on Soma, makes up the bulk of the first volume seems to us to belong to the most convincing parts of the work. But we cannot believe that the Aśvins, to which most fascinating deities

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very little room has been conceded, were some sort of nature deities. The opinion of the *aitihāsikāḥ* (*Yāska*, xii, 1) and of the late Professor Geldner,[1] to which we have formerly confessed our adherence,[2] still seems to hold good: the Aśvins were two beneficent rājahs of yore, "die indischen Notheiligen," to speak with Geldner. Also in the cases of Varuṇa, Indra, Viṣṇu, Pūṣan and even other deities, we differ widely from the opinions of Hillebrandt, though, for quite obvious reasons, we cannot here enter upon a detailed discussion of these various problems.

Differences of opinion, however, there are and will always be as the same facts react in totally different ways on different brains. But differences of opinion have got nothing to do with the estimation of a truly great and admirable work such as that of Hillebrandt. The profound learning, the sound argumentation, the simple but attractive style join in making it not only a useful but also a pleasant work. And there is one thing more which should not be forgotten. The late Professor Hillebrandt was a man who stuck well to his opinions but he did it in a human and tactful way. His polemics might at times be somewhat pungent, but it was never ungentlemanly. Over the intricate debates of scholarship he never forgot the higher duties of humanity. Thus he will always serve as a pattern to those scholars of the future who are apt to forget that life is too short to let differences of opinion create an everlasting enmity and feelings of inhuman aversion. It is melancholy to remember that his voice is now silenced for ever.

EARLY INDIAN SCULPTURE. By LUDWIG BACHHOFER. Vol. I: pp. xlvi + 137 (i), plates 1–62; Vol. II: (iii), plates 63–161. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ Paris: The Pegasus Press, 1929. £9 9*s*.

We have here two very fine volumes. A random opening discloses photographs of high technical quality; and, turning

[1] Cf. *Vedische Studien*, ii, 31. [2] Cf. *BSOS*. iv, 340.

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over the plates and finding among the subjects represented many old acquaintances, the reader will realize, perhaps with "a shock of mild surprise", the importance of good reproductions for a due appreciation of works of art. Nowhere, perhaps, is such assistance more valuable than in the case of Indian sculpture and architecture, designed to confront a strong sunlight with outstanding contours and deep shadows. The plates are sufficiently numerous (161) to include all that is notable (except in the case of Gandhāra) and to furnish a conspectus of the whole field. The arrangement is in order of developement, from Aśoka and early acclimatized work to Bārhūt, Bodh-Gayā, Sānchī, Karli, Bhājā and Nāsik, Amarāvatī, Udayagiri, and Khaṇḍagiri, ending with Gandhāra. The *pages de garde* repeat from the table in the Introduction the particular descriptions, references, archæological, historical and technical appreciations.

Dr. Bachhofer's introductory chapters deal correspondingly with "The Beginnings" (pp. 1–16), "Early Sculpture in India" (the Early Phase, the Golden Age, the Late Period, pp. 17–64), "The Sculpture of Gandhāra" (pp. 65–90), "Buddha Statues in North-West, North, and South India" (pp. 91–114); after which comes a "Conclusion" (pp. 115–124), and a bibliography and index (pp. 125–137). The several sections end with notes and references. The point of view is that of a connoisseur and technical expert, tracing the progress of artistic achievement and the developement of particular motifs, conventions, and styles. As might be expected from the author of a valuable paper on the Era of Kaniṣka (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F., iv, pp. 21–43), Dr. Bachhofer pays great attention also to external chronological indications, which he applies with marked skill and effectiveness. His general attitude towards his materials is similar to that of Professor Foucher and Sir John Marshall, with whose admirable chapter in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, he has, in respect of the period common to both, many points of contact.

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Indian sculpture begins, in Dr. Bachhofer's view, with Aśoka. Its technical maturity he ascribes, like Sir John Marshall, to foreign influence, holding, however, that its essentially Indian spirit requires the assumption of native craftsmen, acquainted with Persian models. Such figures as the Parkham statue (*c.* 200 B.C.) give evidence of progressive Indianization and lead up to the thoroughly Indian work at Bārhūt, Bodh-Gayā, and Sānchī. The stage reached at Bārhūt itself attests an inherited skill in carving, though not upon stone. Bodh-Gayā, while mainly attached to Bārhūt, yet in some cases presages the developed art of Sānchī, with its more architectonic groups, its management of deep shadows and its comparative freedom from the dominance of the silhouette. In Sānchī, where the early school culminates, Dr. Bachhofer deduces in agreement with Sir John Marshall the chronological order of the four gateways of the great *stūpa*; but to the fourth, western, gate, which established itself as the model for later work, he ascribes an artistic, as well as a technical, superiority over the southern and eastern, where Sir John Marshall finds a greater genius. With Sānchī, though of somewhat later date, are associated the masterly figures in the Karli caitya, the Āmohinī tablet (somewhat rustic) from Mathurā, some early reliefs from Amarāvatī and Udayagiri, and some free figures, such as the Besnagar Yakṣī and the Yakṣa Māṇibhadra from Gwalior.

The late period (A.D. 75–200) is chiefly associated with Mathurā, which supplied all northern India, and with Amarāvatī in the south. Its commencement is dated by the series of statues, starting with the figure of Kaniṣka, where the crude workmanship points to a degeneracy of the older school, due to political troubles.

The characteristic of the new art is the replacement of the calm and composed forms of the golden age by mobile and lively figures and scenes often representing intimate life, drinking bouts, or coquetry. In Amarāvatī this developes into a pronounced exuberance and unrest, a tumult where all

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is in exaggerated movement and the figures are sacrificed to the scenes: there is a great developement of the picturesque and an employment of expedients for realizing depth and interior spaces. While the old art was naturalistic and anything but unworldly, this sings "a wildly enthusiastic, rapturous paean in praise of terrestrial life". To this school belong also some of the reliefs at Udayagiri.

The discussion of the Gandhāra school commences with a specially careful study of excavation and numismatic data, which definitely fix its beginning in the time of Azes, about the middle of the first century B.C. It represents a taking over by the Saka rulers of the Hellenistic art of the Greek rulers. Here comes the first dateable piece, the Bīmārān vase. The next date is furnished by the Kaniṣka casket, in which, despite the clumsiness of the standing figures, Dr. Bachhofer finds some merits. With this he associates the Hāritī statue (of 399, Seleucid era); and then he proceeds to construct a scale of a fixed points, on which Shahr-i-Bahlol and Takht-i-Bāhī precede the Taxilā of the second century and the "revived" Gandhāra art of the third and fourth. He finds precise discriminating marks for this art, which he regards as wholly un-Indian and appealing to a population territorially separated from India proper.

It is in dealing with the Buddha image that Dr. Bachhofer arrives at his most original and pointed conclusions. Remarking first upon the obvious Greek origin of the Gandhāra type, establishing its marks and synchronisms—in general agreement with M. Foucher—he proceeds to show that Mathurā had originally an entirely distinct figure, representing indifferently Buddha and Bodhisattva. About the year A.D. 129 the Gandhāra type is introduced as "Buddha" and has then a vogue, which, however, fails to displace the native type. By a reflex influence the Mathurā type with the *uṣṇīṣa* as then understood, the *dakṣiṇāvarta* curls and the bared right shoulder was imported into Gandhāra, but only as a competitor with the original form, which maintained

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its local supremacy to the last. In this part of his work Dr. Bachhofer is dealing with narrow periods and with precise points of great cogency; and the same definiteness appears in regard to the period of the reception of both types indifferently in Amarāvatī. Since the "war of the eras" is still proceeding, we must not say that Dr. Bachhofer's determinations are final in respect of absolute dates. But he looks closely and steadily at the artistic indications, which, despite the accidental nature of archæological finds, cannot be denied their independent right to testify; a testimony which with like fine observation and sound judgment is brought to light in the admirable papers contributed by Geheimrat Scherman to the *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* (*Die ältesten Buddhadarstellungen des Münchener Museums für Volkerkunde*, 1928, pp. 64–80; 1929, pp. 147–66).

The concluding chapter is devoted to more general reflexions, the developement of the art in India, as elsewhere, "from a confused and scattered to a collected and regulated style and thence to free and dissolved forms," the early Indianization of the art ideals, the expressionism, the naturalism contrasting so marked with the super-cosmical quality which was to be dominant from the Gupta period onwards, the adherence to types, the supremacy of sculpture over architecture. It is to be noted that Dr. Bachhofer dismisses the suggestion of Roman influence upon the art of Amarāvatī. He holds (p. 88) that "the unmistakable peculiarity of every artistic expression upon Indian soil is due to Dravidian blood, however much it may have been blended".

Great care has been expended upon the typography and the exterior of this work, in both its English and its German form: it is a luxurious publication. The English translation is in places awkward, and there is a certain number of misspellings and misprints.

F. W. Thomas.

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NABONIDOS AND BELSHAZZAR. By RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 216 pp. Yale University Press, Newhaven, and Oxford University Press, 1929. Price 13*s*. 6*d*.

Professor Dougherty's work constitutes the fifteenth volume of the Yale Oriental Series which has already given us so many valuable books. It is, as he describes it, a study of the closing events of the Neo-Babylonian empire, starting from his important discovery that Nabonidos spent a large part of his reign, not in Babylonia, but at Temâ in Arabia, the crown-prince, Belshazzar, acting as viceroy at home. The fact throws light upon some of the events of the reign of Nabonidos, but at the same time is difficult to explain. The Professor is probably right in thinking that there was more than one reason for it; in the light of the "Persian Verse Account of Nabonidos" discovered by Mr. Sidney Smith I am inclined to believe that a leading factor was fear for his own safety; there was a strong party in Babylonia hostile to Nabonidos: he had taken part in the conspiracy which had dethroned and murdered his predecessor, and in a distant oasis where he was surrounded by his army he would have considered himself safe. Unfortunately there is as yet no cuneiform information as to where Nabonidos was from the twelfth to the seventeenth year of his reign. But such evidence as is available makes it probable that he remained in Temâ the larger part of the time and did not return to Babylon until the approach of Cyrus and the spread of Persian propaganda made it imperative for him to do so. It must be remembered that Babylonia had never been a fully united country; even Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar, "the Chaldeans," have been plausibly connected with the Kaldâ whose original seat was among the marshes on the sea-coast.

Professor Dougherty's handling of his subject is very thorough: every scrap of evidence, cuneiform, classical or Biblical is examined and the various conclusions that may

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be drawn from them are impartially stated. Later writers were naturally puzzled by the relation between Nabonidos and Belshazzar, and the two names were mixed together. On the basis of a tablet dated in the eighth year of Nebuchadrezzar in which one of the witnesses, Nabu-nahid, is stated to be "over the city" and "son of a king's man", the Professor concludes that the Labynêtos of Herodotus who assisted in drawing up the treaty between the Medes and Lydians in 585 B.C., was really Nabonidos and that the latter was sufficiently prominent at the time to represent Nebuchadrezzar and the Babylonian Government. He further argues that such being the case there is no longer any difficulty in interpreting another statement of the Greek historian as showing that Nabonidos was the son of Nitôkris, the daughter of Nebuchadrezzar. The actual words of Herodotus are (i. 188): "Now Cyrus marched against the son of this woman (Nitôkris) who possessed both the name of his own father, namely Labynêtos, and the kingdom of the Assyrians." The difficulty is that whatever view we may take of the words in question they are not historically correct; there was only one Nabonidos whose father was Nabu-balátsu-iqbi and not the same as his own. But the confusion between Nabonidos and Belshazzar in the Greek writers is complete; Josephus alone recognizes Belshazzar by name, but adds that he was called Naboandelos by the Babylonians. As for Megasthenes, the literal translation of his reference to Nabonidos is: "When this fellow (Labassoaraskos) had died by a violent death they appoint Nabannidokhos king, tho' in no wise related to him."

Was Nabonidos of Arab (or rather Arabian) origin? His mother seems to have been priestess of the Moon-god at Harran; he himself was accused of heresy and, as Professor Dougherty notes, "a text reveals that he did not venerate Marduk as the supreme deity; that honour he ascribed to Sin, the Moon-god." In Arabia the supreme deities were the Moon-god, the Sun-god, and the evening star, the Moon-god holding the first place and being specially worshipped by

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the Aramæan population in that part of the country in which Temâ was situated. Sinai itself was probably the mountain "of Sin".

However this may be, Professor Dougherty does well to draw attention to the fact that, unlike the classical writers, the author of the Aramaic portion of the book of Daniel was acquainted with the name and position of Belshazzar. This would indicate a much earlier period for the composition of the work than the Maccabean age, and would take it back to a time when memories of the Persian conquest of Babylonia were still comparatively fresh.

I may add that *ibbalakkitû* (p. 120) means "shall be stubbed up", and that a Hittite tablet (KUB iv, p. 25, 44) gives the pronunciation of the name of the star KAK-SI-DI as *Ka-ak-zi-zi*.

A. H. Sayce.

Samaria in Ahab's Time. By J. W. Jack. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1929.

This is a very useful compilation which will be interesting and informative to the lay reader as well as serviceable to the Semitic scholar. Mr. Jack is possessed of good judgment and has made use of the best authorities, and the book has been brought thoroughly up to the date of publication. The recent discovery of the cuneiform tablets of Ras Shamra with their alphabetic script which has an important bearing on the origin of the Phœnician alphabet, has naturally come too late for notice. The volume begins with an excellent account of Ahab's palace, disinterred by Dr. Reisner; then we have a chapter on Israelite art as revealed by archæology, and this is followed by a chapter on the *ostraka* discovered in the palace by Dr. Reisner, which was one of the most important discoveries yet made in Palestinian archæology.

The *ostraka* belonged to the jars of wine and oil sent to the palace from certain districts by the administrative officers. As Mr. Jack points out, these were first instituted by Solomon,

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whose administrative system is discussed in a very interesting chapter. The localities mentioned on the *ostraka* are identified as well as the personal names.

The last two chapters of the book are devoted to Ahab's foreign policy, which is ingeniously defended, and to the religious situation in Israel during his reign. This last chapter on the religious situation is extremely good and suggestive; perhaps Mr. Jack would ascribe too much influence to Elijah, but there can be no question that it was far-reaching. The well-chosen illustrations and maps contained in the book add to its value.

The statement on p. 36 that "business with the eastern lands could hardly be conducted with the Phœnician alphabet" should be corrected: the Aramaic dockets on the Assyrian cuneiform tablets would alone show that it is incorrect. The documents used for writing in Aramaic would have been of papyrus or parchment, and they are referred to in the cuneiform literature though all traces of them have otherwise disappeared in the damp soil of Western Asia. The statement that the inscription on the wall of the shaft of Ahiram's tomb at Jebêl "has been rapidly traced" is also incorrect. The letters are deeply incised and unusually large. I very much doubt the explanation of the form ירחו אסף on the *ostraka*. It seems to me much more probable that we have here the old case-ending of the nominative. In note 1, p. 70, the name of Professor Sellin should be inserted. Dussaud is probably right in seeing two places with the name of Yanu'am on the Egyptian monuments. At all events, the Yanu'am usually meant by them was north of Damascus. That is proved by a passage in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Knudtzon, 197, 8), which seems to have escaped Mr. Jack's notice, where the city is associated with Ubi or Hobah on the north side of Damascus (Gen. xiv, 15). If the Yanu'am of the Beishan stela was the Biblical Yanoah, this can only have been because the name of the latter place was assimilated by the Egyptian

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scribe to the better known Yanu'am. Nor can I agree with the statement that the name of Yaum or Yahveh is not found in Babylonian documents of the Abrahamic age. As for Yau-bihdi of Hamath the variant Ilu-bihdi is quite sufficient to prove that Yau is the name of a god. On p. 115 it is incorrect to say that "all" the animals said on the Black Obelisk to have been brought as tribute from Muzri show that it was the northern Muzri since "apes" were included among them. The most probable explanation is that the northern Muzri and Egypt were intentionally mixed together by the Assyrian artist, the apes having really been a present from Egypt. On the following page a correction is necessary; the Late Assyrian Til-Garimmi and the Hittite Tegarama were one and the same place. Two misprints may also be noticed; on p. 17 "mason" should be "mason's" and on p. 148 "have" is printed instead of "has".

In a second edition, which is sure to be called for, it would be desirable to add an appendix containing translations, with the Hebrew text, of all the inscriptions found upon the Samaritan *ostraka*.

Clavis Cuneorum. Part II. By G. Howardy. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 560 pp. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929.

It is some time since the preceding volume of Dr. Howardy's exceedingly useful *Clavis Cuneorum* (No. 5) appeared, but the delay in publication is more than accounted for by the contents of this first instalment of the second part of the work. It contains a list of the "rarer ideographs" with their values, significations, and Assyrian equivalents, and implies a vast amount of labour and research. The present number contains the words or ideographic expressions with the prefixes GIS "wood", SAM "herb", and Ê "house", the references belonging to them alone necessitating a large expenditure of time and hard work, more especially when the work is of meticulous accuracy and completeness. The

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Clavis, in fact, is as indispensable to the Assyriologist as Brünnow's *Classified List*, and brings our knowledge of the Assyrian script up to date. In 273, 19 I should render "uru" "ploughing" rather than "irrigation".

A. H. Sayce.

Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicorum. Première partie: Égypte. Tome deuxième; premier fascicule. Par M. Gaston Wiet. In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Tome 52. 14 × 11, 128 pp. Cairo, 1929.

This volume supplements Van Berchem's inscriptions of Cairo published in 1894–1903, and the present fascicule covers the mosques of 'Amr ibn el 'Âṣî, Ibn Ṭûlûn, El Azhar, and El Ḥâkim, the Nilometer, and various other early monuments. Some of the inscriptions in it are taken from originals that have come to light since the former publication appeared, but a large proportion are drawn from copies preserved by Maqrîzî and other mediaeval Arab historians, the originals having been lost long ago. The accuracy of such copies can be relied upon with confidence, when one finds that wherever the writers reproduce an inscription that still remains, their copies prove to be literally exact. In this fascicule, contemporary accounts of some of the 3/9th century inscriptions still to be seen on the Nilometer and Maqrîzî's version of the only inscription of the time of the Ikhshîds now preserved, in a fragmentary condition, at Cairo, afford a test of this kind. It is easy to realize how valuable the earlier inscriptions are, not only for the history of the monuments to which they relate, but also for the deductions which can be drawn from them when the full texts are available. Among the contents of the fascicule are excellent general descriptions of the mosques of Ibn Ṭûlûn and El Azhar, from the notes of Van Berchem. In

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his commentary on the inscriptions Professor Wiet follows Van Berchem's method. Besides explaining the texts thoroughly, he searches for all useful conclusions and brings together information likely to be of service. The subjects that come up for consideration are various. They include points connected with the history of the monuments or of persons associated with them, questions of topography and of law and custom. Professor Wiet is thoroughly at home in every topic and his arguments are based on a large number of passages from the Arab and other authorities, full references being always given.

To the list of inscriptions of the Khalifs of the first three centuries of the Hijra given on page 24 may be added two of Marwân II and one of El Manṣûr recorded by Jahshiyârî (fol. 40*b*), and besides the inscription of El 'Azîz at St. Mark's referred to on page 125, another is known and was published in this *Journal* for 1918, page 263. As regards the Nilometer, a curious question arises. Ibn ed Dâya's story in *El Mukâfa'a* (pp. 110–12) about the Ja'farî canal when examined seems most certainly to require that the Tigris began its regular seasonal rise in November or in October, that is one or two months before the death of El Mutawakkil. But the season for the flood of the Tigris is April and May. It appears, therefore, that the story cannot be true. If this story, with all its circumstantial detail, must be rejected, can reliance be placed on what is mentioned in the course of it about the architect of the Nilometer, and how far can the information about the architect of the mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn that comes from the same author be accepted? Turning to the *shurṭa*, one may wonder whether the mention in Ṭabarî i, 1907, l. 11, may not be taken as showing that the institution was known already in the time of Abû Bakr. While the *shurṭa* certainly acted as police, the question whether the functions of the *ṣâḥib esh shurṭa* were not, at some time, partly military, seems to admit of further discussion. In any case the *shurṭa* was obviously of great importance in the Arab state, and Professor

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Wiet's full examination of the position of the *shurṭa* in Egypt is, therefore, a piece of work of which the value will be recognized. The subject does not seem to have been investigated at all in the same way before, and it has involved much patient and discriminating labour. Studies of the same kind in this fascicule and in other publications may be regarded as part of an organized research into Islamic history that Professor Wiet is constantly carrying on.

A. R. GUEST.

CATALOGUE GENÉRAL DU MUSÉE ARABE DU CAIRE. Lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé. Par M. GASTON WIET. Full-page plates, xcii. 13 × 11, iv + 193 pp. Cairo, 1929.

This catalogue is a handsome book that anyone who cares for art might like to possess, and those who are interested in Islamic enamelled glass particularly will find a most useful guide to that subject. The principal objects of this description preserved are the mosque lamps (with an occasional suspension bulb or two also), the bottles being very much less common. A large part of the glass has inscriptions by which it can be dated, and the personages for whom it was made can be identified, and nearly all of it is found to come from Cairo and to belong to the eighth-fourteenth century, a considerable proportion of the lamps falling within a period of about twenty-five years. It was supposed formerly that the glass was made in Egypt, but the general opinion at present is that it is of Syrian manufacture.

The catalogue contains a thorough description of every example in the Museum collection, with dimensions and a bibliography giving all information that is likely to be useful to a student, such as references to any reproduction of the object that may have been published and to any discussion of its inscriptions. An appendix enumerates in chronological order all the specimens of Islamic enamelled glass known anywhere, of which the attribution appears to be certain.

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It appears that, apart from small fragments, the Museum preserves 118 enamelled glass objects, of which 87 can be dated and the total number of dated objects which has been reported anywhere is between 170 and 180; a few of the reports may be duplicates, so that an exact figure cannot be given. It is from the earliest and latest examples that one can expect to get the principal clues to the problem of the origin and places of manufacture of the glass. By means of the appendix, one is able to see how rare lamps and bottles are which date from either before or after the eighth-fourteenth century, and to trace any dated piece at once so as that one can examine and consider it.

The Museum collection, comprising as has been seen, about half the dated examples known, is well distributed over the period to which the glass belongs, and may be taken as thoroughly representative. The plates in the catalogue reproduce the whole of it, except minor fragments, and the few lamps that have no inscriptions or ornaments. They are on a large scale and well executed, so they give a good idea of the beauty of the objects. The lamps do not differ much in form, but there is considerable variety in their decoration. They have several different schemes of ornamentation, and where the same scheme is followed, there is generally a good deal of difference in some of the details.

The catalogue was drawn up at the desire of King Fu'âd, whose interest in the promotion of science relating to Egypt is referred to in the introduction. Such a well-devised and well-executed publication is calculated to further the educational purpose of the Museum, and is a credit to those concerned.

A. R. Guest.

Khizānat al-Adab wa Lubb Lubāb Lughat al-'Arab. By 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī. Vol. I. Large 8vo, 434 pp. Cairo: Salafīya Press, 1348. (1930.)

It is nearly fifty years since this important work was first

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published in A.H. 1299 (the date at the end of the last volume) and during that time it has been a constant source of information on account of the numerous works used by the author, many of which appear to be now lost. Copies have become extremely scarce and when available very expensive. It is therefore a great source of satisfaction that the owners of the press named above and Muḥammad Munīr 'Abdo of Damascus have undertaken a new edition. The present volume, which goes only as far as page 226 of the old one, has the additional advantage of important corrections by such able scholars as Aḥmad Taimūr Pāshā and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maimūnī ar-Rājkōtī and having been compared with the original autograph of the author and a copy revised by ash-Shingītī.

All the verses, and other texts whenever necessary, have been carefully vocalized and errors of the former edition or those of the author himself corrected. Both paper and type are in every way superior to those of the first edition and the work when complete is to be furnished with various indices to make it more useful than its predecessor. To judge from the size of the first volume the work, when finished, will fill about nine volumes and the editors promise rapid progress towards completion.

F. KRENKOW.

AL-'UQŪD AD-DURRĪYA FI'D-DAWĀWĪN AL-ḤALABĪYA. Edited by Muḥammad Rāghib aṭ-Ṭabbākh. 8vo, 231 + 91 + 58 pp. Ḥalab, 1347 (1929).

The editor is the author of a large history of his native city Ḥalab (Aleppo) and with this publication wishes to rescue from oblivion three of the poets of his town.

The first poet Ḥusain b. Aḥmad al-Jazarī died 1023 (1614). He is perhaps the best of the three poets, and his collection is by far the largest. From his eulogies upon the mighty of

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his time we get historical data which will supplement historical works upon Syria for the period.

The second Dīwān by Fatḥ Allāh ibn an-Naḥḥās has been printed before in a tiny volume (Cairo, 1290) and has become almost unprocurable. He died in Mecca in 1052 (1642). The editor claims to have corrected the errors of the first edition by comparing manuscripts.

The third Dīwān has also been printed (in Beirut in 1872) and is equally scarce. It is by Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Bābī who died in 1091 (1680). His poems consist mainly of praises upon the great of Aleppo, but he has some jocose verses such as upon a lost tooth.

The collection gives us an insight into the literary activity in Ḥalab in the seventeenth century of our era.

F. Krenkow.

Kitāb an-Nujūm ash-Shāriqāt fi Ḍikr ba'ḍ. aṣ Ṣanā'i' al-Muḥtāj ilaihā fī 'Ilm al-Mīqāt. By Muḥammad b. Abil Khair al-Ḥasanī, edited by Muḥammad Rāghib aṭ-Ṭabbākh. Ḥalab, A.H. 1346 (1928).

The date of the author is only approximately known. He lived some time in the tenth century of the Hijra in Damascus. I believe that the editor is also mistaken in the title and we should read "al-Līqāt", for the book deals with a number of trade secrets such as the making of pigments, gold-leaf fluid and inks of various colours; also about treating iron and in the last chapter advice is given as to how to know the two poles of a magnet and to take away the magnetic power and to restore it. The author was not a scholar and his language is at times difficult to follow. The little book is a valuable contribution to a literature which does not often find its way into print.

F. Krenkow.

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KITĀB AL-FIRĀSA LI-FILĪMŪN, followed by JUMAL AḤKĀM AL-FIRĀSA. By ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ZAKARĪYĀ' AR-RĀZĪ. Edited by MUḤAMMAD RĀGHIB AṬ-ṬABBĀKH. 8vo, 47 + 10 pp. Ḥalab, 1347 (1929).

The learned editor discovered both these treatises on physiognomy in the Aḥmadiyya Library of Ḥalab and has made them accessible in a handsomely printed edition. The science has had many followers in the East to this day, but the two books represent perhaps the oldest treatises on the subject that have come down to us. Unfortunately we are not told in the introduction to the work of Polemon who was the translator from the original Greek. A Latin translation was printed as long ago as 1583, and I believe that the Greek original does not exist. As regards the date of Polemon there appear some doubts as he is generally placed in the second century of the Christian era, but if he really came into personal contact with the physician Hippocrates, as stated in the introduction to the Arabic translation, he must belong to a much earlier period.

The author of the second treatise is well-known and died in A.H. 311 (923). I hope to publish a translation of both treatises as they may be of general interest.

F. KRENKOW.

AS-SAFĪNAT AN-NŪḤIYYA FI S-SAKĪNAT AR-RŪḤIYYA. By ABUL 'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-KHALĪL AL-KHUWAYYĪ 8vo, 4 + 34 pp. Ḥalab, 1347 (1929).

Brockelmann in his *History of Arabic Literature* mentions the author, but wrongly gives the date of his death as the year 630. He was born in A.H. 583 and informs us himself in his work that at the age of ten he had already commenced his studies and though he studied law for a time he was desirous of taking to medicine; he read the Masā'il of Ḥunain b. Isḥāq, the Murshid of ar-Rāzī, the Ḏakhīra of Thābit b. Qurra, but medicine did not appeal to him and he opened

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a shop near the house of his father. The love of study remained however, and after his son was born he journeyed to Baghdad to Ibn Hubal (died A.H. 610, cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a I. 304) to read with him the Qānūn of Ibn Sīnā ; then he travelled to Hamadān, having heard of the great reputation enjoyed by 'Alā' ad-Dīn at-Tā'ūsī (probably 'Alī b. Mūsā whom Brockelmann places in the second half of the seventh century of the Hijra) and studied under him, and at last he went to Khorāsān to Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, who he says was without equal in his time. Meanwhile he had also devoted himself to Shāfi'ī law and became chief judge of Damascus. He had been of a weak constitution all his life and died at Damascus in A.H. 637 (the date 687 given in the edition of the Ṭabaqāt of Subki is probably a printer's error.) Owing to his philosophical training his treatise upon the soul does not begin with verses of the Qur'ān but with the opinions of physicians, followed by the opinions of philosophers, then those of wise men, mystics (Arbāb al-Qulūb), ordinary people. These are followed by the classification of souls in which the lowest category is given to plants. The seventh chapter contains considerations for the purifying of the soul and the cleansing of the spirit and the concluding chapter gives the author's own deductions and some of the details of his biography, which have been utilized in the sketch of his life above.

It would be very desirable that this short work should be made more widely known by a translation and we must be grateful to the editor for having made this rare and remarkable treatise accessible in a neatly printed edition by his own press.

F. KRENKOW.

KITĀB AD-DALĀ'IL WAL I'TIBĀR 'ALĀ L-KHALQ WA T-TADBĪR. By ABŪ 'UTHMĀN 'AMR IBN BAḤR AL-JĀḤIẒ, edited by MUḤAMMAD RĀGHIB AṬ-ṬABBĀKH. 8vo, 80 pp. Ḥalab, 1346 (1928).

Any new work of al-Jāḥiẓ must incite curiosity and a study of the book in question will once more prove what a keen

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observer the author was. A manuscript was known, bearing the somewhat different title "Kitāb al-'Ibar wal I'tibār, in the British Museum (Or. 3886), and my friend Mr. Gibb had taken a copy with the intention of publishing it, but, as I learned from him, he had presented his copy to Aḥmad Zekī Pāshā in Cairo. There may even be some doubts as to the authorship, but the general tone of the arguments is much in favour of believing the book to be the work of the philosopher of Baṣra. A comparison of the edition, which is derived from a manuscript in Ḥalab, shows marked differences from the British Museum manuscript, which as a rule is much shorter in each section and closes long before the printed text, but against this it contains a long introduction in which the author mentions some other writers on the same subject, which is missing in the print. This addition I hope to publish *in extenso* in another place. It is rather a pity that the editor could not make use of the additional manuscript, though the divergencies are at times so great as to present parallel texts with the same arguments but in entirely different wording.

F. KRENKOW.

CHINA : THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. A Human Geography by L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON. With a chapter on the Climate by W. G. KENDREN. 9 × 6, xviii + 333 pp. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1929. Price 15*s*.

The author of this work was a holder of an Albert Kahn Fellowship, and, like Lowes Dickinson and other holders of that Fellowship, he has fully justified its value by the book that it has enabled him to produce. It deals in fourteen chapters with The Land and the People ; Natural History ; Agriculture and Industries and their Geographical Relations ; Trade Routes, and their Relation to Industry and Commerce ; The Geographical Aspects of Chinese Culture ; The General

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Conformation and Topography of China and its Dependencies; The Structure and History of the Great Land Formation. Its final chapter, by W. G. Kendren, treats in an exhaustive manner the Climate. Space forbids the entering into a detailed account of each chapter, but Chapter x on Chinese Culture will be found especially interesting to the general reader. Authorities have been carefully consulted, including our old friend Wells Williams' *Middle Kingdom*, the value of which has survived many years, for it was in its first edition the chief text-book on China so far back as the seventies of last century. The author states that the original conception of his work was due to Professor Roxby and Dr. John Johnson, and he acknowledges the assistance he has received from Professor Soothill, Lady Hosie, Mr. Liu, and others. Like so many others who have had the good fortune to reside in China, he finds that country an abiding memory. He states: "China is a mistress who, when once one has known her, does not easily disappear from the memory, and often as I look at the Gingko trees transplanted to our pleasant groves in Oxford, I wonder whether ever again I shall see the parent stems burst into leaf in the courtyards of the temples in the ancient city of Kambaluc." Not a few former residents in China wonder like him whether they will ever again revisit the scenes of their happy days in that country. The illustrations are numerous and good, and the work is plentifully supplied with maps, but there is no general map of China, the addition of which is suggested when a second edition is required.

The work, which is well written and has been excellently produced by the Clarendon Press, will be found a most useful book of reference.

J. H. S. L.

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF DIPLOMATIC EVENTS IN MANCHURIA. By Sir HAROLD PARLETT, C.M.G. (Royal Institute of International Affairs.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, viii + 92 pp. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

This monograph on events in Manchuria was prepared for the biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which was held recently at Kyoto, and published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. As the late Mr. Headlam-Morley, Chairman of the Publications Committee of that Institute, states in the Preface, "the Institute has been peculiarly fortunate in securing the services of Sir Harold Parlett as the writer of this short history. His long connection with His Majesty's Consular and Diplomatic Service has enabled him to bring to the record an unrivalled first-hand knowledge of the events with which he deals." Those events he has treated in an interesting, clear, and impartial manner, and in view of the important part which Manchuria has played during the last thirty years and is likely to continue to play in the future, we can strongly recommend to those who wish to know the past and present position of affairs in Manchuria, the able monograph which Sir Harold Parlett has written.

J. H. S. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE, 1906–1926. Being a Classified List of the literature issued in European languages since the publication of Fr. von Wenckstern's *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* up to the year 1926. Compiled by OSKAR NACHOD. 2 vols. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. London: Edward Goldston; Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann. 1928.

ESSAI SUR LA MYTHOLOGIE JAPONAISE. By NABUHIRO MATSUMOTO. AUSTRO-ASIATICA, documents et travaux publiés sous la direction de Jean Przyluski. Tome ii. 10×8, 144 pp., avec 9 planches. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

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NIPPON SHINDO RON, OR THE NATIONAL IDEALS OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE. By YUTAKA HIBINO, LL.B. (Imp. Univ., Tokyo), Founder of Ikuye Commercial College, Nagoya, formerly Principal of First Government School, Aichi Prefecture, and Member of Parliament Aichi Prefecture; translated with an Introduction by A. P. McKenzie, M.C., M.A. 9 × 6, 176 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1928.

DIE ALT JAPANISCHE JAHRESZEITENPOESIE AUS DEM KOKINSHU, in Text und Übersetzung mit Erläuterungen von Alexander Chanoch. Sonderdruck aus Asia Major Vol. IV, Fasc. 2/3. 10½ × 7½. Leipzig. 1928.

AINU LIFE AND LORE. Echoes of a Departing Race. By the Ven. Dr. JOHN BATCHELOR. 9 × 6½, 448 pp, with 95 illustrations, 15 being in full colour. Tokyo.

These five publications are representative of the intensive study which Japanese and Europeans are devoting to the history, literature, folklore, and ideals of Japan.

The Bibliography by Oskar Nachod continues from 1906 the work carried to that year by the late Fr. von Wenckstern. The preface states: "The publications dealing with Japan issued in the German, English and French languages have been brought together very extensively. Besides there are a good number of contributions in Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, whereas the harvest gathered from literature in the Scandinavian and Slavic languages is a small one." The bibliographical work on Japan in Russian is fortunately filled by the work of S. N. Matweew and A. D. Popow, who have allowed the author to use ample material from their *Bibliography on Japan*. The subject is divided into fifteen different sections and contains 9,575 items—a most useful and important compilation.

From the actuality of bibliography we turn to the nullity of myth, although after reading Dr. Matsumoto's *Doctoral Thesis*, presented to the Sorbonne, one may well doubt the

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suitability of the term " nullity " as applied to the myths of Japan! The work is divided into an introduction, four chapters, and two appendices. First a *résumé* of Japanese myths is given, the gods of Izumo, the descendants of the Sun and the tribes of Kyushu are then studied in turn; and finally analogies are drawn between the myths of the Japanese and those of southern peoples and of the Ainu.

Dr. Matsumoto disagrees with various conclusions reached by Aston, Nachod and other Japanologues and closes his dissertation with the statement of his belief that the mythology of Japan results from the fusion of many local traditions which have in the passage of time been dominated by the cult of the great goddess Amaterasu, ancestress of the Japanese Imperial line.

This firm belief in his divine descent is the basis of the attitude the Japanese people assume towards their ruler; an attitude difficult for Occidentals to grasp, but one which should be elucidated by the excellent work of Yutaka Hibino, ably translated by A. P. McKenzie, whose admiration for the Japanese is unbounded. He describes them as " the greatest the most progressive, the most virile, the most flexible and adaptable, and the most intelligent of Asiatic peoples "; whether such an unqualified statement should be applied to a race so highly assimilative and so slightly creative is a question that would bear argument were space available. There is, however, no question but that the ideals of the Japanese people are set forth in this book which is well epitomized in the legend on the jacket:

" The importance of this work, which was originally written for the stimulation and inspiration of Japanese youth, is due to the fact that it deals exclusively with conceptions with which every Japanese is familiar; it gives a systematic exposition of the political and social creed which developed during the great Meiji period of 1868–1912 and now forms the basis of the common intellectual life of the people."

To understand the remarkable Meiji period a comprehension

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of the political and social creed is essential, nor could it be more clearly stated than by this forceful leader of Japanese thought who has also written on *Pure Loyalty, The Ideal of the Japanese Subject, Athletics from Practical Experience*, and so on. Complete devotion on the part of every Japanese subject to his Emperor is the theme of Mr. Hibino's discourse and General Nogi is the hero held up as a shining example. A most interesting and illuminating book.

The study of Japanese seasonal poems from the Kokinshu is a part of the Doctoral thesis presented by Alexander Chanoch to the University of Hamburg in 1924. As he explains in the foreword, he has been at pains to give a rendering of these ancient texts which will bring over as completely and literally as possible the thought in the poet's mind and in so doing has avoided Western poetic forms and their pit-falls. In this method lies, so it seems to me, the whole value of translation. It is important that the tenour of Oriental thought be comprehended by the West. Poetic forms cannot pass from one language to another.

Dr. Chanoch in an interesting Introduction analyses the Kokinshu, touches on the masterly technique of the men who wrote it, describes plays on words and other matters necessary to the comprehension of the poems and then gives, in transliteration and translation, the six books of "Seasonal Poems" written so long ago. The German renderings are charming, as, for instance, the following :—

"Wohlan ihr Kirschen, auch ich werde abfallen. Wenn die ein-malige Kurze Blütezeit vorbei ist, werde ich von den Menschen schlechte Behandlung erleiden."

Short notes on forty-seven of the poets who contributed to the collection bring a most interesting volume to a close.

The Ven. Dr. John Batchelor is described by his publishers as "the greatest living authority on the language, customs, religion, and folk lore of the Ainu people"; nor can one doubt the accuracy of this statement. He first visited the Ainu in 1877; in 1879 he joined the Church Missionary

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Society, with which body he laboured until his retirement in 1924, and since the said retirement he has been living in Hokkaido helping the Ainu people as a private individual. From the depths of his knowledge he speaks in the profusely illustrated book before us. It contains fifty-six chapters does this fascinating book, chapters with most intriguing titles: "The Vines of Heaven and Sympathic Magic"; "A Woman, losing her twelve Sweethearts, at last Marries a Metamorphosed Bear"; "Witchcraft and Ophiolatry," and so on. It is surcharged with folk lore, mystery and legend so sympathetically told that it is not difficult to believe that the Ven. Dr. Batchelor is in receipt of a pension from the Hokkaido Government "in recognition of his work among the Ainu race".

F. AYSCOUGH.

THE SPIRIT OF CHINESE POETRY. An original essay by V. W. W. S. PURCELL. With illustrations from ancient Chinese Drawings. 9 × 6, 43 pp. Singapore, Shanghai and Hong Kong: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd.

The key to Mr. Purcell's work is contained in the note which precedes the book itself; and as it is important to use the key which an author may proffer I quote the note in part:

"The genius of China is in its written language, in the curves and squares and dashes of its mystic signs. And the purest spirit of the language, as in all languages, is in its poetry."

It is to be regretted that this point of view has not been more universally recognized. Writing in 1886, *A Memorandum for the Guidance of the Student*, Sir Thomas Wade, whose lessons contained in the *Yü Yen Tzŭ Erh Chi* have been the basis for Anglo-Saxon sinology since their first appearance in 1867, said: "I have insisted much in the Preface to the First Edition upon the danger of being seduced by the attractions of the written language." In this sentence the eminent exponent of colloquial Chinese did, I venture to think,

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a great disservice to the cause of sinology and incidentally to the greater cause—the understanding of the East by the West; an understanding greatly helped by a recognition of the " genius which is the written language ".

Mr. Purcell's little essay—it runs to only forty-three pages, is a delight: a rare example of a sensitive appreciation which can bridge the chasm of alien thought and speech. To this matter of alien thought he is keenly alive; his analysis of the Oriental and Occidental view-points is excellent; and the " exercise " which he recommends in a charming " envoy " should be followed by all who are interested in the forms of Eastern thought, to all who desire to comprehend the spirit of the Chinese language which " is in its poetry ".

F. AYSCOUGH.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January—March, 1930)

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

Thursday, 9th January, 1930

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The special general meeting summoned to pass (1) the Burton Memorial Trust Deed; (2) the following additional paragraph to Rule 4 of the Society's rules :—

> Provided always that in the case of persons domiciled abroad, it shall be within the power of the Council on being satisfied as to the credentials of any particular candidate, to dispense with these conditions.

Both recommendations were carried unanimously.

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

9th January

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

Mr. K. P. Jha was elected a member, and twelve nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. H. A. R. Gibb lectured on "The Origins of Arabic Poetry". Professor Margoliouth, Sir Denison Ross, Professor Nicholson, and Dr. Barnett spoke, the President addressed the meeting, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

The paper will appear in a subsequent number.

13th February

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Dr. Phul Chand Addy.
Mr. J. Andaraj.
Sir Charles G. H. Fawcett.
Miss Z. K. Hussain.

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Mr. K. Sharama Khan.
Mr. K. G. Krishnan.
Mr. Anthony Ferdinand Paura.
Mr. S. K. Rahman.
Mr. Gustavus Martin Sewell.
Mr. A. H. Siddiqi.
Khan Ahmad Ali Sufie.
Mr. Vadamalai T. Sevuga Pandya Thevar.

Eleven nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Dr. A. M. Blackman read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Drama in Ancient Egypt", of which the following is an abstract :—

Dr. Blackman began by showing how deeply the dramatic sense was implanted in the Egyptian people, the drama entering into all their more important religious rites, such as The Opening of the Mouth (the rite by which a statue was consecrated and identified with the divinity or person whom it represented), the Funerary Liturgy and the Temple Liturgy. In all these rites the priestly performers impersonated gods or goddesses, and were appropriately masked or wore their attributes.

Dr. Blackman then proceeded to deal with the main subject of his lecture, a dramatic text, composed at the very beginning of Egyptian history, probably when Menes made Memphis the capital of the newly united kingdom.

The object of this composition was to glorify Memphis and its god Ptah, and to make that city not merely the political, but also the religious and cultural centre of Egypt.

This document consists of a long narrative which associates with Memphis all the happenings connected with the feud between Horus and Seth, the division of Egypt between those two divine rulers, the deposition of Seth by Keb the Earth-god, and the accession of Horus (the prototype of all Egyptian kings), the son of Osiris, as sole ruler of the whole country, and the death, burial, and resuscitation of Osiris. The narrative then goes on to tell of the building of Memphis,

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and ends with a remarkable theological treatise on the nature of Ptah.

This narrative is interspersed with dramatic sections illustrating the events previously described. The speeches were pronounced by actors, standing possibly on a stage, wearing masks when they were impersonating an animal-headed divinity. That they actually acted is shown by the fact that the speeches in question were interspersed with stage directions, indicating the necessary action and gestures.

This ancient play finds a very close parallel in our mediaeval miracle plays, and, strange though it may seem to say so, the modern cinema, where also a long series of dramatic incidents is broken up by a narrative thrown on to the screen.

In ancient Egypt the narrative would have been recited by a reader standing or seated in front or beside the performers. The speeches put into the mouths of these performers are composed in the earliest form of the Egyptian language known to us and are taken from sacred writings that must date from before the Dynastic age.

The most interesting part of the text is the end, dealing with the speculations of the Memphist theologians. These theologians took over the older and cruder Heliopolitan theology and gave it an entirely new significance.

All powers participating in the creation are merely manifestations of Ptah, the god of Memphis. Ptah is both the father and mother of the old Heliopolitan creator god Atum, who came forth as a thought from the heart and tongue of the creator god of Memphis. In heart and tongue are embodied the two gods Horus and Thoth, and through them Ptah has transmitted his power to all other gods.

The organ of creation is "the mouth, which named all things", in which resided the old time gods of Heliopolis as teeth and lips.

Shu and Tefnut, according to the Heliopolitan teaching begotten by Atum (in Memphis theology only a thought of

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Ptah) and spat out of his mouth, came forth from the Almighty mouth of Ptah as thought expressed by the tongue.

In all living beings heart and tongue as the representatives of the creator govern the other limbs, and teach them that the creator himself is "in every body and in every heart" and in them, his representatives, he thinks and commands all he wills.

From this creator all things that Nature produces have come forth. He is also the source of civil and moral order in the world.

Such an intellectual conception of creation and of world-order is most remarkable, and hardly to be expected at so early a date as 3500 B.C. and yet that is the time when this document must have been compiled.

In this teaching is foreshadowed the doctrine of the Logos, expounded by Philo in Alexandria and later adopted and developed by Christian theologians—the writer of the Fourth Gospel and the leaders of the great school of Christian theology in Alexandria.

This Memphis teaching was certainly preserved as late as the time of Shebak of the twenty-fifth dynasty (from whose reign our copy of the text dates) and was probably known to, and discussed by, learned Egyptian priests in the Ptolemaic period. Philo, an Egyptian Jew, may well have gained his idea of the Logos from Egyptian sources, and the Christian fathers will also have been influenced not only by the teaching of Philo but by ideas widely disseminated among the learned of Alexandria.

It is becoming more and more clear, as our knowledge of Egyptian religious writings increases, how important the story of the Egyptian religion is, not only for students of the Old Testament, but of the New Testament as well. Through the Greco-Egyptian scholars and theologians of Alexandria ideas first dimly propounded in the temples of ancient Egypt were spread abroad over Europe and the whole Christian world.

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13th March

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Dr. Mathumal Kallaty Bhaskaran.
Mr. D. A. Jessuram Cardozo.
Babu Haripada Sen Gupta.
Miss Hameed Mohd. Husain.
Mr. H. S. Ramaswamy Iyer.
Mr. K. L. Khanna.
Dr. S. C. Nath.
Dr. Andreas Nell.
Pandit Uttam Singh Rao.
Lieut.-Col. E. R. Rost, I.M.S. (retd.)
Mr. Leslie de Saram.

Four nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. R. C. F. Schomberg read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on " The People of Sinkiang ".

A discussion followed in which Sir Denison Ross and Mr. Sallaway took part. The President addressed the meeting, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

An abstract of the lecture follows.

The modern province of Sinkiang comprises Chinese Turkestan proper, the old province of Ili or Kulja, the Khanate of Kumul or Hami, and part of the former province of Outer Mongolia.

So great a region, situated in Central Asia, necessarily comprises a number of different races, which may be grouped under three heads : (1) the settled indigenous population ; (2) the nomads ; (3) the immigrants.

The settled indigenous population consists of the Turkis, who are found in the south of the province between the Tian Shan and the Kuen Lun, and in the Khanate of Kumul in the extreme east.

The Turki is the original settler, as distinguished from the nomads, in Central Asia.

The Turki is easy-going but not very interesting, and he is above all things a trader, not a merchant of great enterprise, but a petty dealer.

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Besides the Turki, the Doulans have a claim to be reckoned amongst the settled dwellers in Sinkiang. They are not very numerous, and live along the Yarkand River, with their chief town at Merket, about 40 miles north of Yarkand City. They appear to be Mongols who have comparatively recently embraced Muhammedanism, although some men claim origin from an ancestor in Darel, on the Indus. Their customs and habits show several typically Mongol tendencies.

The nomads of Sinkiang may be divided into two classes, viz. the Mongols and the Moslems.

The Mongols generally are divided into two groups, the Khalka or Eastern Mongols who use a different script, and the Western Mongols—the term is a Russian one.

The connecting tribe between these two groups is the Uriankhai Mongols, themselves divided into two, the Yenisei who differ in speech and type (and are often Shamanistic) from the Kobdo and Altai Uriankhai who are more allied with the Torguts.

The Torguts are certainly the most numerous of all the Mongols in Sinkiang, and are divided into three groups, at Yulduz, Khobuk Saur, and Shikho.

The Torguts are remarkable people, in that the generality of them pass their lives in an amazing state of filth, discomfort, and degradation, gambling, drinking, and opium smoking, and this unidyllic existence is not due to poverty but to inclination. On the other hand, their leading men are often strangely, even disconcertingly modern—speak Turki, Chinese, Russian, sometimes even English and French.

Besides the Torguts, the other Kalmucks are :—

The Zungurs, who live in the Kash valley, and the Charkhars, who were settled in the west of the province by the Chinese, who feared their virility near Peking.

The Mohamedan nomads fall into three clear divisions as the Kirei Kasaks, found from the Borotala to the Altai; the Kasai Kasaks, found in the Ili valley, throughout the mountains of Zungaria, and in parts of the Tian Shan; and the Kirghiz.

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The Kirghiz are found throughout the Southern Tian Shan from Korla to the Pamirs, and again along the northern side of the Kuen Lun. They are also met with in the Pamirs as far as Tash Kurghan, and a few families are settled in the Ili valley and near Turfan.

The Kirghiz are generally pleasant, passably clean, less addicted to thieving than the Kasaks, and considerably more cowardly.

The immigrants into Chinese Turkestan are very varied, but pride of place must be given to the Tungan or Hwi-Hwi, the Chinese Moslem, who have dwelt there so long that they may perhaps be regarded as settlers.

The Tungans are Shiahs, with perhaps some tinctures of Hanbalism. They are divided into the Da Fang, the orthodox, and Shao Fang or modernists, who do not go to Mecca, and are a small minority.

There are also in the Ili district a number of Manchus, both of the Solon and Shipo (Sheppeh) clans. They are nearly all farmers, are prosperous, but do not get on very well with the Turki cultivators.

The Manchus strike a traveller as intelligent and practical. They usually speak several languages, and have the attributes of a ruling race.

Since the Russian revolution, large numbers of Russians have entered the province, and have become either farmers or traders.

It is difficult to give an idea of the population of the province, but the late Governor put it down as about six millions. Of this figure, the greater part is found south of the Tian Shan, and must necessarily be Moslem and largely Turki.

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130 1929 *Bugga, F. C., B.A., 19 *Gunj Road, Simla, India.*

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1897 *Burn, Sir Richard, Kt., C.S.I., 9 *Staverton Road, Oxford.*

1927 *Burnay, Jean, *Legal Adviser to H.S.M.'s Govt.*, 3594 *Suriwongse Road, Bangkok, Siam.*

1923 *Burrows, Father E. N. B., S.J., M.A., *Campion Hall, Oxford.*

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160 1928 *CHATTERJI, Pandit Jagadish Chandra, B.A., *International School of Vedic and Allied Research,* 1500 *Times Buildings, New York.*

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1905 *Edwards, E., M.A., *Oriental Books and MSS. Dept., British Museum, W.C.* 1.

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250 1921 *Elgood, Cyril L., *The British Legation, Tehran, Persia.*

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260 1927 *Fane, Capt. A. G. C., M.C., 54 *Albert Road, Ambala Cant., Punjab, India.*

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270 1924 *Finlay, W. W., M.A., I.C.S., *Collector's Bungalow, Meerut, U.P., India.*

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280 1926 *Fukushima, N., *c/o S. Nishigori, 34 Hikawachō, Akasaka, Tokyo, Japan.*
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1927 *Govil, Ram Sharan Lal, M.A., *Head Master, Shri Umed School, Jodhpur, Marwar, India.*
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1926 *Gray, Prof. L. H., *Columbia University,* 21 *Claremont Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.*
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320 1919 *Gry, M. L., *Recteur à l'Université,* 10 *Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M. et L. France.*
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1919 *Gupta, Babu Shiva Prasad, *Sevaupavana, Benares, India.*
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330 1894 *Gurdon, Lt.-Col. Philip, R. T., C.S.I., *Spring Grove, Marden, Kent.*
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1928 *Haki, M. Sahibuddin, Khan Sahib, 11 *Cambalt Road, Putney Hill, S.W.* 15.
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1929 *Hari, Pandit Viyogi, *Mohan Niwas, Panna, C. India.*
1910 *Harley, Prof. A. H., M.A., *Islamia College, Calcutta, India.*
1919 Harrison, Edgar, E., 12 *Leopold Road, W. 5.*
1919 *Hartland, Ernest, *Hardwick Court, Chepstow, Mon.*
350 1926 *Hasan, Agha Haidar, *" Rafaat Manzil," Rampur State, U.P., India.*
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1927 *Muzaffar Khan, Khan Bahadur Nawab, *Director, Information Bureau, Albert House, Lahore, Punjab, India.*
1919 †Myres, Prof. J. L., O.B.E., M.A., D.Sc., *New College, Oxford.*
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1907 *Narasimhachar, R., Rai Bahadur, M.A., *Retired Director of Archæology in Mysore; Mallesvaram, Bangalore, S. India.*
600 1920 *Narayan, Brij, M.A., *Military Accts. Service, c/o Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Lahore, India.*
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610 1930 *Nell, Dr. Andreas, *Queen's Hotel, Kandy, Ceylon.*
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1927 *Noone, Herbert Vander Vord, *Elmhurst, Shamley Green, Surrey.*
1919 *Norden, Warner M. van, 7 W. 57*th St., New York, U.S.A.*
620 1922 *North-Hunt, Capt. H., *Malay C.S., Asst. Dist. Officer, Lower Perak, F.M.S.*
9113. *Norton, E. L., I.C.S., *District and Sessions Judge, Jhansi, U.P.*
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1926 *O'Dwyer, J. C., *British Legation, Tehran, Persia.*
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1929 *Palanniappan, K., B.A., 97 *Darenth Road, Stamford Hill, N.* 16.
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650 1919 †§Perowne, E. S. M., F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer, 7 *Great James St., W.C.* 1.
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660 1928 *Pillai, V. G. Vasudeva, 18 *Menad's Lane, Vepery, Madras, S. India.*

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680 1928 *Rahman Khan, Md. Ibadur, *c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Berkeley Street, W.* 1.

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690 1915 Randle, Herbert Niel, M.A., Ph.D., I.E.S., 10 *Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.*
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700 1929 *Ray, Hem Chandra, *c/o Department of History, Calcutta University, Calcutta, India.*
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710 1928 *Riaz-ul-Hassan, Syed, M.D., *Professor of Pathology, Panjab Veterinary College, Lahore, 6 Tapp Road, Lahore, India.*
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790 1925 *Shan, Wee Tin, 67 *Maung Khine St., Rangoon, Burma.*
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JOURNAL OF THE
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1930

PART III.—JULY

The account of the Isma'ili doctrines in the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* of Rashid al-Din Fadlallah

BY REUBEN LEVY

ALTHOUGH references to the subject of Ismā'īlī doctrine have been frequent enough in the text-books and learned journals, the earliest source quoted in nearly all of them is the *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* of Juwaynī. By a comparison of that work [1] with the corresponding section of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn it is evident that the latter is the source from which Juwaynī drew most of his materials, and that for his compilation he used such sections of it as suited his purposes, omitting and transposing passages as he thought fit. In certain instances his omissions from the text have caused obscurities which the original version of Rashīd al-Dīn does not contain, and quite often the borrowings have been incorporated without any great effort to make them fit snugly into their context. Since the *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* is fairly well known I shall confine myself here to the work of Rashīd al-Dīn, which seems destined for some time longer to remain in the obscurity of manuscript.[2]

The section begins with a short introduction bestowing

[1] By the kindness of the Gibb Trustees, I have been able to use proof-sheets of part of the third volume of Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī's edition.

[2] I have used two British Museum manuscripts, the well-known one Add. 7628 (fols. 272*b* ff.), which I call A, and Or. 1684 (fols. 186*b* ff.), which is late, but occasionally has a better reading than the other. This I call B, while Juwaynī, in Mīrzā Muḥammad's edition (vol. iii), is represented by J.

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praise upon Allah and compliments on the author's patron, and containing a statement to the following effect: In accordance with the instructions received from the "King of the World" (Uljaytu Khān), complete histories were compiled of all the peoples of the world and of the various classes of human society in the seven climes—Turks, Chinese, Indians, Jews, Christians, Franks, inhabitants of the West, and Persians. A desire was then expressed by His Majesty for a history of the Sect of the Comrades (*Rafīqān*) and the Society of the Propagandists of the Ismā'īlīs and Heretics (*Malāḥida*), who are a people apart and who for a lengthy period of time were firmly established upon the throne of power and sovereignty and, further, kept the kings of all regions and the rulers of all countries in a state of sleepless fear and uncertainty because of their abundant forces, their constant supply of troops, stores, and equipment, their organization and the terrifying reports about them.

In accordance with his sovereign's desire, therefore, the author compiled a history of this people and included it in the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* as a matter for reflection in all minds and a subject to be retained in all memories.

In a further passage, after claiming to be merely a reporter of his materials and stating that responsibility for the truth or falsehood of them lies with his authorities and not with himself, Rashīd al-Dīn explains how the various divisions in Islam arose, and how the 'Alids, robbed of the Caliphate which was rightfully theirs, during the reign of the Umayyads carried on propaganda against them. He states, however, that this proved unsuccessful and that the 'Alids were rigorously persecuted also by the 'Abbāsid Caliphs. Our author then continues:—

در زمان دولت عبّاسیان نگاه کردند میدان از[1]
مردان خالی یافتند و خصم غافل وامور مهمل و همّتها

[1] A, f. 273*a*, towards the end.

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متقاصر و عزیمتها واهی و متابعت شهوات و لذات غالب و امر معروف مقهور و نهی منکر مغلوب در هر گوشهٔ فرصتی جستند و داعیان خردمند شیرین سخن و رفیقان نیکو بیان و لطیف گفتار بر دعوت آغالیدند و بجهت بُعد جهات بچهار جانب بفرستادند، جانب اوّل مشرق، از بدایت خراسان تا نهایت ترکستان وآنچه بدان متّصل بود از حدود نیمروز، جانب دوّم جنوب، مبداء آن از عراق و بابل و کوفه تا أَقْصیٔ حجاز (A, f. 273b) و بوادی زمین یمن وآنچه مجاورست، جانب سیم مغرب، از بدایت دیار بکر ودیار ربیعه وشام تا غایت مغرب، جانب چهارم شمال، از ساحل دریاء مشرق تا بصره وعمان و بحرین و سند و هند و نهایت صین و آنچه بدان پیوسته است، وبهر جهتی وناحیتی داعیانِ خوش لهجه نیکو بلاغت شیرین فصاحت خردمند بیدار هشیار نصب کردند وفصول عهود و مواثیقِ مفاوضه تلقین کردند وفرمود تا در صیانتِ نفس و طهارتِ بدن وپاله دامنی و خوش خلقی و چرب زبانی ونیکو عشرتی یدِ بیضا و دمِ مسیحا نمایند وبیان سخنها وتلقین کلام مناسب وموافق

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مرغوب تقریر کنند، از دعاة بجانب عراق زید اهوازی فرستادند وبیحرین و بلاد یمن ابو سعید الجنّابی و او بشهر قطیف اقامت نمود وابو زکریاء اصفهانی را از قبیلهٔ بنی کلاب در دعوت آورد و بمساعدت و مرافدت ایشان شهر هجر و لحسا و تمامت بلاد سواحل عمان وبحرین و بصره بگرفت واو معاصر معتضد خلیفهٔ عبّاسی بود ودر سنهٔ ست و ثمانین و مأتین داعیان را بزمین عراق فرستاد، چون معتضد در گذشت کار جنّابی بالا گرفت و عاقبت در شهور سنهٔ احدی و ثلثمأیه در حمام بقتل آمد ابو طاهر پسرش قایم مقام او بود وبزمان جعفر صادق ابو الخطّاب دعوی الٰهیت جعفر کرد صادق در حقّ او فرمود که مَلْعُونٌ هُوَ وَأَصْحَابُهُ، واز جملهٔ داعیان یکی میمون قدّاح بود وپسرش عبد الله بن میمون که ایشانرا از علما و اکابر طایفه شمردند، واز راویان و ناقلان آثار مروی است که [1] جعفررا چهار پسر بود مهتر اسماعیل که بمادر [2] نحیر

[1] The corresponding portion in J[uwaynī] begins here [ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad, vol. iii, p. 144].

[2] *Sic.* According to Ṭabarī (iii, 2509) her name was امّ فروة فاطمة بنة الحسين الاثرم

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حسینی بود، دوم موسی که مادرش امّ ولد بود واو بمشهدِ طوس مدفون است، سیم محمّد دیباج که بظاهر جرجان مدفون است، چهارم عبد الله معروف[1] بابطح، جعفر نصّ امامت بر اسماعیل کرد واسماعیل شراب مسکر بخورد جعفر بر فعل او انکار کرد و فرمود که بَدَا فی أَمرِ إِسْمَاعِیلَ و بر پسر دیگر موسی نصّ کرد طایفهٔ کهستانیان خودرا بر اسماعیل بستند واز فرقهٔ شیعه جدا شدند و حجّت آوردند که جعفر امام معصوم است واو نصّ بر اسماعیل کرد پس اصل نصِّ نخستین است وبدا بر خدا روا نباشد وامام خود آنچه کند و فرماید جمله حقّ باشد اسماعیل را از شراب خوردن در امامت نقصان وخلل نباشد پس ایشانرا برای انتساب باسماعیل اسماعیلی گفتند[2] و طایفه را که از ایشان متولّد و منتبج اند باعتبار هفت امام سبعیّه گویند و باعتبار آنکه بمجرّد نظر واستدلال عقلِ مردم در معرفت باری تعالی کافی و وافی نبود مگر بتعلیم معلّم مرشد ایشانرا تعلیمیّه گویند و باعتبار آنکه

[1] J. افطح *prb. recte.*

[2] J. breaks off here and resumes at وزعم on p. 514.

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از قرآن هر کلمهٔ را ظاهری وباطنی ولفظی و تأویلی تصریحی و تعریضی واشارتی ورمزی است که عوامرّا بر ظاهر لفظ اطّلاع است و خواصرّا بر باطنِ تأویل و قوف ایشانرا باطنی گویند و هر که در طریق ایشان راسخ شود واجازهٔ کلام یابد اورا ماذون گویند و چون بدرجهٔ دعوت رسد اورا داعی خوانند و چون بمرتبهٔ ده دواعی رسد و معتبر شود اورا حجّت گویند اعنی گفتار حجّت ایزد ست بر خلایق و چون رتبت و درجهٔ کمال یافت واز تعلیم بی نیاز گشت اورا امام خوانند وبالاء امام اساسست و فوق اساس در منزلت ناطق وامام هفت باشند ودوازده داعی و مأذون هرامامی را بیاید،

[1] وزعم سنّت و جماعت آنست که اسماعیل پیش از پدر خویش جعفر صادق[2] وفات یافت والیٔ مدینه را که از قِبَل خلفاء عبّاسی حاکم آنجا بود با گروهی انبوه از مشایخ و معارفِ مدینه حاضر کرد واسماعیلرا که در چهار فرسنگی بدیه عُرَیْض وفات کرده بود وبر دوشهاء مردم

[1] J. resumes here.

[2] B inserts به پنج سال درسنهٔ خمس واربعین ومأیه

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بشهر آورده بود بایشان نمود، محضری است بر وفات او موشّح باشهاد و خطوط جماعتی حاضران واورا به[1] بـقیع دفن کرد جماعتی که باسماعیل انتساب داشتند گفتند اسماعیل نمرده بود لیکن از تعمیهٔ مردم بود[2] و بعد از پدر به پنج سال زنده بود واورا در بازار بصره دیدند که بیماری زمن معلول ازو سؤال کرد اسماعیل دستِ او بگرفت بیمار تندرست شد بر خاست وبرفت وبرنابینا دعا کرد بینا شد[3] ومقصود جعفر صـادق بذات خـود بود از حواله دعوی امامت که بوی میکردند،

القصّه چون صـادق وفات یافت جمهـور شیعه متابعت موسی کـردند مگر عددی اندک بامامت محمّد دیباجی بگفتند و بدیباجه[4] موسوم شدند و همچنین فرقه بامامت عبد اللّه ابطح بگفتند و بابطحی معروف اند و خلفاء عبّاسی موسی را از مدینه ببغداد آوردند و محبوس کردند تا در حبس وفات (A, f. 274a) یافت، شیعه گفتند

[1] B بقعه
[2] J. breaks off.
[3] J. resumes.
[4] ؟ دیباجیّه. There is a lacuna in J.'s text.

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مسموم بود اورا بکنار جسر آوردند وبر خلایق بغداد عرض کردند اعنی که بر اندامهاء وا زخمی نیست واورا بمقابر[1] هاشمی دفن کردند، و پسرش علی بن موسی الرّضا[2] بمدینه بود تا آنگاه که مأمون اورا بخراسان خواند و خلافت بوی تفویض کرد بموجب خطّی که امروز در مشهد[2] طوس است عاقبت بطوس مسموم وفات یافت و هم آنجا مدفون شد و بعد ازین عبّاسیان جهت دعوی امامت بتیغ تفحّص ایشان میکردند اولاد اسماعیل نیز متواری شدند واز مدینه بعضی بر صوب عراق و خراسان و قومی بجانب مغرب رفتند وچون اسماعیل وفات یافت پسرش محمّد بن اسماعیل که بزمان جعفر بزرگ بود واز موسی بسال مهتر بر صوب عراق برفت وبریّ فرو آمد واز آنجا بدماوند شد بدیه سمله و محمّد آباد در ریّ منسوب باوست واورا فرزندان بودند متواری بخراسان و حدود قندهار از نا حیت سند متوطّن شده داعیان ایشان[3] در ولایتها افتادند و مردم را بمذهب خود دعوت

[1] The MSS. of J. omit. Mīrzā Muḥammad conjectures قریش [p. 148].
[2—2] A omits.
[3] J. اسماعیلیان

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میکردند[1] بر سبیل [1]مطلوبی تا خلایق بسیار اجابت دعوت ایشان کردند، واز[2] جانب مغرب علیّ[3] بن اسماعیل را بخواندند و متوجّه شام شد و چون او طالب امامت نبود و کس نیز متابعت او نمیکرد آنجا[4] بماند و هنوز از انساب او آنجا فرزندان هستند، ودر سال دویست و نود وپنج عبد الله بن میمون قدّاح که بزی صوم و صلوة و طاعات و عبادات متجلّی بود و بر سرّ آن دعوت آگاه بعسکر مکرم مقام کرد بموضع ساباط ابی نوح واموال واتباع او فراوان شد، اعدا قصد او کردند از آنجا ببصره رفت وبمحلّتِ بنی عقیل فرو آمد واز آنجا بکوهستان عجم باهواز آمد مردم را دعوت میکرد و خلفاء خودرا بجانب عراق چون ریّ و اصفهان و همدان و قم فرستاد،

[1]—[1] J. omits; A reads مظلومی

[2] J. ازان جانب

[3] Thus J. A, B [incorrectly] محمّد

[4] J. ظاهر شد

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[TRANSLATION]

Looking about them during the days of the 'Abbāsid domination they [the 'Alids][1] observed that the field was clear and the enemy off his guard; that men's aims were trivial and their ambitions base, the pursuit of lusts and pleasure holding supremacy; so that the call to do the right was suppressed and prohibition of the wrong overwhelmed. Accordingly they watched closely for an opportunity and put to the task of gaining converts propagandists who were smooth spoken men of wisdom and "comrades" of good understanding and eloquence. Now because of the great distances between regions they sent out men in four directions, the first being the East, from the confines of Khurāsān to the furthermost boundary of Turkistan and the adjoining regions of Sīstān. The second direction was South, beginning with 'Irāq, Babel, and Kufa and extending as far as the furthest limits of Ḥijāz and the *wādī* of the Yemen, together with the neighbouring region. The third direction was the West, beginning with Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabī'a together with Syria, and extending to the furthest limits of the West. The fourth region was the North from the coast of the Eastern Sea[2] as far as Baṣra and including Oman, Baḥrayn, Sind and Hind, and on to China, together with the adjoining regions.

For every region and every district they appointed propagandists, men of pleasant speech, goodly eloquence, and sweet lucidity, as well as of sagacious and alert intelligence. To them the terms of their compacts and the benefits promised for their association were set forth in detail, and they were ordered to rule their lives in spiritual immaculateness, bodily purity, and unblemished conduct; they were, moreover, to be good-natured, pleasant spoken, and hail-fellow with all men; [in short] they were to be worthy of "the white hand of Moses and the breath of Christ". And with every

[1] Square brackets denote the translator's insertions.

[2] The Arctic and North Pacific. *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. Le Strange, p. 231.

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man they were bidden to put forward their reasoning and conduct their arguments in fashion suited to his character and desires in life.

Of the propagandists, they sent Zayd the Ahwāzī to 'Irāq, and Abu Sa'id al-Jannābī to Baḥrayn and the Yemen territory. He settled in the town of Qaṭīf [1] and won over to his propaganda Abu Zakariyā Iṣfahānī of the tribe of the Banu Kilāb. By their aid and co-operation he [al-Jannābī] won over the towns of Hajar and Laḥsā and all the coastal territory of Oman, as well as Baḥrayn and Baṣra. He was the contemporary of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Mu'taḍid and in the year 286 [A.D. 899] he sent propagandists to 'Irāq. After Mu'taḍid died al-Jannābī's affairs prospered, but finally at some time during the year 301 he met his death in the baths. His son Abu Ṭāhir succeeded to his office.

In the time of Ja'far Ṣādiq, [one] Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb propounded that Ja'far had claims to godhead. Ṣādiq, however, denounced Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and his companions.

Amongst the propagandists was Maymūn-i Qaddāḥ ["the Oculist"] whose son was 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn; both of whom were accounted amongst the learned and the aristocracy of the sect.

It is related by the reporters and traditionists that Ja'far had four sons; the eldest being Ismā'īl, who through his mother was [?] [2] a Ḥusaynī; the second was Mūsā, whose mother was a slave woman—(he is buried at the shrine at Ṭūs); the third was Muḥammad Dībāj, who lies buried outside Jurjān, and the fourth was 'Abd Allāh, known as Abtaḥ. Ja'far allotted the imāmate to Ismā'īl. He, however, was addicted to intoxicating liquor, so that Ja'far, disapproving of his conduct, declared that he had changed

[1] On the Arabian mainland in the neighbourhood of Baḥrayn. See *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 137.

[2] For the text, which is doubtful, Mīrzā Muḥammad suggests نبیر حسین "a grandson of Ḥusayn". But this statement lacks point and significance, this Ḥusayn not being a person of any note.

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his intention with regard to him and bestowed the imāmate upon Mūsā, the second son. Thereupon the sect of the Kuhistānīs attached themselves to Ismā'īl and withdrew from the Shī'a body, arguing that Ja'far, as the divinely preserved imām, had appointed Ismā'īl [to succeed him]. The true appointment [they said] was the first one—seeing that one could not accuse God of changing his intention and that all which the imām himself did and said was right. So far as the imāmate, therefore, was concerned, Ismā'īl's wine-drinking created no disability.

Because of their relations with Ismā'īl they are called Ismā'īlīs, and the sect that was born and originated out of them is called the Seveners by reason of the seven Imāms. With reference also [to their doctrine] that merely by reflection and reasoning the human mind is inadequate for and incapable of attaining a knowledge of God except through the instruction (تعليم) of a guide and instructor—with reference to that, they are called the "Instructionists" (تعليمية). Further, they are called *Bāṭinīs* ["Inwarders"]—with reference to the doctrine that in the Qur'ān every word has an outward and an inward (*bāṭin*) significance, a plain meaning, and an elucidatory interpretation as well as an allusive, suggestive, and cryptic one; the common run of men understanding only the outward meaning while the chosen ones are informed of the inner significance.

When a person becomes firmly established in their beliefs and obtains permission to learn theology he is called *Ma'dhūn* ["licentiate"]; when he reached the degree of propagandism they call him a *Dā'ī* ["a propagandist"]—when he reaches the stage of [heading] ten propagandists and becomes a person of consideration he is called *Ḥujjat* ["proof"]—which means to say "declaring the proof of God to mankind". When he reaches the grade of perfection and is independent of all further instruction he is called *Imām*. Above the *Imām* is the *Asās* [the "fundamental"] and beyond him again

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in degree is the *Nāṭiq* [the "speaker"]. There are seven *Imāms*, each of whom has need of twelve propagandists and licentiates.

According to orthodox teaching, Ismā'īl died before his father Ja'far Ṣādiq. He thereupon summoned the Wālī of Medina (who held office as governor there on behalf of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs) and a number of the elders and notables of Medina and showed them [the body of] Ismā'īl which had been carried into the city on men's shoulders from the village of 'Urayḍ, four parasangs distant, where he had died. They provide the evidence for his death and they are supported by eye-witnesses and the documents of a number of persons present. His father buried him at Buqay'.

The statement of the group who attached themselves to Ismā'īl is that he did not die, but that [all this] was in order to mystify mankind. Further, that he was alive five years after his father's death. He was then seen in the Baṣra bazaar, where a man who had been ill of a chronic disease made a request of him. He took the sick man's hand and promptly the invalid recovered, rose from his place, and walked away. Also Ismā'īl prayed over a blind man, whose sight was at once restored. [They say] Ja'far Ṣādiq's object in proclaiming Ismā'īl's death was in reality that he might transfer to another the title to the imāmate that was being conferred upon him.

To cut a long story short, when Ṣādiq died, the main body of the Shī'a followed Mūsā, but a few proclaimed the imāmate of Muḥammad Dībājī and they came to be called the "Dībāja". Similarly, a party declared themselves for the imāmate of 'Abd Allāh Abṭaḥ, and they are known as the Abṭaḥī [sect]. Now the 'Abbāsid Caliphs brought Mūsā from Medina to Baghdad and held him imprisoned until he died. The Shī'a declared he was poisoned, and brought his body to the side of the bridge, where they displayed him to the people of Baghdad in order to prove that there was no wound upon his body. They buried him in the Hāshimī

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tombs.[1] His son 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā remained at Medina until Ma'mūn summoned him to Khurāsān, and he appointed him [heir] to the Caliphate—according to a document which is at the shrine at Ṭūs to-day. In the end he died of poison at Ṭūs and was buried there.

Thereafter the 'Abbāsids sought for them [2] with the sword because of this claim to the imāmate. Ismā'īl's sons hid themselves; some went from Medina towards 'Irāq and Khurāsān, while others went to the West. When Ismā'īl died, his son Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (who was grown up when Ja'far was alive and was older than Mūsā) left for 'Irāq, alighting at Rayy. Thence he went to Demāvand, to the village of [?] Samala. Muḥammad-ābād at Rayy is called after him. He had several sons in concealment. They established themselves in Khurāsān and the frontier region of Qandahār, in Sind territory, whence their propagandists attacked the cities and persuaded men to their cause by the method of [promising each] the object he desired, until a great number had yielded to their persuasions.

From the West also they summoned 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, who set forth for Syria. Seeing that he was making no claim to the imāmate and that he had no following in that regard, he remained in Syria, where descendants of some of his kinsmen still live.

In the year 295 [907–8] 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn the Oculist, making an outward show of devotion to fasting, prayer, and good works but being in reality initiated into the secrets of that propaganda, settled at 'Askar Mukram [3] in the place called Sābāṭ-i Abi Nūḥ. There his wealth and following increased, but when his enemies made an attempt on his life he departed to Baṣra, where he settled in the quarter of the Banu 'Uqayl. Thence he went to Persian Kūhistān to Ahwāz, where he carried on his propaganda

[1] At Kāḍimayn.
[2] The 'Alids.
[3] In Khūzistān. (*Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, tr. Le Strange, p. 110.)

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and whence also he sent representatives to 'Irāq ['Ajamī] to places like Rayy, Isfahān, Hamadān, and Qum.

The next part of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* proceeds then to give a list of missionaries appointed to the various lands of Islam. Khurāsān is singled out for special mention because its ruler, the Sāmānid prince Naṣr b. Aḥmad, and his vizier both helped in the Ismā'īlī cause. When Naṣr died however, his son Nūḥ, who succeeded him on the throne, killed the Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* together with every one of his supporters.

Rashīd al-Dīn continues :—

القصه بطولها اسماعیلیّان را در بلاد اسلام رؤسا[1] وداعیان پدید آمدند ومقالات خود را شرحی وبسطی تمام دادند که ذکر هریك بتطویل انجامد لیکن ما جمعی معروفان اقلیم رابع خصوصا خراسان وعراق وشام ویمن یاد کردیم وابتداء دعوت این کردند که هر پیغامبری وصیّ وولی عهدی بود که در حال حیوة او در شهرت علم او بود وتمامی دور ایشان بهفت منقضی‌شد، پیغامبر نخستین آدم بود بدین صفات وشرایط که قایم مقام ووليعهد او پس از وفات او شیث بود و تمامی دور او بهفت امام منقضی شد وبعد از تتمیم دور او نوح ظاهر شد ناسخ شریعت آدم ودور او بهفت امام تمام گشت

[1] A, f. 274*a*, *ad fin.*

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ووصیّ او سام بود واز پس او ابرهیم پیغامبر پدید آمد
ناسخ شریعت نوح ازو وصیّ اسماعیل بود ودور او
بکذشتن هفت امام تمام شد وبعد ازو موسی پدید آمد
ناسخ شریعت ابرهیم وو صیّ او بعد ازو هرون بود
وچون هرون در حال حیوة موسی از دنیا برفت وصّی
یوشع بن نون بود وچون دور موسی بهفت تمام گشت
از پس او عیسی پدید آمد ناسخ شریعت موسی ووصیّ
او شمعون الصفا بود و هچنین دور عیسی بهفت امام تمام
شد واز پس او محمد رسول پدید آمد و شریعت دیگر
نهاد ناسخ شریعت عیسی ووصیّ او علیّ بن ابی طالب
بود وبعد ازو حسن وبعد ازو حسین واز نسل او امام
چهارم علیّ بن الحسین زین العابدین واز پس او امام
پنجم محمّد باقر واز پس او امام ششم جعفر صادق وبعد ازو
امام هفتم اسماعیل بن جعفر بود و دور محمّدی بدو تمام شد
و هلمّ جرّا تا بدین امام رسد که والیٔ مصر است وزعم
ایشان آنست که در هر عصری امام معصوم است از همه
خلل و خطل تا در همه احوال رجوع باو کنند در

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تأویلات ظاهر و حلّ مشکلات وغوامض ازو روشن گردد، و بیض کردن رموز واشارات قرآن وبیان شرایع وارکان ومعرفت احکام وجلیل ودقیق از حقایق احکام ودقایق بواطن اسرار ممکن نیست مگر ازو وقول او که فرق میان او وپیغامبر وحی باشد، [1] وهرگز عالم بی چنان امامی نبوده است وهرکه امام بود پدر او امام بوده باشد وپدر پدر او تا بآدم علیه السلام و ممکن نباشد که امام وفات کند الّا بعد ازانکه پسر او که امام من بعد او خواهد بود ولادت بوده باشد یا از صلب او جدا شده و معنیٔ آیت [2] ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِنْ بَعْضٍ و فحویٔ آیت [3] وجَعَلَهَا كَلِمَةً بَاقِيَةً فِي عَقِبِهِ اینست، و چون بر ایشان حجّت آوردند بحسن بن علیّ که باتّفاق همهٔ شیعه امام بود وفرزند او امام نبود گفتند امامت او مستودع بود یعنی غیر ثابت [4] وآن عاریت است وامامت حسین مستقرّ وآیت [5] فَمُسْتَقَرٌّ ومُسْتَوْدَعٌ اشارت بآن است،

[1] J. resumes here [p. 149].
[2] Qur'ān, iii, 30.
[3] Qur'ān, xliii, 27.
[4] J. وامامت عاریت داشت
[5] Qur'ān, vi, 98.

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و گویند ناطق کسی است که واضع شرع باشد و شرع متقدّمان منسوخ کند واساس نو کند آنکه علم تأویل شریعت پیش او باشد واسرار باطن از همه خلایق او داند و ناطقْ ظاهرِ شریعت واساسِ بواطنِ آنرا بیان کند، کار ناطق وضعِ تنزیل است وکار بیان تأویل شریعت پیش او باشد، وامام منصوص بعد از محمّد مصطفی علیّ بود با امامت هفتگانه وهمچنین گویند امام لازم نیست که ظاهر باشد یکچند مستور بود مانند شب وروز متعاقب ومتوالی یکدیگرند وهمواره یکی ظاهر ویکی مخفی ودر دوری که امام ظاهر نباشد باید که داعیانِ او در میان مردم باشند تا خلقرا بر خدای تعالی حجّت نباشد، وپیغامبران اصحاب تنزیل اند وامامان اصحاب تأویل ودر هیچ عهد پیغامبری از امامی خالی نبوده، [1] معاصر ابرهیم شخصی بود که نام او در توریت مذکور است بلغت سریانی وعبری [2] که آن بلغت عربی ملک الصدیق وملک

[1] J. reads بعد از و which makes nonsense of what follows.

[2] There is a gap in A and B. The editor of J. (p. 150) reads here ملخیزداق ملخ شلیم although following the Hebrew or Aramaic. The closest approximation in any of the MSS. of J. is ملخردو وصلح سولیم.

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[1]السّلام بود وگویند چون ابرهیم باو رسید عُشْرِ چهارپایان خود باو داد و خضر که [2]موسی علم لدنی [3]ازو خواست آموخت امام بود [4]یا [4]نامزد امام، وپیش از دور اسلام دور ستر بود امامان پوشیده بودند وبروزگار علیّ که امام آن دور بود امامت ظاهر شد وازعهد او تا اسماعیل و محمّد پسرش که هفتم بود ظاهر بودند، وابتداء ستر از اسماعیل بود واز محمّد که آخر دور ظهور بود تمامت مستور شدند وبعد ازو امامان مستور باشند تا وقتی که باز زمان ظهور باشد، وگویند موسی بن جعفر مفادی النفس از اسماعیل وعلیّ بن موسی الرّضا مفادی النفس بود از محمّد بن اسماعیل وقصّهٔ ذبح که وَفَدَيْنَاهُ بِذِبْحٍ عَظِيمٍ [5] اشارت بمثل این صورت بود،

فی الجملة آن مذهب ومقالت در اکثر (A, 275a) بلاد شرق وغرب اسلام فاش گشت بعضی پوشیده وبعضی

[1] A, B الاسلام. J. as in text.

[2] J. موسی را.

[3] J. omits.

[4] A, B, and J. omit یا and read نامرد [*sic*]. The reading in the text is conjectural. A possible reading for نامرد امام might be با مردمان.

[5] Qur. xxxvii, 107.

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آشکارا پدید آمدند وهمه بر آن متّفق که روزگار از امامی خالی نباشد که خدایرا بوی توان شناخت وبی معرفت او خدای شناس وعارف نتوان بود وپیغامبران در هر روزگار باو اشارت کرده اند، وشرع را ظاهری وباطنی هست اصل باطن است [1] مانند جواهر معدنی است که در باطن سنگ تیره تعبیه ولؤلؤ در اصداف در قعربحر وروح آدمی که در جسم تیره پنهانست ودرین معنی احتجاج کردند بقوله تعالی بَابٌ بَاطِنُهُ فِيهِ ٱلرَّحْمَةُ وَ ظَاهِرُهُ مِنْ قِبَلِهِ ٱلعَذَابُ [2] و قوله تعالی وَلَيْسَ ٱلْبِرُّ بِأَنْ تَأْتُوا ٱلْبُيُوتَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهَا وَلَكِنَّ ٱلْبِرَّ مَنِ ٱتَّقَى وَأْتُوا ٱلْبُيُوتَ مِنْ أَبْوَابِهَا [3] یعنی نیکو کاری نه آنست که بظاهر مشغول شوید چنانکه عوام شده اند بلکه بپرهیزید که خرسندی بظاهر نمودن در دین سبب معالت باشد.

[TRANSLATION]

To state the matter shortly; men of high rank and propagandists in the Ismā'īlī cause appeared in all the lands of Islam and propounded and explained their doctrines everywhere. To have mentioned them all would have

[1] J. breaks off here.
[2] Qur'ān, lvii, 13.
[3] Ibid., ii, 185.

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occupied too long, we have noted only a few of the noted ones in the fourth clime, particularly in Khurāsān, 'Irāq, Syria, and Yemen.

The first part of their teaching was this, that every prophet has an executor and heir who, during his [the prophet's] lifetime, is the gateway through which his teachings become generally known. The epoch of the prophets was completed after seven [of them]. The first was Adam, and he was endowed with the necessary qualities and attributes; his representative and heir, who took his place after his death, being Seth. His [Adam's] epoch was completed by seven imāms. After that Noah appeared, to abrogate the dispensation of Adam. His epoch was completed by seven imāms; his executor being Sām. Ibrahīm the prophet came after Noah as abrogator of his dispensation, and his executor was Ismā'īl. And when seven imāms had gone, his epoch was complete. Then came Moses as abrogator of Ibrahīm's dispensation, and his executor was Hārūn; but since Hārūn departed from the world while Moses was still alive, Joshua, son of Nūn, became his executor. When the epoch of Moses had been completed by seven imāms, 'Īsā appeared; and his executor was Simon Cephas. The epoch of 'Īsā, too, was completed by seven imāms and after him came Muḥammad the apostle and established a new dispensation, abrogating that of 'Īsā. His executor was 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib, after whom came Ḥasan, then Ḥusayn, of whose stock also was the fourth imām 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-'Abidīn, then the fifth imām Muḥammad Bāqir, followed by the sixth, Ja'far Ṣādiq, and then the seventh, Ismā'īl b. Ja'far. The Muḥammadī epoch ends with him. So the series has continued up to the present imām, who is the wālī of Egypt.[1]

Further, according to their doctrine, in every age there is an imām divinely guarded from every flaw and weakness, to whom in every circumstance men have recourse for the interpretation of outward symbols and the solving of problems.

[1] The implication is that Ismā'īl is still alive.

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And every profundity is elucidated by him. Moreover, the elucidation of cryptic passages and references in the Qur'ān, the explanation of laws and principles, the knowledge of commandments, as well as of the general and the detailed in the true meanings of the commandments, and of the subtleties of the inner significance of mysterious passages, is impossible to all except through him and his "word"; the difference between him and a prophet lying in the matter of inspiration. The world, they say, has never been without an imām of the kind, and if any man has been an imām, his father also has been an imām and his father's father back to Adam. It would be impossible moreover for any imām to die until after the son who was to be the imām after him was either born or had left his loins. This is the reference in the passage: "The one being posterity of the other," [1] and the significance of the passage: "and he made it a word that should abide amongst his posterity." [2] When there was brought up in argument against them the example of Ḥasan b. 'Alī, who by agreement of all the Shī'a was an imām while his son was not, they replied that his imāmate was held on trust by him. That is to say it was something impermanent, something accidental, whereas the imāmate of Ḥusayn was definitely established. The verse "and deposited and definitely established" [3] refers to it.

Of the *nāṭiq* ["the Speaker"] they say that he is a person who establishes law, abrogating the law of them that have gone before and laying down new principles. He is, moreover, a person with the knowledge to interpret laws with an understanding of the hidden and esoteric in all created things, and able also to elucidate the outward and obvious meaning of laws as well as the principle that is hidden in them.

(The appointed imām after Muḥammad the Chosen was 'Alī, with the seven-fold imāmate.)

Another of their doctrines is that the imām need not be

[1] Qur'ān, iii, 30.
[2] Ibid., xliii, 27.
[3] Ibid., vi, 98.

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apparent and that sometimes one may be obscured, in the same way that night and day succeed and follow one another so that regularly one is apparent and the other hidden. During the period when the imām is not apparent his propagandists must be abroad amongst men so that the fact [of there being no imām apparent] may not be used as an argument against the existence of God.

The prophets are the recipients of divine inspiration, while the imāms are the masters of interpretation, and in no age has a prophet been without an imām.

A contemporary of Ibrahīm's was a certain person whose name is mentioned in the Torah, in the Syriac and Hebrew speech [Melchizedek] which in the Arabic is "Malik al-Ṣadīq" and "Malik al-Salām". They state that when Ibrahīm came to him he gave him [Ibrahīm] a tenth part of his cattle.

Khiḍr, from whom Moses wished to learn theology, was an imām, or nominated [1] as an imām.

There was an epoch of obscuration before Islam, when the imāms were hidden; and in the time of 'Alī, who is the imām of that epoch [i.e. of Islam], the imāmate became manifest again. From his time until Ismā'īl [2] or his son Muḥammad, who was the seventh, all the imāms have been manifest. There was a beginning of obscuration after Ismā'īl; and after Muḥammad who was the last [imām] of the period of manifestation, all have been obscured, and all the imāms after him will be obscured until the time for manifestation comes again.

Another teaching of theirs is that Mūsā b. Ja'far gave his life in ransom for Ismā'īl and 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍa did the like in favour of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl; also that the story of the "sacrifice" in the verse "we redeemed him by a mighty sacrifice" [3] has reference to some matter of this kind.

[1] See note on text.

[2] There would seem to be some confusion in the text. It is doubtful whether it was Ismā'īl or his son Muḥammad who was seventh imām.

[3] Qur. xxxvii, 107.

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To be brief, these beliefs and doctrines were spread abroad in all the lands of Islam, east and west, and they were disseminated sometimes covertly, sometimes openly. All are agreed on the point that no age can be without its imām, through whom God may be known and without whose knowledge there can be neither theosophist nor gnostic. At every period also the prophets have made reference to him. Further, law has a patent and esoteric significance, the root significance being the esoteric one. The parallel is that of jewels in a mine which lie hidden within dark stone; or that of pearls in oysters in the depths of the sea; or that of the mortal spirit that is concealed within the dark body. On this matter they applied as an argument the divine words: "A door hidden behind which lies mercy, and outside of which is torment" [1]; and "Righteousness is not in entering your houses from the back of them,[2] but it is the righteousness of him who fears: therefore enter your homes by their doors." [3] This means, piety lies not in occupying yourselves with outward forms, as the many do, but in self-restraint; for to approve of the outward side of religion is the cause of evil.

The doctrines spread by the original Ismā'īlī propaganda were the basis upon which the New Propaganda (دعوتِ جدید) of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*Sayyidnā*] was formed. Of it Rashīd al-Dīn gives the following account, derived by him from reports made by adherents:—

متقدّمان اساسِ مذهب خود بر تنزیل (A, 291*b*)
وتأویل خصوصا آیات متشابهه و مستخرجات غریب از
معانی اخبار و آثار نهاده بودند و امثال این میگفتند هر

[1] Qur. lvii, 13.

[2] Presumably the point of this verse as a proof text lies in taking ظهور as a verbal noun (i.e. in "their external appearing").

[3] Qur. ii, 185.

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آینه هر تنزیلی را تأویلی باشد و هر ظاهری را باطنی
سیّدنا بکلّی در تعلیم در بست و گفت خدای شناسی بعقل
و نظر نیست بتعلیم امام است چه بیشتر اهل علم عقلا
اند و هر کسی را در راه دین نظر است اگر در معرفت
حقّ نظر عقل کافی بودی اهل هیچ مذهبی را بر خصم
خود انکار واعتراض نرسیدی و همکنان متساوی بودندی
چه همه کس بنظر عقل متزیّن است پس چون سبیل انکار
و اعتراض را مفتوح است بعضی را بیفکند و بعضی را
باختیار خود[1] مذهب تعلیم است که عقل مجرّد کافی نیست
ودر هر دور امامی باید که مردم بتعلیم او متعلّم و متدیّن
باشند و چند کلمهٔ مزخرف ملواح را الزام خلق ساخت
و دقیقترین آن الفاظ اورا معنی یکی آنست که از
معترضات مذهب خویش تردید کرده است که در معرفت
خدای خرد بس است یا نه بس اعنی اگر خرد کافی
است هرکه خردی دارد معترض را برو انکار نمی رسد
و اگر معترض میگوید خرد و نظر عقل کافی نیست هر

[1] There would appear to be a word missing here. ? گذارد

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آینه معلّمی احتیاج باشد وآنچ گفت خرد بس است یا نه بس مذهب او مطلوبش اثباتست و تحقیق این سخن آنست که تعلیم با خرد بهم واجب است و مذهب خصم آنست که تعلیم با خرد بهم واجب نیست و چون واجب نباشد شاید که تعلیم جایز باشد و خرد معیّن باشد بر نظر و شاید که جایز نباشد و خرد تنها باید والّا خدای شناسی حاصل نباشد واین دو قسم است واو بابطال قسم دوم تعرّض نرسانید، ومذهب جمهور واهل علم اینست که وجود خرد مجرّد کافی نیست استعمال خرد بر وجه مخصوص شرط است و تعلیم و هدایت معیّن یعنی عقلارا و بعضی را بآن حاجت نه هر چند اگر باشد مانع نبود و همچنین گفته که پیغامبر فرمود أُمِرْتُ أَنْ أُقَاتِلَ ٱلنَّاسَ حَتَّى يَقُولُوا لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱللّٰهُ یعنی لا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱللّٰهَ فرا می باید گرفت، واین تعلیم است، فی الجمله سیّدنا باین قیاسات ضعیف و براهین واهی مردم را دعوت میکرد،

[TRANSLATION]

The early votaries laid the foundations of their beliefs upon revelation and interpretation, in particular of the equivocal verses, and upon strange deductions from the ideas

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dealt with in traditions and historical reports. Further they made such statements as these, that every revelation had its interpretation and that every plain meaning was accompanied by an esoteric one. "Sayyidna" [Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ] attached himself entirely to the doctrine of *ta'līm* ["instruction"], and said, "knowledge of God is derived not from reason and reflection but from the *ta'līm* of the imām; for most men of science are reasoning persons and any man may have his views upon the path of religion. If reason and reflection were sufficient to give a knowledge of God, the votaries of no religion could refute or criticize their opponents, and all would be alike; seeing that all are equipped with reasoning powers. Since, then, the way lies open to refutation and criticism, one may overthrow some persons but [leave] others to follow their own discretion. The doctrine of *ta'līm* is that reason alone is insufficient, and that in every age an imām is necessary by whose *ta'līm* men may be instructed and made religious."

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ also invented some glittering arguments to delude and impress people. Amongst the subtlest of his inventions is one which he employed to rebut criticisms of his own beliefs. He would say, "For a knowledge of God science is either enough or it is not enough; which means that if science is enough then no critic can refute the men of science, and if the critic should say that science and reason are not enough, certainly then there is need of an 'instructor'". As for [Sayyidnā's] proposition that science is either enough or it is not enough (as is his belief), its purpose is to support his own view. What he regards as the truth is that *ta'līm* is essential over and above science, while the belief of his opponent is that *ta'līm* is inessential with science. If the latter be right, *ta'līm* is either permissive—science in that case being determined by reflection—or is not even permissive, and science alone is necessary. If it were not so, knowledge of God would not be possible at all.

(There are, therefore, these two divisions of thought and

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Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ did not succeed in refuting the second of the two by his argument.)[1]

The belief of the generality of mankind and of men of science is that the presence of science alone is insufficient. The employment of science in a particular aspect is something conditional; *ta'līm* and [divine] guidance, however, are definite. This applies to men who employ reasoning; but there are some persons who may have no need of it,[2] although if it be present it is certainly not a hindrance.

It is in line with this [form of argument] when Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ says of the prophet that he declared, "I was commanded to make onslaught on men until they say, 'There is no God but Allāh'"; which means that all men must utter the formula, "There is no God but Allāh."

Such is *ta'līm*. To sum up, it was with such feeble logic and worthless arguments that Sayyidnā tried to win men over.

[1] This is Rashīd al-Dīn's interjected comment.
[2] ? science. ? *ta'līm*.

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Some Problems in the Nasalization of Marathi[1]

By V. N. SARDESAI

Abbreviations

M.	Marāṭhī.
H.	Hindī.
S.	Sindhī.
Sgh.	Singhalese.
G.	Gujarātī.
B.	Bengālī.
Sk.	Sanskrit.
Pk. or Pkt.	Prākrit.
J. As.	Journal Asiatique.
A. Mg.	Ardha-Māgadhī.

Beames.—A comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India. London, 1872.

Bloch.—When referred to without special qualification refers to *La formation de la langue marathe*, Paris, 1920. His article, "La nasalité en Indo-aryen," is to be found on p. 61 ff. of the *Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*.

S. K. Chatterji.—*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926.

Pischel.—*Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*.

Joshi.—*Pr. Vy.* = *Prauḍhabodha Vyākaraṇa*, 7th Edition, Poona, 1925.

Rajawade.—*Jñ. Vy.* = *Śrī Jñāneśvarīṭīla Marāṭhī Bhāṣecē Vyākaraṇa*, Dhule, Śake, 1831.

Older or orthographic forms of M. are given in brackets.

THE nasalization of Indo-Āryan vowels results, generally speaking, from an original nasal consonant of Sanskrit. Thus H. *nāũ*, S. *nãũ*, M. *nāv* (*nãva*) "name" all go back to Sk. *nâman-* (see Bloch, § 67, and Beames, vol. i, § 65). Indo-Āryan nasalization arises not only out of Sk. intervocalic nasals but also from consonant groups of Sk. of which the initial was a nasal. Thus H. G. B. *dãt*, M. *dāt* (*dãta*) "tooth" come from Sk. *dánta-*. See Bloch, § 82, and Beames, vol. i, § 72.

[1] "Thesis approved for the Degree of Master of Arts in the University of London." It is now offered for publication with a view to invite comment, criticism or support especially from similar linguistic fields in India. I wish here to express my heavy debt of gratitude to my teacher, Professor R. L. Turner, under whose kind and sympathetic guidance I had the good fortune of studying for three years in the School of Oriental Studies, London.

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Bloch in J. As. 1912, i, p. 332 ff. points out an important dialectical differentiation in the development of the Sk. group nasal + plosive and shows how M. and G. differ from the North-Western group in not voicing the plosive following the nasal. Indo-Āryan nasalization also results from the final *-m* of Sk. e.g. neuter nouns of M. with the final anusvāra like *motī* (*motĩ*) "pearl" from Sk. *mauktikam*; M. *gurū* (*gurũ*) "cow, buffalo" from Sk. *gorupám*—similarly M. *pākhrū* (*pākharũ*) "bird", *vāghrū* (*vāgharũ*) "a tiger-like animal", etc. For this and generally for the nasalization of final long vowels of M. resulting from the contraction of two vowels, the second of which was followed by a nasal in Sk. see Bloch, § 66.

Nasalized vowels were not entirely unknown even in the earliest period of Sk. Both the anusvāra and the anunāsika are to be found in Vedic literature. The anusvāra occurs normally before consonants and is represented by a dot written above the line. The anunāsika occurs before vowels and is usually written with the sign ◌̐, called the *candrabindu-*, either above or immediately after the nasalized vowel. The exact nature of the anusvāra and the anunāsika is not quite clear. See Whitney, Sk. Gr., § 70–3. It is certainly a nasal sound and is distinct from the five class nasals. When final the anusvāra usually stands for *-m*, sometimes for *-n*. Its proper place, however, is before sibilants and *h* in the body of the word, e.g. *māṁsá-* "flesh"; *siṁhá-* "lion". See Macdonell, Vedic Gr., § 60, and Vedic Gr. St., § 10 f. Before plosives the nasal always had the form of a nasal consonant made in the same position as the following plosive, i.e. a corresponding class nasal, viz. *m* before labials, *n* before dentals, etc. For this reason the anusvāra or pure nasal could not occur before plosives.

"Anusvāra could not occur before stops and aspirates which had only corresponding nasals . . . before them in O.I.A.; anusvāra occurred before *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h* only." S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Language*, vol. i, p. 358.

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In Sk. itself the final *-m* was weak and did not possess its full articulation. From a very early period it was assimilated to the following consonant. Manuscripts and printed texts represent this assimilated *-m* by the anusvāra. But the reality and early occurrence of this assimilation is well brought out by the wrong analysis of the Pada Text in RV. iv, 11, 6, of *yán ni-pāsi* as *yát* instead of *yám* and other similar cases. See Macdonell, Vedic Gr., § 75.

Anusvāra and anunāsika were common enough in the final position; but medially they regularly occurred only under certain conditions, viz. before sibilants and *h*. Nasalization of vowels, therefore, was comparatively rare in early Sk. With the gradual development of the language, however, nasalization of vowels due to the influence of neighbouring nasal consonants became more and more common. It is quite a regular and important feature of Middle Indian. In Pāli and in Prākrit all final nasals have become anusvāras, i.e. they merely serve to nasalize the preceding vowel. This weakening of the final nasal was in conformity with the general development of Middle Indian. Thus, as Bloch points out in his article "La nasalité en indo-aryen": "La nasal final perd son articulation buccale comme les autres consonnes; mais la nasalité subsiste: p. *aggiṃ* de skr. *agnim*, *balavaṃ* de skr. *balavān*, etc." The final nasal being thus transformed into mere nasalization of the preceding vowel it could no longer be assimilated to the following consonant. It remained as a mere anusvāra. Thus nasalizations became more frequent in Middle Indian. Probably at first nasalized vowels became more common only in groups of words, but later nasalizations became apparent in the body of the word. Thus when an original consonant group of Sk., beginning with a nasal was simplified it gave rise to a nasalized vowel. In the body of the word before a plosive Sk. could only have a class nasal, e.g. *kamp-* not a nasalized vowel **kãp-*. But in some dialects of early Modern Indian Sk. *kamp-* becomes *kãp-* and thus has a nasalized vowel preceding a

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plosive, which was not possible in Sk. In the body of the word, therefore, the group nasalized vowel plus plosive is a new group and is not to be found in Sk. The creation of this group depended upon the assimilation of the Sk. nasal to the preceding vowel. This assimilation and compensatory lengthening is one of the features of Modern Indo-Āryan. Thus from Sk. *kamp-* we get in H. G. B. forms with *kãp-*, M. *kāpṇe* (*kãpaṇẽ*) " to tremble ".

The group nasalized vowel plus consonant has undergone a further change, at least in M. and probably research would show a similar tendency in some of the other Modern Indo-Āryan languages, as certainly in Sgh.[1] In M. a general tendency to denasalize vowels has become apparent with only a few significant exceptions. Older *ãt* (< *ant*) has become *āt-* e.g. Sk. *tántu-* > M. *tãta* > *tāt* " thread "; Sk. *dánta-* > M. *dãta* > *dāt* " tooth ", etc. But in front of voiced plosives the nasalized vowel had again developed a nasal consonant—or just possibly had always to some extent maintained it—before this process of denasalization set in. Therefore we find older *ãd* (< *and*) became **ãⁿd* > modern M. *ānd*: e.g. Sk. *bandh-* > M. *bãdhato* (or *baⁿdhato*) > Modern M. *bāndhto* " he binds "; Sk. *kanda-* > M. *kãdā* > Modern M. *kāndā* " bulb, root ", etc.

Nevertheless in both cases *ãt* (pronounced *āt*) and *ãd* (pronounced *ānd*) the anusvāra continues to be written. It therefore no longer denotes nasalization of the vowel (except in one special case, viz. the oblique plural, for which see below, p. 545), but only a full nasal consonant between the vowel and the plosive. The oblique plural forms a special case because there the anusvāra has a specific semantic value and is therefore retained in spite of general denasalization. Wherever the anusvāra has retained its value it always stands for the nasal corresponding to the following consonant and therefore when in the oblique plural it precedes a sibilant or *h* at the beginning of a termination or a postposition it has

[1] See W. Geiger, *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 17.

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its proper value—the value which it had in Sk. under similar circumstances.

Although in the case of words of the type *āt* (*ãt* < Sk. *ant*) the nasalization has been lost and the anusvāra, though still written, has no value, in some words containing a short vowel followed by an unvoiced plosive the anusvāra is pronounced as a full nasal consonant, e.g. *bhint* (भिंत), *pimpal* (पिंपल), etc. This pronunciation, which is probably of learned origin, is discussed below, p. 552.

The interpretation of the M. anusvāra has always presented some difficulty on account of these different values. Navalkar (M. Gr., § 37) distinguished four different values of the M. anusvāra and in this he has been followed by a large number of writers on M. grammar, both native and European, like Bhide, Devadhar, H. Wilberforce-Bell, Darby, etc.[1]

The two pronunciations described by Navalkar as *provincial*, e.g. *sanvrakṣhṇa* of संरक्षण, and *classical*, e.g. *saṁyoga* of संयोग, do not, however, require much attention. They occur only in tatsama words or in learned borrowings from Sk. The confusion of the M. anusvāra, therefore, really depends upon its other two values, which only are to be found in the regular tadbhava words of M. These two pronunciations are called *organic* and *nāsikya* by Navalkar: organic, when the anusvāra is to be pronounced as a nasal consonant corresponding in position to the following plosive; *nāsikya*, when it merely nasalizes the vowel over which its sign, viz. the dot, is written. These two values are quite distinct and are not freely interchangeable. Thus आंकडा "number" and आंबा "mango" must be pronounced as *ãkaḍā* (> Modern M. *ākḍā*) and *ãmbā* (probably through older *ãmbā* < *ãbā* < Sk. *āmrá-*) with the nāsikya and organic pronunciation respectively and not vice versa.

[1] G. H. Bhide, *Marathi English Primer*, Part i, Bombay, 1912, pp. 5–6. B. V. Devadhar, *Resumé of Marathi Grammar*, Poona, 1926, p. 4. H. Wilberforce-Bell, *A Grammatical Treatise of the Marathi Language*, pp. 8–9. Darby, *A Primer of the Marathi Language*, § 21, pp. 17–18. See also *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii, p. 22.

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The organic pronunciation of the anusvāra is practically the same in M. as in Sk. M. words, therefore, with an organic anusvāra could either be directly borrowed, from Sk., or could be descended from Sk., i.e. they may be tatsama or they may be tadbhava. But inasmuch as Sk. had no nāsikya anusvāras in the body of a word, all M. words containing this sound and being of Sanskritic origin must be genuine tadbhavas. Cf. Navalkar, M. Gr., § 38 : 3. (*a*), "In all pure Maráṭhí words, the Anusvára assumes the násikya sound." See also Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, Ch. 1 (15).

It is this nāsikya anusvāra which as indicated above (p. 540) has been lost in M. at a subsequent period. Probably it was first lost on the Deśa or in what is called the Deśasthī Bhāṣā or dialect spoken by the Deśastha Brahmins. But it is extremely difficult to date the loss. In the first place owing to the enormous importance of Sk. M. grammar was completely neglected up to the beginning of the last century. Further the incentive to imitate Sanskritic forms in preference to tadbhava words must have exercised a strong influence and tempted those who wished to display their knowledge of Sk. to substitute the organic value of the anusvāra for the nāsikya value proper to the tadbhava form. For the organic was the only anusvāra in their Sk. vocabulary and they looked down upon the nāsikya anusvāra which was only *prākṛta* and, not being found in Sk., unfit to be used by a "learned" Sanskritist. To add to this, the early grammarians of M. were strongly influenced by the Kokṇasthī dialect in which nasalization was particularly conspicuous.[1]

For a very long time two distinct dialects of M. have been recognized. The Deśasthī and the Kokṇasthī Bhāsā, the former leaning towards denasalization, the latter towards nasalization. Thus on the Deśa invented stories are current about the excessive nasalization of the Kokṇasthas, e.g. for तुपांत बुचकळून खा "eat it after dipping it in ghee",

[1] For this and generally on unpronounced nasals in M., see G. P. Pavashe, *Marāthī Lekhanātīla Ajāgalānce Uccāṭaṇa.*

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a Kokṇastha is said to say, *tumpā̃nt bunc̓kḷūn khā̃*. A Deśastha, on the other hand, tends to drop out even legitimate—nāsikya only—nasalization. Thus for orthographic *tupā̃ta* he would say *tupāt*. Similarly a Deśastha would say *kokaṇ* where the Kokṇastha says *kōkaṇ*.

The Peshavas, who played such a leading part in Maratha history, were themselves Kokṇasthas who migrated to Poona from their home in the Kokaṇa.[1] Poona properly belongs to the Deśa and therefore geographically falls under the denasalizing area. But here the Kokṇasthī dialect of the Peshavas must have exercised a strong influence. The Court and official language must have possessed a large number of nasalizations which were so prominent in the Kokṇasthī dialect spoken by the Peshavas and a number of other important persons coming from the Kokaṇa.

This influence of the nasalizing Kokṇasthī dialect may probably have been helped by the conservatism of the M. orthography. Though nasalizations may be lost in pronunciation they do not at once cease to be written. Orthography is everywhere conservative and reluctant to recognize a recent phonetic change. To-day denasalization has repeated itself or rather has invaded the learned pronunciation in Poona and the change is about to be recognized. The existence of unpronounced anusvāras in M. was recognized by a Conference which met nearly thirty years ago. But its recommendations for the abolition of these superfluous anusvāras were not carried out.[2] And even now, when Mr. N. C. Kelkar introduced a new method, viz. the dropping out of the unpronounced (*anuccārita*) anusvāras, in his *Ṭiḷaka-caritra*, vols. ii and iii, published last year, his action was described by conservative adverse criticism as "revolutionary". See K. P. Kulkarni,

[1] See Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, vol. ii, p. 145, and vol. iii, last chapter, which is entitled "The End of the Chitpavana Epic". Citpāvan is a term applied to the Kokṇastha brahmins.

[2] See *Marathi Śālāpatraka* for October, 1904, and G. P. Pavashe referred to above, p. 542.

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"Marāṭhīcẽ Śuddhalekhana," in *Lokasiksana*, vol. i, no. 6, June, 1928.

As Mr. Pavashe points out, in his article mentioned above, the predominance of the Kokṇasthī dialect continued in the last century even after the Peshavas lost their power and the British came in. It was quite natural for the then Government to accept the pronunciation of the leading community, viz. the Kokṇasthas as representative of standard M. Not only had the Kokṇasthas played a leading part in the pre-British period but even during the last century they continued to be prominent in politics, social reform and literature. The importance of the Kokṇasthī dialect, with its official recognition by the Government, thus further helped the retention of the anusvāra in writing. From Dadoba Pandurang, whose epoch-making M. grammar appeared in 1824, onwards M. grammarians were strongly influenced by the Kokṇasthī dialect. Hence we find laid down in all M. grammars rules for the writing of the anusvāra whether pronounced or not. This gave rise to a difference between the M. as spoken at home and as learnt at school. Grammatical textbooks disregarded the actual pronunciation and blindly followed the tradition of the orthographic anusvāra. From this divergence between the actual and the grammatical pronunciation arises the anusvāra which is merely perceived by the mind and not actually heard by the ear. (Cf. *kevaḷ manās, kānās navhe, vāṭnārā anunāsik svar*, G. K. Modak in the *Vividhajñāna-vistāra* for October, 1925, vol. lvi, no. 10. See also the classification of anusvāras that are pronounced and those that are not pronounced in *Devadhar, Resumé* of M. Gr., pp. 4–5.) The existence of the anusvāra is felt in such cases presumably because it is associated with a grammatical or orthographic nasal in the form of the anusvāra.

In spite of the conditions favouring the retention of the anusvāra, the denasalizing tendency of the Deśa has, as suggested above, become apparent in the standard pronunciation of Poona and Mr. Kelkar's books are only attempts at

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post facto recognition of this change. As an individual, though important, attempt at spelling reform it has met with opposition. But though the adoption of the new method is a controversial matter it is recognized practically on all sides that there are "some" unpronounced anusvāras in Modern Marāṭhī. See N. C. Kelkar, "Ṭiḷakcaritrātīl Śuddhalekhan," in *Maharastra*, Nagpur, 18th March, 1928.

Though learned recognition was accorded to denasalization in Mr. Kelkar's books published only last year, this would not entitle us to assume that the change is very recent. The recommendations of the Conference referred to above (p. 543) put it at least thirty years back. But that is not all. Unpronounced nasals were apparently known at a much earlier date, but they were suppressed as being corrupt by M. grammarians who refused to recognize them. Already Navalkar, who wrote his grammar more than fifty years ago (2nd edition 1880), notes that the nāsikya anusvāra was generally omitted in the Dakhan, § 37: "The Násikya is usually omitted in the Dakhan, and when it is considered necessary to pronounce it distinctly, chiefly in honorific forms, it is changed, even by the higher classes, to the dental न; त्यांला *tyăĺá* to them, erroneously त्यानला *tyá-n-lá*." The instance given here by Navalkar is important because it shows how when an anusvāra is kept, as in the present instance, on account of its semantic value, it is given the value of a full nasal consonant—organic if possible or *n* which is the commonest nasal, as in *tyā-n-lā* which to-day has three optional forms, viz. (1) correctly *tyāĺā*, commonly (2) *tyānā* or sometimes (3) *tyānnā* (see p. 558 below). Navalkar looks down upon denasalization as his words "even by the higher classes" indicate. Now, however, this very denasalization is about to receive learned recognition in M.

But denasalization, in reality, took place even much earlier than Navalkar's time. In the article by G. K. Modak, referred to above, we see that even in Moropant's (died A.D. 1794) manuscripts there is considerable hesitation in writing this

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nāsikya anusvāra. He does not omit any organic anusvāra and whenever he omits an anusvāra it is invariably the faint nāsikya anusvāra which to-day is felt but not heard. May we not infer from this that the weakening or loss of the nāsikya anusvāra dates back at least from the end of the eighteenth century ?

We know that nasalization was lost at an early period, particularly when associated with a high vowel like *i*. Already in the Middle Indian period this loss is noticeable, e.g. Sk. *viṁśatí* > A.Mg. *vīsā*, Sk. *triṁśát-* > A.Mg. *tīsā* ; Sk. *siṁhá* > Pkt. *sīha*, etc. See Pischel, § 76. If we accept Pischel's derivation of M., A.Mg., Ś., *dāḍhā* from Sk. *daṁṣṭrā-* we can have an instance in which even without the presence of a high vowel nasalization has been lost in Middle Indian ; but the equation *ṣṭr* > *ḍh* renders this etymology doubtful. It is to be noted that what is lost is not a full nasal consonant but, as in M., mere nasalization of a vowel. This denasalization has descended into Modern Indo-Aryan. See Bloch, § 71. For the loss of Old Indo-Aryan anusvāra following the high vowel *i* in Modern Indo-Aryan generally and particularly for Bengali instances see S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Language*, vol. i, § 177. The physiological reason for the early loss of nasalization in association with the high vowel *i* probably is, as suggested by Bloch, the unconscious reciprocal movement of the uvula to correspond to the position of the tongue. See J. Bloch, *La nasalité en indo-aryen*. Such loss was probably helped, at least in the beginning, by the fact that the nasal corresponding to the continuants, the proper anusvāra, e.g. corresponding to *ś* or *h* in words like Sk. *viṁśati-* or *siṁhá-*, could not be heard as distinctly as a class nasal before a corresponding plosive and therefore tended to be dropped out.

Besides numerals like M. *vīs* " twenty ", *tīs* " thirty ", etc., where the nasalization was lost after a high vowel, in the M. words *gosāvī* " an ascetic owning a cow " and *sāī* also a kind of *ascetic* from Sk. *go-svāmin-* and *svāmin-*, we probably

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have instances of the early loss of nasalization *before* a high vowel. The general rule of the development of Sk. intervocalic *-m-* in M. is that it opens out into *-v-* at the same time imparting its nasality to the preceding vowel, e.g. Sk. *grâma-* > M. *gāv* (*gã̄va*). See Bloch, § 137. From Sk. *go-svāmin-*, therefore, we expect M. **go-sã̄vī* and from Sk. *svāmin-* > M. **sã̄vī* > **sã̄ī* > *sāī* with subsequent loss of nasalization. In *sāī* the *-v-* is lost perhaps because it is a word of politeness frequently used.

The standard M. of Poona, though based upon a denasalizing dialect and falling within the denasalizing area, has been, as indicated above (p. 540), strongly influenced by the nasalizing dialect spoken by the Kokṇasthas. This has created a hopeless confusion as to the value of the anusvāra. Words in which the anusvāra may be legitimate only as indicating nasalization seem to have come to be fixed in the language with the organic value of the anusvāra. Such is probably the explanation of the fact that from Sk. *mārjāra-* the form of the word in the Kokaṇa has mere nasalization, viz. *mā̃jar* " cat " while on the Deśa it has a class nasal, viz. *mānǰar*. The class nasal, here, is dental *n* inasmuch as *ǰ* is a dental affricate. The nasal consonant is *mānǰar* cannot be explained merely as due to the initial nasal for this is not the general rule in M. Thus M. *mā̃j(h)* " middle " from Sk. *madhya-* or *māthā* " head " from Sk. *mastaka-* or *mā̃jṇe* " to be rude, impudent " from Sk. *mādyati* has no spontaneous nasal in spite of the initial *m-*. These are all instances from the standard dialect. It is quite likely that in a dialect in which nasalizations are prominent, as in Kokṇasthī, the initial nasal consonant may nasalize the following vowel. Even on the Deśa we find instances of such nasalization, in the vulgar speech, where it further develops into a nasal consonant before a voiced plosive. This is, of course, not recognized in the standard speech or in the literary language. Thus for M. *-madhe* " in, within " (= Sk. *madhye*) an uneducated person is heard saying *-mandi*. Similarly *mañg* for standard *mag* " after-

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wards". Here we are clearly not dealing with the retention of a Sk. nasal before a voiced plosive. This is apparently a case in which spontaneous nasalization first appeared owing to the presence of an adjoining nasal consonant and was later developed into a full nasal consonant. A similar reasoning may be helpful in explaining the spontaneous nasal consonant in H. *naṅgā* as opposed to M. *nāgvā* "naked" from Sk. *nagna-* or H. *māṅgnā* as opposed to M. *māgṇe* "to ask for" from Sk. *mārgayati*.

Once the spontaneous nasalization appears the twofold value of the anusvāra helps the confusion between mere nasalization and the insertion of a nasal consonant. If the nasalization of, say, *mãjar* is to be emphasized and the change of denasalization has only left class nasals, the speaker will substitute the organic value of the anusvāra for the nāsikya one, and say *mānjar*. Thus *mānjar* would be a form of affectedly learned origin. Words borrowed from a nasalizing dialect into one which had lost nasalized vowels and possessed only nasal consonants may tend to be borrowed with the nasal consonant. Moreover such borrowings would be looked upon with greater favour, not only on account of the pre-eminence of the speakers of the nasalizing Kokṇasthī dialect, but also because the full nasal would give the word a more learned or Sanskritic appearance. Some such reasoning will explain at least some of the spontaneous nasals in M.

The nasalization of the vowel with the nāsikya anusvāra was at some period or other lost; but it certainly was present at one time, for it has come down to us orthographically and there is no reason for assuming it to be unreal from the beginning. Moreover without the existence of some sort of nasalization it would be hard to explain the presence of a nasal consonant which has apparently arisen out of it before voiced plosives. If the group nasal plus plosive had been simplified without leaving any trace of nasality we might have expected forms like **āg.* for M. *āṅg* "body" from Sk. *áṅga-* just as we get M. *āt* (*ãta*) "in, within" from Sk. *antár*. The *n* after

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the long vowel *ā* which has undergone compensatory lengthening, cannot be explained without the existence of some sort of nasalization before the voiced plosive *g* in the actual form that we get in M., viz. *āṅg*.

The development of a homo-organic nasal consonant from a nasalized vowel followed by a voiced plosive is quite natural. It is only a matter of inaccurate timing or lack of synchronization. If the nasal passage, opened for the nasalization of the vowel, is left open for slightly too long a period and the organs of speech are already brought into position for making the following voiced plosive, inevitably an on-glide is heard. This on-glide is no other than the insertion of the homo-organic nasal consonant. Such an on-glide is less likely before an unvoiced than before a voiced consonant inasmuch as in the former case the voice is not carried right through and the loosening of the vocal chords, in anticipation of the unvoiced consonant, makes it more likely that the nasal passage be closed before rather than after its due time. Lack of synchronization is a recognized factor in phonetic change. We have a number of instances in which owing to inaccurate timing a homo-organic voiced plosive develops after a nasal consonant, e.g. Sk. *vānara-* > H. *bandar*, M. *vāndar* " monkey " ; Sk. *carmakāra- cammaāra-* > M. *cāmb(h)ār*, etc. See P. D. Gune, *Introduction to Comparative Philology*, Poona, 1918, p. 51.

The importance of Sk. and of the nasalizing dialect may also serve to explain the formation of M. doublets like *tant, tāt* (*tãta*) " thread " from Sk. *tántu-* or *kaṇṭā, kāṭā* (*kãṭā*) " thorn " from Sk. *káṇṭaka-*. Orthography has led Bloch to accept both these forms as regular developments in M. See Bloch, § 68.

It seems, however, that the doublets with the short vowel plus the nasal consonant are learned and are practically confined to learned or affectedly learned use. They have escaped, apparently without any cause, the general change of compensatory lengthening. It is rather difficult to accept the theory that the change of compensatory lengthening

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occurs only optionally in the case of these words, without any specific reason. If at all they belong to the language, they must have been incorporated into it after the change of compensatory lengthening had been completely worked out and was no longer operative. Moreover the fact is significant that the popular forms that are much more commonly used, from amongst these doublets, are those which have the long vowel. It seems reasonable, therefore, to accept only the forms with the long vowel and orthographic anusvāra as genuine tadbhavas and to look upon the doublets with the short vowel and nasal consonant as tatsamas or semi-tatsamas.

Bloch refers to these doublets only in the group nasal + unvoiced plosive. But it seems that such doublets are equally legitimate when the following consonant is a voiced plosive. Thus side by side with *ant*, *āt*, (*ãt*) we can also have doublets like *aṅg*, *āṅg* " body ", *bhaṅg* " breaking ", *bhāṅg* " parting of the hair ", etc. The doublets in the case of words having the voiced plosive are not as prominent as in the case of those that have the unvoiced plosive since the difference between the two doublets is more prominent in the latter than in the former. The temptation to undo the effects of compensatory length is much more feeble before voiced consonants than before unvoiced ones, to a person desirous of either displaying his knowledge of Sk. or to one who is anxious to emphasize nasalizations ; for in

$$\text{Sk. } and\text{-} > \text{M. } \tilde{a}d \text{ or } \bar{a}^{n}d > \bar{a}nd$$

the original Sk. and the tadbhava M. are very much alike, differing only in the length of the vowel ; but in

$$\text{Sk. } ant > \text{M. } \tilde{a}t > \bar{a}t$$

the original Sk. and the M. tadbhava differ not only in the length of the vowel but also in possessing or not possessing a nasal consonant. The difference between the lengths of the vowel is not as noticeable as the presence or absence of the nasal consonant. The development of the homo-organic

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nasal before voiced plosives may very likely have been helped by the fact that it made the original Sk. word closely resemble the M. word derived from it. When, however, an attempt at such resemblance was made in the case of words having the unvoiced plosive, the speaker looking down upon denasalization was not merely satisfied with introducing the nasal consonant, but also tried to do away with the compensatory lengthening, thus giving rise to tatsama or semi-tatsama doublets. In front of voiced plosives compensatory length would be most prominent in initial syllables especially if the word begins with a vowel. In this case the temptation to undo the effects of compensatory length seems to be visible in the optional length of the initial *a* or *ā* of M., where the learned preference is exercised in favour of the short *a*. Thus we have both *aṅgaṇ* and *āṅgaṇ* " courtyard " where the latter would be the regular form and the former a learned doublet made to resemble the original Sk. word, *aṅgana-*. In the variation M. *ambā, āmbā* " mango " we have an instance of false analogy as the original Sk. word, *āmrá* has a long initial and not a short one as in *aṅgana-*.

The variation in M., therefore, is :—

(1) Long vowel nasalized + plosive, later becoming
(*a*) long vowel + nasal consonant + voiced plosive and
(*b*) long vowel denasalized + unvoiced plosive ;

(2) short vowel + nasal consonant + plosive, voiced or unvoiced.

Of these two the first is regular in the development of M. while the second is of learned origin. Illustrations of the first variation as affected by the subsequent change of denasalization will be found below, p. 554.

A. Lloyd James and S. G. Kanhere seem to be puzzled by the fact that orthographic देहांत is pronounced in two different ways and means two different things :—

" What decides which value is to be given to the dot is not clear, e.g. देहांत is pronounced *dehãt* = in the body, whereas

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देहांत is pronounced *dehãntə* = end of body, death."—*School of Oriental Studies Bulletin*, vol. iv, pt. iv.

The explanation of this twofold pronunciation is to be found in the fact that whereas in one the second part is a tadbhava postposition *-āt* (> *-āt*, from Sk. *antár*) "in, within", in the other the second part is a tatsama, Sk. *anta* "end". देहांत "in the body" is pronounced to-day without nasalization as *dehāt*.

The learned creation of doublets with a short vowel plus nasal consonant was probably helped by the equivocal value of the M. anusvāra. These doublets seem to have had a very wide extension. They seem to be at the bottom of certain spontaneous nasals of M. The influence of the Kokṇasthī dialect has already been referred to above and an explanation of the spontaneous nasal in M. *mānjar* "cat" suggested. See p. 548. The nasal in this word has no counterpart in its Sk. original. Similarly from Sk. words not containing any nasal we have few other words in M. which seem to insert a spontaneous nasal consonant, e.g. Sk. *bhitti-* > M. *bhint* "wall"; Sk. *pippala-* > M. *pimpaḷ* "the peepal-tree"; Sk. *śikya-* > M. *śiṅke* "cord for hanging objects"; Sk. *vṛścika-* > M. *vinčū* "scorpion"; Sk. *śipra-* > M. *śimp* "mother-of-pearl"; Sk. *śilpin-* > M. *śimpī* "tailor"; Sk. *ucca-* > M. *unč* "tall, high"; Sk. *uṣṭra-* > M. *uṇṭ* "a camel"; Sk. *kūrca-* > M. *kunčā* "brush"; Sk. *kuṭṭinī-* > M. *kuṇṭaṇ*, *kuṇṭīṇ* "go-between"; Sk. *yudhyate* > M. *ǰunǰhṇe* beside vulgar *juǰhṇe* "to fight"; Sk. *ācamana-* > *ančavṇe* "to wash the hands after a meal"; Sk. *vijñapti-* > M. *vinanti*,[1] "request"; Sk. *pakṣá-* > M. *paṅkh* "wing, feather".

For the spontaneous nasal consonant in the type M. *bhint*, *pimpaḷ*, etc., may we not have an explanation somewhat similar to that offered for the nasal in M. *mānjar*? The cases are not exactly identical because in *bhint*, *pimpaḷ*, etc., there is no nasal consonant, preceding the spontaneous nasal

[1] Bloch, § 70, calls this word a "curieux tatsama".

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consonant, which may nasalize the vowel and later develop a class nasal. All the same for the type *bhint, pimpaḷ,* we also have doublets—but doublets that are looked down upon as vulgar and not recognized in the standard M. Forms like *bhīt* (*bhitāḍ*), *pīpaḷ* (*pipaḷ*) are also heard in the speech of the uneducated lower classes. These forms are probably genuine tadbhavas while the doublets with the short vowel and nasal consonant are most probably of learned origin. The forms in the vulgar speech are not influenced by orthography and are correctly maintained without any nasal. Where the M. anusvāra goes back to a Sk. nasal we have forms containing both the short and the long vowel with the anusvāra. But in the type *bhint, pimpaḷ,* there never was even a nāsikya anusvāra on the long vowels in *bhīt, pīpaḷ,* and therefore when the forms with the short vowel and anusvāra were recognized, the anusvāra stood for a nasal consonant and the new forms completely ousted *bhīt, pīpaḷ,* etc., which have been fortunately preserved to us in the vulgar speech of to-day.

A peculiar, though not very convincing, explanation of the spontaneous nasal consonant in M. *nirānjan* "an article used in worship", may be noted here. This is offered by R. B. Joshi in his *M. Bhāṣecī Ghaṭanā,* § 195. The reason is, according to him, *saukarya-pakṣapāta,* or selection in favour of the easier. He says that the original and proper word is *nīrājana.* It has been erroneously confounded with *nirañjana-,* a very common epithet of Brahman, and for the sake of ease changed to *nirānjan*! This explanation is mentioned here because in what follows Joshi furnishes an indirect corroboration of the explanation suggested above for the nasal consonant in M. *mānjar.* He says, that the Kokṇī people pronounce the word with the anusvāra and later the anusvāra so commonly known in the Kokaṇa came to be used on *rā* in the original word *nīrājana* for the sake of ease in pronunciation, "*mūḷcā śabda nīrājan yātīl 'rā'var uccārāce soyī sāṭhī kokṇātlā phār paricit jo anusvār to deṇyācī cāl paḍlī . . .*"

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Below are given some words illustrating the development or retention of the nasal consonant before voiced plosives and its loss elsewhere.

(1) Sk. nasal + voiced plosive > M. nasal + voiced plosive :

Sk.	*Orthographic M.*	*M. pronunciation.*	*Meaning.*
aṅgana-	*ãṁgaṇa*	*ãṅgaṇ*	courtyard.
áṅga-	*ãṁga*	*ãṅg*	body
	ãṁghoḷa	*ãṅghoḷ*	bathing.
angúṣṭha-	*ãṁgaṭhā*	*ãṅgṭhā*	thumb.
angúli-	*ãṁguḷa*	*ãṅguḷ-ī*	finger.
aṇḍa-	*ãṁḍa-ē*	*ãṇḍ-e*	egg, testicle.
āmla-	*āṁba*	*āmb*	bitter extract from gram nut.
āmrá-	*āṁbā*	*āṁbā*	mango.
udumbára-	*uṁbara*	*umbar*	glomerous fig-tree.
amaṅgala-	*oṁgaḷa*	*oṅgaḷ*	dirty, impure.
añjali-	*oṁjaḷ*	*onjaḷ*	handful.
ava + lamb-	*oḷaṁbaṇē*	*oḷambṇe*	to depend upon.
kaṅgu-	*kāṁga*	*kāṅg*	a kind of berry.
kand-	*kāṁdā*	*kāndā*	onion.
kambalá-	*kāṁbaḷē*	*kāmbḷe*	blanket.
kumbhakāra-	*kuṁbhāra*	*kumbhār*	potter.
khaṇḍa-	*khāṁḍa*	*khāṇḍ*	a small piece.
skandhá-	*khāṁdā*	*khāndā*	shoulder.
skambhá-	*khāṁba*	*khāmb*	post, pillar.
gañjā-	*gāṁjā*	*gānjā*	an intoxicating herb.
candrá-	*cāṁda*	*ćānd*	moon.
jambŭ-, jambula-	*jāṁba, jāṁbhaḷa*	*jāmb, jāmbhaḷ*	particular kinds of fruit.
jáṅghā-	*jāṁgha*	*jāṅgh*	upper thigh joint.
stambha-	*ṭhomba*	*ṭhomb*	dullard.
tāmrá-	*tāṁbē*	*tāmbe*	copper.
tuṇḍa-	*toṁḍa*	*toṇḍ*	mouth, face.
stambh-	*thāṁbaṇē*	*thāmbṇe*	to stop.
paṅgu-	*pāṁgā, pāṁgaḷā*	*pāṅgā, pāṅgḷā*	lame.
pañjara-	*pāṁjara- (poḷa)*	*pānjar- (poḷ)*	cage, fold.
paṇḍitá-	*pāṁḍyā*	*pāṇḍyā*	Benaras Brahmin.
pāṇḍura-	*pāṁḍharā*	*pāṇḍhrā*	white.
piṇḍa-	*peṁḍa*	*peṇḍ*	a kind of cake for cattle.
	peṁḍhī	*peṇḍhī*	a bundle (of hay)
bandh-	*bāṁdhaṇē*	*bāndhṇe*	to tie.
bindú-	*biṁdalī*	*bindlī*	a particular ornament.
	buṁdī	*bundī*	a kind of sweet.

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Sk.	*Orthographic M.*	*M. pronunciation.*	*Meaning.*
bhaṅgá-	*bhāṁga*	*bhāṅg*	parting of the hair.
bhañjanikā-	*bhāṁjaṇī*	*bhāṅjaṇī*	division after a certain mode.
bhāṇḍa-	*bhāṁḍē*	*bhāṇḍe*	pot.
bhāṇḍāgāra-	*bhāṁḍāra*	*bhāṇḍār*	store.
maṇḍana-	*māṁḍaṇē* *māṁḍaṇī*	*māṇḍṇe*, *māṇḍṇī*	to arrange, arrangement.
mātaṅga-	*māṁga*	*māṅg*	name of a caste.
maṇḍapa-	*māṁḍava*	*māṇḍav*	festive tent.
meṇḍhra-	*meṁdhā*	*meṇḍhā*	goat.
raṇḍā-	*rāṁḍa*	*rāṇḍ*	a prostitute.
rāndhayati	*rāṁdhaṇē*	*rāndhṇe*	to cook.
lamba-	*lāṁba*	*lāmb*	long, distant.
lohá + khaṇḍa-	*lokhaṁḍa*	*lokhaṇḍ*	iron.
lambate	*loṁbaṇē*	*lombṇe*	to be suspended, to hang from.
vandhyā-	*vāṁjha*	*vāṅjh*	barren (woman).
saṅgata-	*saṁgē*	*saṅge*	with.
sandhyā-	*sāṁja*	*sānj*	evening.
sandhí-	*sāṁdhā*	*sāndhā*	joint.
śámbara-	*sāṁbara*	*sāmbar*	deer-like animal.
śṛṅga-	*śiṁga*	*śiṅg*	horn.
śṛṅgāṭaka-	*śiṁgāḍā-*	*śiṅgāḍā*	water-chestnut.
śikhaṇḍá-	*śeṁḍā*	*śeṇḍā*	top.
sindūra-	*śeṁdūra*	*śendūr*	red-lead.
śuṇḍā-	*soṁḍa*	*soṇḍ*	trunk of an elephant.
hambhā-	*haṁbaraṇē*	*hambarṇe*	lowing (of cows).
hiṅgu-	*hiṁga*	*hīng*	assafœtida.

Loss of Sk. nasal

(2) before unvoiced plosives :—

Sk.	*Orthographic M.*	*M. pronunciation.*	*Meaning.*
aṅká-	*āṁkaḍā*	*ākḍā*	number.
antár	*-āṁta, āṃta*	*-āt, āt*	in, within.
antra-	*āṁtaḍē*	*ātḍe*	bowel.
kaṅkaṇa-	*kāṁkaṇa*	*kākaṇ*	bangle.
káṇṭaka-	*kāṁṭa*	*kāṭā*	thorn.
kaṇṭhá-	*kāṁṭha*	*kāṭh*	edge, bank of a river.
kamp-	*kāṁpaṇē*	*kāpṇe*	to tremble.
granthí-	*gāṁṭha*	*gāṭh*	knot, meeting.
ghaṇṭā-	*ghāṁṭa*	*ghāṭ*	bell.
campaka-	*cāṁp(h)a*	*cāp(h)a*	a kind of tree with white or yellow flowers.
cañcu-	*coṁca, ṭoṁca*	*ćoć, ṭoć*	beak.
tántu-	*tāṁta*	*tāt*	string, fibre.

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Sk.	*Orthographic M.*	*M. pronunciation.*	*Meaning.*
dánta-	*dāṁta*	*dāt*	tooth.
páñcan-	*pāṁca*	*pāċ*	five.
romantha-	*ravaṁtha*	*ravat(h)*	rumination.
lañcā-	*lāṁca*	*lāċ*	bribe.
vañcayati	*vāṁcaṇē*	*vāċṇe*	to escape.
vaṇṭ-	*vāṁṭaṇē*	*vāṭṇe*	to distribute.
śr̥ṅkhalā-	*sāṁkhaḷī*	*sākhḷī*	chain.
sam + caya-	*sāṁcaṇē*	*sāċṇe*	to accumulate.
sam + patati	*sāṁpaḍaṇē*	*sāpaḍṇe*	to be found.

(3) before other consonants :—

Sk.	*Orthographic M.*	*M. pronunciation.*	*Meaning.*
kāṃsya-	*kāṁsē*	*kāse*	bell metal.
kāṃsyakāra-	*kāṁsāra, kāsāra*	*kāsār*	a dealer in bangles or in metals.
māṃsá-	*māṁsa, māsa*	*mās*	flesh.
vaṃśá- (*-ka-*)	*vāṁsā, vāsā*	*vāsā*	bamboo, rafter.

Where the anusvāra goes back to Sk. intervocalic *-m-* it is not pronounced in M. :—

Sk.	*Orthographic M.*	*M. pronunciation.*	*Meaning.*
amāvāsyā-	*aṁvasa*	*avas*	new moon.
āmá-	*āṁva*	*āv*	dysentery.
avamala-	*oṁvaḷā, ovaḷā*	*ovḷā*	impure for religious purposes.
kumārá-	*kuṁvara*	*kuvar*	young boy.
godhūma-	*gahū̃*	*gahū*	wheat.
grāma-	*gāṁva*	*gāv*	town, village.
jā̃mātr̥-	*jāṁvaī*	*jāvaī*	son-in-law.
nā́man-	*nāṁva*	*nāv*	name.
bhramara-	*bhoṁvarā*	*bhovrā*	whirlpool.
lóman-	*laṁva*	*lav*	short hair on the body.
vyāmá-	*vāṁva*	*vāv*	distance between one's stretched hands ; room.
śyāmala-	*sāṁvaḷā*	*sāvḷā*	swarthy, dark.
himá-	*hĭ̃ṁva*	*hĭv*	cold, malaria.

In the following words even the orthography does not show the anusvāra even as optional :—

Sk. *paryaṅka-* > M. *pālkhī* " palanquin ".
Sk. *manca-* > M. *māċā-ī* " bedstead or cot ".

There is a large number of words in M. which have a

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spontaneous anusvāra which is not pronounced, at least to-day. This anusvāra seems to be merely orthographic and of learned origin. It is doubtful how far, if at all, this anusvāra possessed any real value on the Deśa at least in the popular speech. Some instances are given below.

It is noteworthy that a few of these words are also, at times, written without the anusvāra.

Sk.	*Orthographic M.*	*M. pronunciation.*	*Meaning.*
apavāraka-	*oṁvarā, ovarī*	*ovrī*	a room in a temple.
upavāsa-	*oṁvasā, vasā*	*ovsā, vasā*	a religious vow.
yāvat	*jō*	*jo (paryant)*	uptil
yugala-	*juṁvaḷa*	*juvaḷa*	twin.
dhāvati	*dhāṁvaṇē*	*dhāvṇe*	to run.
pravāda-	*paṁvāḍā, pavāḍā*	*pavāḍā*	a heroic recital.
	poṁvāḍā, povāḍā	*povāḍā*	
bhrū-	*bhuṁvaī*	*bhuvaī*	eyebrow.
	bhaṁvaī	*bhavaī*	
ákṣa-	*āṁsa, āsa*	*ās*	axle.
ákṣa-	*āṁkha*	*ākh*	temples of the head.
arci-	*āṁca*	*āć*	heat.
áśru-	*āṁsu, āsu*	*āsu, āsave*, pl.	tear, tears.
ikṣú-	*ūṁsa, ūsa*	*ūs*	sugarcane.
yūkā-	*ū̃, ū*	*ū*	louse.
uccaya-	*oṁca*	*oćā*	a sort of pocket in a lady's saree.
karkaṭikā	*kāṁkaḍī, kākaḍī*	*kākḍī*	cucumber.
kákṣa-	*kāṁkha, kākha*	*kākh, khāk*	armpit.
kaccha-	*kāṁcyā, kācyā*	*kācyā*	a particular way of tying the dhoti.
kṛrtana-	*kāṁtaṇē, kātaṇe*	*kātṇe*	to spin.
kr̥tti-	*kāṁta*	*kāt*	snake skin.
kakṣā-	*kāṁsa, kāsa*	*kās*	waist, udder.
káśyápa- / *kacchapa-*	*kāṁsava, kāsava*	*kāsav*	tortoise.
karkaṭaka-	*kheṁkaḍā, khekaḍā*	*khekḍā*	crab.
guccha-	*ghoṁsa, ghosa*	*ghos*	bunch.
carcarīti, cancala-	*cāṁcaraṇē, cācaraṇē*	*ćāćarṇe*	waver, hesitate.
tarakṣa-	*taraṁsa, tarasa*	*taras*	hyena.
pakṣá-	*pāṁkhē, pākhē*	*pākha*	side of a roof.
páśa-	*phāṁsā, phāsā*	*phāsā*	noose, snare.
vatsa-rūpa-	*vāsarū̃, vāṁsarū̃*	*vāsrū*	calf.
satyá-	*sācē, sāṁcā*	*sāćā*	true.

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The lines on which denasalization has been worked out in Modern M. have already been indicated above. Except in front of voiced plosives the M. anusvāra has lost its phonetic value in all genuine tadbhava words. Once nasalization had disappeared and thus the nāsikya value of the M. anusvāra had ceased to exist, wherever the anusvāra continued to possess any value for some reason or other, it stood for a nasal consonant before plosives. Before continuants in such cases, on account of the faintness of their homo-organic nasal, the commonest nasal consonant, viz. dental *n*, is generally substituted for the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Instances of this are to be found when different postpositions are attached to the oblique plural, for the anusvāra of the oblique plural, on account of its semantic value, is still maintained, e.g. देवांचा *devāṅcā* "of the gods"; देवांशी *devāṅśī* side by side with *devāśī* "with the gods". The anusvāra here serves to distinguish the plural from the singular forms like *devācā* "of the god"; *devāśī* "with the god". The anusvāra of the oblique plural is descended from Sk. *-nām*, the termination of the genitive plural. See Bloch, § 183. The anusvāra of the neuter nominative plural in *-e* (*-ẽ*) of M. is likewise descended from an original terminational intervocalic *-n-* of Sk. *-āni* (Bloch, § 187). But it has fallen a victim to denasalization inasmuch as it has no particular semantic value as in the case of the oblique plural.

In the oblique plural, in at least one case, the anusvāra has merged into a postposition and has thus given rise to a new and distinct postposition for the plural. This is illustrated by the so-called "old terminations" of the dative as given by R. B. Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 152, (*a*) *-s* (*-sa*), *-lā*, *-te* (*-tẽ*) are common both to the singular and the plural, but *nā* is an additional postposition for the dative plural. This *-nā* is really the same as *-lā*, only it incorporates the nasalization indicated by the anusvāra of the oblique plural. (See Bloch, § 72.) Navalkar, M. Gr., § 78, and Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 153,

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incorrectly trace this *-nā* to the *-nām* of the gen. pl. in Sk. The general tendency to-day, therefore, is to use *-nā* for the plural and *-lā* for the singular; *-s* is less common and *-te* is practically used only in poetry. Cf. N. C. Kelkar's article referred to above, p. 545.

Accordingly Kelkar in his *Ṭiḷak-caritra*, referring to Mr. Tilak in the respectful plural, uses the form *ṭiḷkānā* (टिळकाना) "to Mr. Tilak." But even though *-nā* incorporates the anusvāra, the M. grammars still require an orthographic anusvāra on the preceding vowel. This, together with the strong consciousness in the mind of the speaker as to the existence of the still significant anusvāra in all the other oblique plural forms, has led to the analogical reintroduction of an organic anusvāra before *-nā* and created forms with *-nnā*. Thus side by side with *ṭiḷkānā* we also hear *ṭiḷkānnā*.

In the case of the oblique plural the organic value of the anusvāra, however, has not as yet gained complete victory and forms with the original and proper nāsikya anusvāra are still current. The tendency seems to be to avoid forms with mere nasalization either by substituting the organic value of the anusvāra or by using the full form of the genitive plural (with the organic anusvāra) before a postposition. Thus for देवांकडे "towards gods", the form *devāṅkaḍe* is more commonly used than the correct *devākaḍe*; it is, however, often differently expressed as *devāncyā kaḍe*. In *devāncyā* it is worth noting that though the *c* has been palatalized on account of the following *y*, its original nature as a dental affricate *c̣*, as before any other vowel, e.g. *c̣ā, c̣e, c̣a, c̣ŭ*, except the palatal *i*, e.g. *ci*, is responsible for the dental *n* value of the anusvāra preceding it.

The oblique plural is practically the only case where the orthographic anusvāra of M. still continues to possess any value in M. inflexion. We shall now note a few cases in which an anusvāra appeared in M. inflexion from a nasal consonant of Sk. but which no longer possesses any phonetic value.

(1) Sk. group *-nt-* lost its nasal very early. This loss

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is seen in the 3rd plural present of M. in *-ati* and *-at* (< Sk. *-anti*) and also in the present participle in *-at* (< Pkt. *-anta*). See Bloch, § 71 and § 255. Here the nasal consonant appears, most probably, to have passed through the stage of nasalizing the previous vowel. Rajawade actually gives in his *Jñ. Vy.*, § 44, some forms of the 3rd pl. pres. from the *Jñāneśvarī* with nasalized penultimate vowel, e.g. *hõti* " are ", *karãti* " they do ", etc. It is unfortunately not clear how far Rajawade is relying upon manuscript evidence in giving these instances but at the same time there seems to be no reason to doubt their authenticity. Some trace of the original nasal is also found in the Pāṭaṇ inscription (Śaka 1128) where the present participle *hõtā* " becoming " is written with the anusvāra, side by side with *vikateyā* " to one who sells " without it. Rajawade also gives a number of instances of present participles having nasalized vowels, in his grammar of the *Jñāneśvarī*, e.g. *dẽta* " giving ", *pāvãta* " obtaining, reaching ", etc., side by side with those without nasalization like *asata*, *mhaṇata*, etc. See *Jñ.*, *Vy.* § 60. This nasalization has at a subsequent period completely disappeared and neither the 3rd pl. pres. nor the present participle any longer show any trace of the original nasal—not even a valueless orthographic anusvāra, cf. Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 213 (1) and § 236 (3). The indeclinable present participle expressing state, which is an old locative of the present participle, has likewise lost all trace of the original nasal, e.g. *boltā* (*bolatã*) *boltānā* " while speaking " not **bolãtã*, cf. Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 236 (4) and (5), and Bloch, § 262.

In the development of the Sk. group *-nt-* in terminations, it may be said that we have an early occurrence of the change of denasalization which has been recognized by M. grammarians in at least the instances discussed just above.

(2) Sk. final *-m*. We have seen (p. 539) that already in Sk. the final *-m* was a weak sound. It has, however, left its trace in M. by giving an anusvāra on the preceding vowel.

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This anusvāra as we shall see below has ceased to possess any nasal value.

(*a*) The final anusvāra in the second personal pronoun तूं "thou", from Sk. *tvam*, is not pronounced, e.g. *tū ye* "come".

(*b*) M. infinitives with the final anusvāra go back to Sk. formations in *-tum*. See Bloch, § 265, and Rajawade, *Jñ. Vy.*, § 65. This anusvāra has lost all its value. Thus *karū* (*karũ*) "to do"; *pāhū* (*pāhũ*) "to see"; *dhāvū* (*dhāvũ*) "to run"; *uṭhū* (*uṭhũ*) "to stand", etc.

(*c*) The largest class of words having an anusvāra on their final syllable is furnished by the neuter declension. The rule is that all words in the neuter gender, except those ending in *-a*, have the anusvāra on their final syllable. See Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 125–6. The anusvāra here goes back to a final *-m* of Sk., cf. Bloch, § 191. The exception of *-a* stems may be due to the fact that this final *-a* has no real existence and is not pronounced, cf. Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 119, note 2. But it seems probable that we may have here an early recognition of denasalization as in the development of the Sk. group *nt* (above (1), p. 559). It seems that final nasalization was lost sooner in the case of older M. stems ending in *-a* rather than those ending in any other vowel, e.g. Middle Indian *-aṁ* may become M. *-a* without nasalization, even when *-iaṁ* > M. *-ĩ* still continued to be nasalized. At a subsequent period, however, all the final anusvāras have lost their value and neuter words are no longer pronounced with nasalized final vowel. The earlier loss of nasalization may have been helped by the fact that whereas other final vowels tend to be shortened the final *-a*, being itself short, tends to be dropped out altogether and hence loses its nasalization quicker, e.g. *ghare* (*gharẽ*) "houses" > *ghara* but (*ghara*) has already come to be pronounced *ghar* though the final *-a* persists in the orthography. The sequence probably was somewhat as follows :—

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Sk. *bilam* > *bilaṁ* > Old or Pre- M. **biḷā* > M. *biḷa* > *bīḷ* " a hole ",

like

Sk. *mauktikam* > *mottiaṁ* > M. *motī̃* > *motī* " pearl ".

When Mr. Rajawade notes that street hawkers call out *dahī:a* for *dahī̃* (> *dahi*) " curds ", *motī:a* for *motī̃* (> *motī*) with the *pluta* final (*Jñ. Vy.*, § 15), we may regard these as instances of denasalization in the popular speech. Other instances of the loss of the value of the final anusvāra of neuter words : *bī* (*bī̃*) " seed " from Sk. *bijam* ; *jū* (*jū̃* < Sk. *yugám*) " yoke " ; *vāghrū* (*vāgharū̃* < Sk. *vyāghra-* + *rūpa-*) " tiger-like animal " ; *ghoḍe* (*ghoḍē̃* < Sk. *ghoṭaka-*) " horse " ; *karṇe* (*karaṇē̃* < Sk. *kṛ-*) " doing ", etc.

From neuter nouns the final anusvāra had been extended to verbs agreeing with them on account of the predominance of participial constructions. See Devadhar, *Resumé M. Gr.*, p. 164, and Bloch, § 243 ff. Here too denasalization has been carried out and तें रडतें " It cries " is pronounced *te raḍte*, etc.

(3) We have already seen how the nasalization of the previous vowel resulting from an intervocalic *-m-* of Sk. has been lost in M. in the body of the word, e.g. type Sk. *amāvāsyā-* > M. *avas*. See p. 556 above. In the body of the word Sk. *-m-* had become M. *-ṁv-*, i.e. *-v-* together with nasalization of the preceding vowel. In terminations we do not get this *-v-* but only the anusvāra. For this reason we get the rule that in M. all verbs agreeing with the first person have an anusvāra on their final syllable inasmuch as these forms are mostly based upon the old present with its reminiscences of the intervocalic *-m-* in Sk. *-mi* and *-maḥ*. See Devadhar, *Resumé M. Gr.*, p. 164 ; cf. Rajawade, *Jñ. Vy.*, § 44 ; Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 216–17, and Bloch, § 230 and especially § 235–8. To-day these anusvāras are no longer pronounced, e.g.

mī, bolto -te (*bolatõ -tẽ*) " I (masc. fem.) speak ".
amhī bolto (*bolatõ*) " we speak ".
mī kare (*karẽ*) " I used to do ".

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amhī karū (*karũ*) " We used to do ".
mī gelo (*gelõ*) " I went ".
amhī ,, " we went ".
mī gele (*gelẽ*) " I (fem.) went ", etc.

(4) In M. declension the anusvāras going back to Sk. nasal consonants have likewise lost their pronunciation.

(*a*) neuter nominative plural :—

Sk. *-āni* > *-āiṁ* > M. *-ẽ* > *-e*.

e.g. *phaḷe* (*phaḷẽ*) " fruits "; *ghare* (*gharẽ*) " houses "; *muḷe* (*muḷẽ*) " roots "; etc.

The loss of the anusvāra of the singular we have already noted above in (2) (*c*) p. 561. For the anusvāra in the neuter declension generally see Bloch, § 187 and § 191.

(*b*) Traces of the intrumental singular in *-ena* of Sk. are found in the termination *-e* (*-ẽ*) of M. See Bloch, § 193. This termination is still found in isolated words and when so found it is pronounced without any nasalization, e.g. *-muḷe* (*-ẽ*) " on account of "; *-prakāre* (*-ẽ*) " in the manner of "; *-māge* (*-ẽ*) " behind "; *-puḍhe* (*-ẽ*) " in front of ", etc. This termination is probably incorporated in the postposition now in use viz. *-ne* (*-nẽ*) which, however, is also pronounced without any nasalization, e.g. *sāpāne* (*-nẽ*) " by a snake ", etc. The same is the case with the instrumental plural where the anusvāra goes back to Middle Indian. Sk. *-ebhiḥ* > *-ehiṁ* > M. *-ī* (*-ĩ*), which as in the singular seems to have been incorporated in the modern *-nī* (*-nĩ*), e.g. *devānī* (*devānĩ*) " by the gods ", etc., cf. Bloch, § 193, 2. For the general extension of the anusvāra—which has subsequently lost its nasal value—in the instrumental case see Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, p. 110, " There is an anusvāra at the end of all the terminations of the instrumental."

(*c*) There are two old terminations of the locative, *-ī* (*-ĩ*) and *-ā* (*-ã*), which have an anusvāra. The origin of this anusvāra is not quite clear. See Bloch, § 194. These old terminations have survived in isolated words and postpositions,

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especially in those indicating time or place. But wherever they still occur they are no longer pronounced with any nasalization, e.g. *hātī* (*hātĩ*) "at hand"; *dārī* (*-ĩ*) "at the door"; *pāyā* (*-ã*) "at or on the feet", etc. The indeclinable present participles furnish us with a large number of old locatives in *-ā* (*-ã*). See above, p. 563. In these participles the final *-ā* is not nasalized in pronunciation, e.g. *kartā* (*-ã*) "while doing"; *dhartā* (*-ã*) "while catching"; *paḍtā* (*paḍatã*) "while falling", etc.

Thus in the case of the terminations discussed here even though older nasalization still continues to be indicated by an anusvāra, this anusvāra has come to be merely orthographic and has lost all its phonetic value. This denasalization has been so completely effected that in using old proverbs or in reading, reciting or singing old M. poems the speaker ignores all the nāsikya anusvāras even though we can almost certainly say that the anusvāra must have had a real value, viz. that of nasalizing the vowel, at the time when the proverbs first came into vogue or when the poems in question were composed. Thus an old proverb *manī vase tẽ svapnī dise*, is pronounced to-day as *manī vase te svapnī dise* "thoughts are reflected in dreams". Nāmadeva, who lived in the fourteenth century, writes as follows :—

kaliyugācẽ muḷẽ | jhālẽ dharmācẽ vāṭoḷẽ ||

which is read to-day as

kaliyugāce muḷe | jhāle dharmāce vāṭoḷe ||

"On account of the Kali Age, Dharma has been totally destroyed."

Tukārāma, who lived in the seventeenth century, is quoted as saying, *tyāce gaḷā māḷa aso naso* "Be there a garland round his neck or not", which, however, is orthographically :

tyāce gaḷã māḷa aso naso.

Thus we can see what an important part denasalization has played in the history of the modern standard Marāṭhī of Poona. The apparent leaning in learned circles towards

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recognition of this phenomenon may perhaps be partially explained by the gradually waning importance of Sk. and also by the comparative decrease in the predominance of persons speaking the Kokṇī or Kokṇasthī dialect. There is no longer any glory attached to the knowledge or rather the show of knowledge of Sanskrit. Nor is it any longer an enviable distinction, social or political, to speak through the nose and emphasize all nasalizations. For all practical purposes the purely orthographic anusvāra continues to be pronounced only in class-rooms and that too for facility in dictation so that the school boys may be able to write the anusvāra wherever the Marāṭhī grammars require it.

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The Samaritan Hebrew Sources of the Arabic Book of Joshua

By M. GASTER

(PLATE VI)

IN 1848 Juynboll published the Arabic text with a Latin translation and elaborate introduction of a Samaritan work, which he called the Samaritan Chronicle. He printed it from a MS. in the Leyden library deposited there by Scaliger; this MS. belonged to the fourteenth century. It was written by two hands, the second part being of a somewhat later date. Juynboll was quite justified in calling it a chronicle, although the largest part of the MS. consists of the book of Joshua. It is a paraphrase of the book of Joshua of the Jewish Bible, containing chiefly the first chapters to which various legendary stories had been added. But the MS. contains much more. It starts with the appointment of Joshua as successor to Moses, in the latter's lifetime, then the history of Bileam, slightly differing from the record in the Bible, then also two different recensions of the death of Moses are given, after which, with a special heading, the book of Joshua begins. At the end of it the history is continued; it is very fragmentary. Within a very brief space the story of the Exile, under Bokht Nasar—the Arabic form for Nebuchadnezzer—is told, and then it is continued in the same brief form down to the time of Baba Rabba—second or third century—the great hero of Samaritan history. The Samaritans considered him as the one who had been able to throw off the yoke of the foreign rulers and to obtain for them a certain amount of political liberty.

Judging the book by this character, Juynboll rightly calls it a chronicle and this description agrees with that given by the Samaritans themselves to their history. To the Samaritans the Pentateuch stands by itself. It is their only Holy Book.

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With the death of Moses begins, as it were, the secular history. Whatever happens hereafter and has been confined to writing is no more treated as sacred scripture. Their own history begins thus with the entry of Joshua into Canaan, and is continued by their chroniclers by adding the record of contemporary events to those recorded before. It is quite in the style of all the oriental and medieval chronicles. The old remains intact. Every subsequent chronicle is thus more or less a continuation, sometimes more elaborate, sometimes more limited, but the old material remains unchanged, and, therefore, this Arabic book of Joshua could also be called a chronicle.

Juynboll, who has written a very important introduction examining the book from every point of view, especially the philological, has never as much as touched upon the sources of this compilation. It may not have struck him that the book may have been a translation from an older Samaritan one. At his time very little was known of the Samaritan literature; with the exception of a few MSS. in Leyden and in London no sources were then available, and, therefore, the question was not even raised. Matters have changed very considerably since. I have been able to obtain a very large number of MSS.—most of them now in my collection in the British Museum—and also much information from the Samaritans which was unavailable then. The problem, therefore, can now be raised with the hope of reaching some satisfactory solution; it would also throw light on the Samaritan Hebrew book of Joshua, but of this I will refrain for the time being, and keep strictly to the question of the sources of the Arabic story.

Juynboll did not know that there exists also another more complete text of the same Arabic book. In this the story begins much earlier, with the going of the twelve spies to Canaan. On the other hand, it is not carried so far down as in the MS. Juynboll has used. After the tale of Alexander the final chapter contains only the tale of Amram and his

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daughter, second or first century B.C.E.[1] In itself a proof of a higher antiquity than the Juynboll text found also in the British Museum MS. No. Add. 19956.

It so happened that the Samaritans had in their possession a MS. different to that in the British Museum. It is of the same age as the Leyden MS. (fourteenth century), and it is also written by two hands. When I was engaged in the publication of the Samaritan Hebrew book of Joshua I learned from them that they possessed such a MS. I wrote for it, but before my letter reached the Samaritans somebody else had stepped in and purchased it. This MS. then disappeared, and I was unable to trace it until quite recently, when, through the kindness of Professor Marx, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, I learnt that in some way or other it had got into the Adler collection which had been acquired by that institution. At my request the chapters missing in Juynboll were most courteously sent to me in photostat, for which I wish to thank Professor Marx. This, as well as the MS. in the British Museum, is written in Arabic, whilst the Leyden MS. is written in Samaritan characters. I also obtained from the Samaritans three copies, two in Arabic and one in Samaritan characters, all of recent date.

The true character of this compilation, however, is that it was not originally meant to be a chronicle. It was a kind of special history of their great hero, Joshua. They acclaimed him not only as the great conqueror of Palestine, but also as the man who, together with the high priest Eleazar (son of Aaron), established the sanctuary on Mount Garizim, and thus preserved, as they maintain, the old law which, according to Samaritan tradition, commanded the Temple to be built on Mount Garizim.[2] Joshua, moreover,

[1] I discovered it to be the parallel to the Apocryphal story of Susanna, an English translation of which appears in my *Studies and Text*, chap. x, pp. 284 ff.

[2] This is an essential feature of the Samaritan creed, it is the very corner-stone upon which their dissent from the Jews is built, and to this very day Garizim is to them the Sacred Mount.

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represented the tribe of Ephraim. The Samaritans claim to be the descendants of the tribes of Ephraim and Menasseh ; Joshua thus becomes a national hero of the northern tribes of the Israelites. No wonder, therefore, that they endeavoured to write, as it were, a kind of epic poem of the life and achievements of Joshua. To this purpose every incident in the Pentateuch is eagerly seized upon and greatly embellished, and all these woven together into one single romance. This explains why, in the same complete MS., the history begins with the exploits of Joshua when sent with the other ten men to find out everything about the land of Canaan. It was a dangerous adventure and it is, therefore, one of the motifs of the first chapter. This contains a detailed account of these adventures, of the places which they reached, of the kings with whom they came in contact, of the manner in which they escaped, and many other incidents which happened to them on that errand. Then follows the story of Joshua's military expedition against Bileam, and the rôle which he played, then the tale of his campaign against the Midianites, then his election and the rôle which he played after the death of Moses, and this leads up naturally to the history of the conquest of Canaan.

In the first place, the question must be answered: Is this an absolutely independent work? Secondly, were the sources used by the author Arabic or Samaritan? In point of fact, this second question is practically answered, for in the prologue to the Arabic chronicle, published by Juynboll, the author says distinctly that this is translated from the *Hebrew* language. There can be no doubt that this work is not original. Therefore he himself owns, not only that the book is not original—which, of course, it cannot be since it follows in the main the Biblical record—but that he has translated it into Arabic from Hebrew sources. Thus neither is the work an original composition nor has it been taken from older Arabic sources.

But there is another somewhat weighty piece of evidence

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to be adduced which shows that the Samaritans themselves knew that the Arabic was merely a translation of an older Hebrew Samaritan text. It is found in a MS. which I have obtained from the Samaritans, after the death of Ab Sakhua, whose name has been mentioned frequently as the "author" of the Samaritan Hebrew book of Joshua. The mystery can now be fully explained. I was able to acquire, through the intermediary of the Priest Abisha, the largest part of Ab Sakhua's library; practically all the MSS. he left behind with the exception of a collection of prayer books. I was anxious to find out whether, among his MSS., there was really a copy of that Hebrew Samaritan book, for if he had anything to do with it, if he were the real author, surely he would have kept a copy. This is the general practice among the Samaritans, and he made no exception. To my surprise no such copy was found, but something else which bears on the question before us and explains the misunderstanding which had arisen at the time. Among these MSS. there was his autographed copy of the Samaritan translation of the Arabic book of Joshua, made by him in 1908. When, therefore, questions were asked among the Samaritans as to whether a book of Joshua had been translated from the Arabic, or whether they had an independent book of Joshua, they took them to refer to the present work and they therefore told the truth when they asserted that Ab Sakhua had made such a translation! The confusion which has arisen is now fully explained. When Professor Kahle showed my edition of the Samaritan-Hebrew Joshua (*ZDMG.* 1908) to the High Priest, Jacob, he correctly replied that this was not the book which had been translated from the Arabic into Hebrew. In a way I was quite innocently responsible for the confusion. For when doubts were first cast on the original character of the Samaritan Hebrew book I asked the Samaritans to furnish me not only with a copy of the Arabic—of which I had one—but also with an exact translation of the text into Samaritan. I received three copies from three different

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writers, who alleged themselves to be the authors. Reference will be made to this later on.

In the autographed MS. of Ab Sakhua, then, after giving a short introduction, he writes as follows : "This book has been compiled in olden times from the writings of our forefathers. We do not know who has done it, and a certain Ab'del ben Shalma surnamed the Zakki (i.e. the Meritorious One) translated it into Arabic." The bestowal of such a title is very significant. It will be seen that he was a man of exceptional qualities, for this epithet is conferred by the Samaritans only on the forefathers, the patriarchs, or on the most worthy among the predecessors. Here we have a clear statement concerning the translation of the Arabic from the Hebrew. It is a definite statement from the man who has been the most learned among the Samaritans in modern times, one who had no reason to invent this fact that the book was an ancient compilation, originally written in the Hebrew language and then afterwards translated into Arabic.

The reference is always to Hebrew, not to Samaritan, and this is a point of no small importance ; the translator, or he who made the Arabic paraphrase—for it is a paraphrase in many parts—had not used any text written in the real *Samaritan* or Aramaic language. He distinctly says that he has used *Hebrew* sources, that the stories which he translated into Arabic were written in the *Hebrew* language. This is a clear indication as to what kind of material Ab'del ben Shalma utilized for his work. It will be seen that all the texts which have gone to make up this Arabic book of Joshua were exclusively written in Hebrew. Of course the Hebrew is that which was current among the Samaritans. It has characteristic features of its own, as will be seen later on. In these texts were introduced also Biblical phrases. In that respect they have been extremely careful in preserving the original form of the language, whether it was Samaritan, Hebrew, or as in the quotations Biblical Hebrew. In every case one can recognize at once the source of the Arabic

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version. Ab Sakhua then writes in the Colophon that he has re-translated it into Hebrew — he uses the word "Tirgamti". This is not to be taken literally. It is necessary to stress this point, for it will throw light upon the system of working, even of the most learned among them, who claim to have "translated" a work from the Arabic into Samaritan. In reality, however, he has done something different. He has simply utilized all the original Hebrew material which he recognized to be the direct sources of the Arabic version, and this he has embodied literally into his work, though he describes it as the translation, without any serious alteration. The difference between the old text and his copy is that he has modernized the words from time to time. It is no less important to notice that of the copies which came from three different men, who claim to be each one an independent author of the translation, two are nothing else but literal copies of this text found in Ab Sakhua's handwriting. Whilst in a third one the same text is used, but slightly altered. They are dated 1908 and early 1909. They were quite oblivious of the fact that I would be able to compare the one with the other and find out that far from being independent translations they were merely more or less copies of the same original. Thus they have facilitated my investigations into the original sources of the Samaritan text.

With the publication of the Asatir a new light has fallen upon the history of the Arabic book of Joshua. If my assumption is correct—and no one has been able yet even to suggest the contrary, still less to prove it—then this work belongs to the second or third century B.C.E. This is, therefore, at least about 1,500 years older than the Arabic translation, and here we find our greatest surprise. It is one of the sources of the book of Joshua. As the Asatir finishes with the death of Moses only some of the incidents previous to the real book of Joshua can be found in it. But they are there, and they are now found in their entirety in the Arabic book of Joshua, and, curiously enough, they are those

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chapters in the Asatir which are more Hebrew than Samaritan. I am referring now, in the first place, to the story of Bileam. If we compare the text as found in the Asatir with the version in the Arabic book of Joshua, and still more with the above-mentioned retranslation of it by Ab Sakhua, we will find that they agree even to such an extent that some of the passages which were obscure in the old text are also obscure here, although an attempt has been made to clear them up. It is quite sufficient for our purpose to accept his translation for the basis of this investigation, since he had access to these sources, and, as mentioned before, he was the foremost scholar among them. The description of the sending of the messengers by the king of Moab, the behaviour of Bileam ; the acceptance of the invitation ; the way in which he was not allowed to curse but to bless ; then his flight ; his advice to the king of Moab about the daughters of Moab ; his encounter with Joshua ; the words which he spoke and the manner in which he (Bileam) was killed—in all these the Arabic text and the Asatir agree absolutely, always bearing in mind that the Arabic is a paraphrase.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that the author of the Arabic book of Joshua had before him a compilation in which the story of Bileam was embodied, precisely in the same manner as it is found in the old book of the Asatir or, possibly in some text like it, for the agreement is too close to admit of any other solution than that he utilized this book directly for his purpose. There can be no question of any independent source, nor any doubt as to the immediate source ; the texts agree in most points so completely that it would be impossible to imagine the Arabic writer to have had any other source than the Asatir from which to draw this story. It is unnecessary here to translate the text, since it is found in my edition of the Asatir and in the Latin version of Juynboll, as well as in the English translation of Crane.[1]

[1] *The Samaritan Chronicle of the Book of Joshua, the Son of Nun*, translated from the Arabic, with notes, by Oliver Crane. New York : John Alden, 1898.

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If we proceed further to the next chapter about the death of Moses we find exactly the same to be the case. All the details found in the Asatir are faithfully repeated in the Arabic book of Joshua. I have referred to this dependence of the Arabic book of Joshua in my edition of the Asatir, page 179. See also pp. 303 ff., where I have been able to show also the transmission of the story through the ages from the third century down to the period of the Arabic translation through those fragments which have been preserved in the Samaritan literature. The story of the death of Moses is found already in Markah's work (second or third century C.E.) and then, later on, in other compilations, until it became part of one of the old Chronicles. This story has been carefully printed by me, from the latter, in the Asatir, pp. 303 ff. This section, which forms an integral part of a complete history of Joshua, thus has its source in the Asatir, with which it closely agrees. It has been utilized for the larger work intended to cover all the incidents in the life of Joshua.

The most important part, however, is the new introductory chapter, the story of Joshua's exploits in the land of Canaan, of which, hitherto, no old Samaritan text has been available. By dint of further investigation and research I have been able at last to obtain from the Samaritans in the first place four leaves, written probably in the eighteenth century, and then at last an ancient MS. of the whole of that chapter, which, in many ways, is of decisive importance. It consists of a quire of eight leaves and judging from a palæographic point of view it may belong to the thirteenth or, latest, the beginning of the fourteenth century, if it be not older. The paper is already yellow with age, the margins greatly frayed, the writing in many places somewhat obliterated, especially on the first and last pages, where, through being rubbed, in one or two places there are little holes in the paper. As to the high antiquity of this document there cannot be the slightest doubt, nor can its importance for

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the history of the Arabic book of Joshua, and for that of the old Hebrew book of Joshua, be over-estimated.

Before attempting to fix the date of the Hebrew original it is necessary to establish the fact that it is of a purely Samaritan origin. Leaving the evidence of the language aside for a while it is sufficient to point to vv. 138–43 where we find the reference to Mount Garizim as the Holy Mountain fully set out. We find here already the stereotyped form in which this dogma of the Samaritan faith was here enunciated. It is not only the Holy Mountain, it is the house of God, it is the seat of the angels, the gate of heaven, exactly as we find Mount Garizim described in every prayer, in every hymn, and in every composition of a religious character of the Samaritans. It is the cardinal point of the Samaritan faith, the fundamental difference between them and the Jews. There can, therefore, be no question that this composition is of Samaritan origin. Then the fact that Joshua is here described as the leader of the expedition into Canaan. It tallies with the Samaritan conception of Joshua. He is the national hero who as mentioned before established the sanctuary on that very mountain. In the Bible Joshua is only one of the twelve, it is only afterwards that he and Caleb stand out from the rest. They give a good report whilst the others disturb the peace of the people by an evil report.

Then the evidence from the language. One must bear in mind that Hebrew has never been the national language of the Samaritans except at a very ancient period before Aramaic became their language. Scarcely any ancient document has come down to us written in that special language so characteristic of that Hebrew used by the Samaritans. Even the Ensira, the confession of faith of the Samaritans, containing, as it were, the summary of the faith in its most important details, is only partly Hebrew. It is the language found in the Samaritan Bible in all those passages in which it differs from the Hebrew recensions. They are due to Samaritan interpolations.

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Then we have portions in the Asatir and the additional portions in the book of Joshua. This old document agrees in the main with this kind of Hebrew. In the grammatical forms as well as in the syntax it differs from the Biblical Hebrew, but in some details it seems to approximate to the language of the Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions. With the exception of the particle kad which occurs only once there is not a single Aramaic word in the whole text. It is not yet time to attempt a philological investigation of these remnants of the ancient Hebrew Samaritan language. But there is a certain uniformity in all of them. Closely connected, therefore, with this question is the date of that Hebrew composition. It owes its origin to the same tendency of completing the narrative of the Bible by stories and legends which seem to find some slight support in the words of the Bible, or are due to the invention of the author. The question which arose in the mind of the readers of the Bible was: how could the spies go through the land of Canaan unharmed and return safely? The author of the story, therefore, represents them as people feigning flight from the Israelites, seeking refuge somewhere in a safe place. At the same time they were preparing the way for the conquest by frightening the inhabitants and telling them wonderous tales of the power and might of the Israelites. The author finds his justification for his romance by the manner in which the story of the two spies going to Jericho is told in Joshua. In Chap. ii, v. 2, we read first, "And it was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came men in hither to-night of the children of Israel to seek out the land." Compare here v. 9, then vv. 9–11, when they go to Hebron, what Rahab said: "And she said unto the men, I know that the Lord has given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land melt away before you. For we have heard how the Lord dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, when ye came out of Egypt. And as soon as we had heard it our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more spirit in any

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man, because of you: for the Lord your God, he is God in heaven above, and on earth beneath."

The situation is practically the same and the very words used by Rahab are the words here put in the mouth of Joshua in speaking to the various kings. Now Rahab says "we have heard of it". Where did they hear it from? In this Samaritan text we find then that Joshua had really spoken to the kings in that way when he visited them in Canaan. Compare vv. 16, 27, and passim. Intimate connection between these two accounts is beyond doubt, since there are other references to the book of Joshua in this first chapter and especially to the story of Jericho. In v. 82, in describing the trumpets, Joshua says that when they are blown they cause the walls of the town to fall, just as it is told in the book of Joshua. A clear reference to the Biblical book of Joshua. And in another place, v. 81, Joshua is described as the man for whose sake the sun stood still when fighting the Amalakites. The war referred to here is the one in Ex., chap. xvii, vv. 8 ff. But there is no trace of the sun standing still, on the contrary, the sun is going its regular course, it was actually "going down", ibid., v. 12. The Samaritan author has used these details and a large number from the Bible itself, notably Ex. xv, for embellishing the story of Joshua and his companions in Canaan and in describing the power of the Israelites and the miracles wrought for their sake. It is from the Book of Joshua that the author had learned of the large number of Kings inhabiting Canaan. No less than thirty-one are mentioned in Joshua, ch. xii, v. 24. The text is rather free from anachronisms. Joshua is visiting King Og, whilst in the Biblical book of Joshua Rahab mentions him as one who had been killed. The route which the spies are taking coming to Damascus by the route of Edom and then long afterwards going to Ḥamatah is on a par with the other geographical details found in the story. This entitles us to regard this composition as being of very high antiquity. The internal evidence, the philological as well as the legendary, all point to a time when the people

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indulged in the composition of such legends and when Hebrew was still used by the Samaritans, being understood, at any rate, by most of the people.

It is not of course easy to fix a definite date, but one would not go far wrong in suggesting the Hellenistic period as the time for this composition. It was just that period in which this kind of literature flourished, and the few remnants found in the Greek language are all more or less couched in the same terms. Nor is Josephus free from such legends skilfully interwoven in his narrative. We have the best parallel in the story of Moses and there are many other legendary motives found scattered throughout his Antiquities.

It is now necessary to indicate the relation in which this old Hebrew text stands to the Arabic translation. It is precisely this chapter which is missing in the Juynboll edition, but it is found in the MS. now in New York, which is also very old, and in my MS., which are comparatively modern copies. The question as to whether it formed part of the original text is, therefore, set at rest, There can, therefore, be no shadow of a doubt that it belonged to the original compilation ; nay that it is the first chapter of the whole work. So it is also assumed in the Samaritan translations which have been sent to me from Nablus. In every one of them this portion is found at the beginning of the story. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that the copyist of the Leyden MS. had an incomplete text before him and, whilst he omitted it at the beginning or did not notice its omission, he, on the other hand, added at the end some portions which belonged to the later history of the Samaritans, thus using a slightly different MS. Of these additions no trace is found in the old MSS. and in the translations made of them.

It is remarkable that the Arabic text as well as the so-called translations begin, as it were, almost with the very words of this old document. It shows that, already at the time of the old translations they did not possess more of the text than we possess now, except a little more at the beginning

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and something at the end. Of course, so long as those old fragments had remained hidden it was impossible to trace the Samaritan origin, but now that it has come to light one can definitely establish the Hebrew source of the Arabic text. No doubt from the quire which I received the first and last leaves had been detached or lost. The Samaritans always begin their writings, not on the first page but on the second and if this had been torn off it would explain also the disappearance of the last page to which the custos on the preceding page points. In the modern copies, however, there is a short beginning and the story is carried on to the end. To anyone ignorant of the existence of the Hebrew text the story as found in the Arabic would have appeared as a kind of free manipulation of the text of the Bible. Now, however, comparing it with this Hebrew text, we find that the Arabic translator has done nothing but copy and embellish the story just as he found it in the old Hebrew texts ; just as he had done with the other sections taken from the Asatir. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that the Arabic version rests exclusively on old Samaritan Hebrew texts, all the portions of which have now come to light one after another, the last, and certainly one of the most important, being this one, recently discovered and now published here for the first time with an English translation and some notes. I have divided the text into verses for easy reference.

As to the authorship of the Arabic book of Joshua we are informed by Ab Sakhua and by others that the author of this translation or rather paraphrase was none other than Abdullah ben Shalma. This man is a very well-known personality. He occupied a responsible and high position in the middle of the fourteenth century in Nablus. When Eleazar, the High Priest, died he entrusted his nephew, the boy Pinḥas, the presumptive heir to the high priesthood, to the care of Abdullah ben Shalma. It happened in the year 1387 when Abdullah was already a very old man. He is surnamed the Zakkai or Zakki, the Meritorious One, an

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honorific title which is reserved by the Samaritans only for the forefathers or for any of the most prominent and meritorious men of the past. He composed a large number of religious poems which form part of the liturgy of the Samaritans to this very day, and written more or less in Samaritan.

I have now discovered that he is also the author of a famous book, likewise full of Biblical legends, called the Molad Mosheh. In this he describes not only the birth of Moses, but he introduces also a large number of legends. He starts with the Creation, he mentions then most of the patriarchs until he comes to the story of the birth of Moses. This agrees, down to the most minute details, with the same story found in the Asatir, of course embellished with a few more tales and legends, but every detail, down to the name of the wizard —Plti—are found therein. The agreement is so close that any independence of the Asatir is out of the question. It is now plain that in writing our Arabic Joshua he continued, as it were, the story where he had left it off and started with Joshua, leaving out a few minor incidents which happened in the lifetime of Moses, and then continued it down to the end of Joshua, even carrying the story further down to the time of Amram, probably as far as the old Hebrew sources went which he had at his command. In the Molad Mosheh the hero is Moses, the only prophet, and the law-giver of the Samaritans; in this second part of the "chronicle" it is Joshua, the military hero, the great conqueror of Canaan. This fact is, if necessary, another proof to show that the author of these two works had drawn his information exclusively from old Samaritan Hebrew sources. In the prologue to the book of Joshua he distinctly describes his activity in the following terms: "All of this is translated from the Hebrew language into the Arabic language, after the manner of *a rapid translation by word of mouth.*" What he means thereby is, "like a man who tells a tale orally," and this indeed is the character of his two works.

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From the above investigation it is now perfectly clear that he took *all* his legends from Hebrew writings. This unquestionably is also the case with the Book of Joshua, which he translated from the Hebrew Samaritan text discovered and published by me.

As for the date of the work it must belong to the early part of the fourteenth century, since Abul Fatḥ, in 1355, refers already to it as one of the books from which he has drawn his information, and in fact follows it as closely as possible, using the very same Arabic text as the one before us.

I am now giving here a translation together with one plate of the original, vs. 73–82*a*.

(1) התפלל ליהוה בעבורינו עד נשוב אליכם בשלום
(2) ויבכו אחרי כן בכ[י גדול (?)] (3) וילכו מלפניו יום
השישי ויבאו חברון וישבתו את השבת שם ויעמדו
על מערת שדה המכפלה הממצאים בה אבותינו
(4) ויחל יהושע בן נון יהלל את אבותיו ויבך אתם
(5) ויארך מן הדברים האלה ומן אשר אמרו פניהם
(6) אמר הידעתם כי בניכם צאו מארץ מצרים ביד
חזקה ויקם להם את דבריו לאבי אברהם ואחרי כן
יצאו ברכוש גדול (7) ודבריו לאבי יצחק הרבה ארבה
את זרעך ככוכבי השמים ודבריו לאבי יעקב והיה
זרעך כעפר הארץ טוב לכם באשר אחזתם מן
אלהיכם (8) וכד יהושע ידבר את הדברים האלה
בפתח מערת המכפלה ואנשים באו אל שני המלכים
(9) והם אחימן שישי ותלמי ילידי ענק (10) ויאמר
אליהם לאמר באו לאנה שנים עשר נשיא (?) כבדים
ושמלותם טובים ובהם איש טוב מכל ובגדיו מוב
מכל והוא נשיאהם (11) וישלח אחימן ויקרא את
יהושע ואת האנשים אשר עמו (12) ובעת בא יהושע

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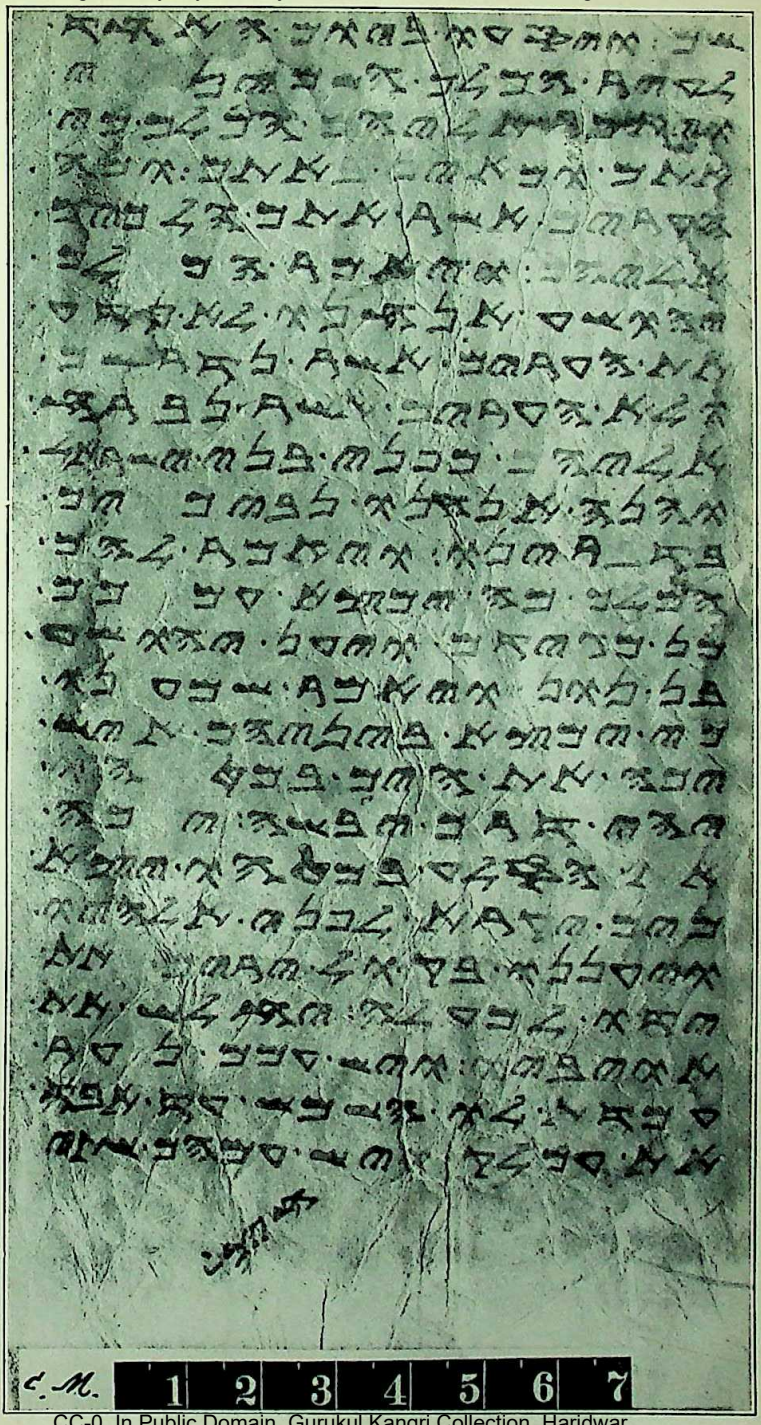

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Book of Joshua, Chap. I, vs. 73–82a.

[*To face p.* 582.

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ויעמד לפניו ולפני אחיו (13) ויאמר אליו אחימן
הגידה נא לי את הדברים אשר שמעתם על בני
ישראל ועל מה הם מבקשים והמקום אשר הם
דרשים אליו (14) ויען יהושע את המלך אחימן
לאמר דברים גרלים שמענו על בני ישראל ואנחנו
נסים מפניהם כי יראים אנחנו מהם (15) ויאמר אליו
אחימן לאמר נפשי תאוה לראות הנער אשר הוא
הנשיא לכלם אשר יאמר כי הצלחותם בו ואיך
חלש את עמלק אשר הוא ראש לכל הגוים
(16) ויאמר אליו יהושע בן נון הלוא שמעתם באשר
עשה אל פרעה וחילו ופרשיו ומה עשה בים סוף
ואיך בקעהו וידי להם דרך וילכו בתוכו ביבשה
(17) ופרעה וכל חילו ורכבו ופרשיו טבעו בו
(18) הלוא שמעתם כי המים המרים המתקו להם
(19) הלוא שמעתם כי המן ירד מן השמים עליהם
לחם (20) הלוא שמעתם כי גבור השמים והארץ
דברו פה לפה (21) ויאמר אליו המלך לאמר דבר
אלי על דמות מחניהם (22) ויען יהושע את המלך
בדברים נבהלו מהם (23) ויאמר יצאו ביד חזקה
ובימים אחדים הם באים למקום הזה (24) ושמענו כי
להם אבות שלשה והם אברהם ויצחק ויעקב יתברכו
בהם (25) ונבקע הים אליהם ויעברו את ארץ כנען
כי אמרו כי יהוה כרת להם ברית לרשתה (26) והם
מבקשים לה נשאים חרב פיפיות ויהוה יוריש את
איביהם לפניהם (27) וידי כאשר שמעו בני ענק את
הדבר הזה לבביהם נמסו (28) ואחר כן הלכו יהושע
והאנשים אשר עמו יום האחד מן השבוע מבקשים
את עיר דמשק דרך ארץ אדום ויבאו העירה
(29) ויקרא המלך אשר לעיר ליהושע ויעמד לפניו
(30) וישלו (!) על בני ישראל (31) ויען יהושע את המלך

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לאמר הנה אנחנו נסים מפניהם: ותפל יראתם
בלבבינו (32) ויאמר אליו המלך הודיעני נא את כל
מנהגם (33) ויען יהושע וידבר דברים נבהלו מהם
(34) ויאמר הלכותם בתרועה גדולה עד מאד והם
מתגברים בדבריהם הלכים כמצות נביאהם אשר שמו
משה עליו השלום (35) ולא ישביתו מן התהללות
והשירות יומם ולילה לאלהיהם (36) ועמוד הענן הלך
לפניהם וכל אויביהם נשמדים בין ידיהם (37) וכאשר
שמעו את הדברים האלה נרגזו לבביהם מאד
(38) ויסעו לעיר המלך השלישי ביום השני ויאמרו אליהם
למה באתם עד אנה (39) ויענו ויאמרו מגפה גדלה
אנחנו נפלים בה מאת בני ישראל (40) ויענו ויאמרו
אליהם דברו נא לנו עליהם: ועל כל מנהגיהם
(41) ויען יהושע וידבר לפניהם דברים נבהלו מהם
(42) ויאמר אליהם האנשים האלה מסובבין בעז גדול
שמעים מן איש הוא האנשיא להם שמו † משם
אלהים † (43) המלאכים כלם ישרתו אתו והוא מן
שבט לוי (44) ויסעו לעיר המלך הרביעי (45) וישלח
אחריהם המלך וישאלם במגידם בני ישראל (46) ויען
יהושע לאמר נסעים (!) אנחנו מפני בני ישראל
(47) ויאמר המלך מה שמעת על העם הזה (48) ויען
יהושע ויאמר אליו: העם הזה רב מאד והם כחול
אשר על שפת הים וכוכבי השמים (49) והם מסובבין
בכבודים והם מן דמעי הגוים: מאכלם המן והשלוי
(50) מן יצא לקראתם יחלשו אתו (51) ומן ירדף
אחריהם אבד ומן ינוס מפניהם ימלט (52) ומן ישב
לפניהם יתנחם (53) ויסעו משם ויבאו לעיר המלך
החמישי ביום הרביעי מן השבוע (54) וישאלם גם זה
המלך כמלכים אשר זכרנו (55) ויאמר לו יהושע
העם הזה יצאו מארץ מצרים והיתה בעבורם חרבה:

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והים היה דרך להם למענם (56) משה התפלל ליהוה
בעבורם : ויהוה ילחם להם והם יחרשון (57) וטוב לכם
תברחו מהם כי הם מבקשים יירשו ארצכם (58) ויסעו
לעיר המלך הששי והוא עוג בן ענק (59) וישמע עוג
כי באו לעירו (60) וישלח ויקרא להם (61) וישאלם
במגדיהם (62) ויענו אתו נסעים (!) אנחנו מפני בני
ישראל (63) ויאמר אליהם איך תמונת מחניהם
(64) ויען יהושע בן נון ויאמר אליו לאמר פחדם
ומראם על כל הגוים ועל כל הערים והם חלושים
לכל העמים ולכל הגוים משה הנשיא להם כי הוא
נביא אליהם (65) ואתם כתובים להם לעבדים מקרב
יבאו עליכם (66) ועמהם נער טוב והוא אשר הכה
את עמלק ואת עמו (67) ויסעו לעיר המלך השביעי
ביום הששי (68) וישאלם המלך על בני ישראל
ויאמר להם שמחים הם בארץ כנען להכותם את
כל יושביה : ידרשו מן יהוה (69) וישמע אליהם
אלהים (70) ואת הארץ להם נחלה (71) ואתם להם
לעבדים : ויהוה אלהיהם יכול על כל דבר
(72) ונביאהם מגיע לכל מדרשיו : וישבתו שם
(73) ויסעו ביום האחד לעיר המלך השמיני (74) ויאמר
אליהם המלך מי אתם ומאין באתם : ומה הערים
אשר אתם הלכים אליהם (75) ויאמר המלך יהושע
אנחנו לא נדע את הערים אשר נדרשם ולא הערים
אשר נברח אליהם מפני בני ישראל והנה אנחנו
נביכים בדברינו (76) ויאמר להם המלך מה ימצא
עמכם מן מגידם (77) ויען יהושע בן נון ויאמר
שמענו כי ימצא ביניהם איש יכה את הים במטהו
יהי דרך יבשה (78) יכה את הסלע במטהו יצא
מים (79) יקרא לפני אלהיו ויענהו בקול (80) ירים את
ידו למעלה יחלש את אויביו (81) ויש עמם נער

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עמדת לו השמש עד אבד את עמלק (82) ויש
עמהם שתי חציצרות יתקעו בהם יהרסו חומות הערים
לפניהם (83) כאשר שמע המלך את הדברים האלה
מחץ מתני קמיו: ולא יכל לקום (84) ויצאו מפניו
וילכו מאתו בשלום ויבאו לעיר המלך השלישי (!)
(85) ויקרא אליהם המלך ויאמר הגידו נא לי על
בני ישראל (86) ויען יהושע ויאמר אליו הנשיא אשר
להם חרב את מצרים (87) הלך העולם (?) בדברו: זרע
ישראל לא יספר מרב (88) אלהים אל רחום וחנון
טל השמים מאכלם ובמחשבותיהם מדרשם יטחוו (!)
עצמכם יכתו עצמותיכם (89) ויסעו משם ויבאו לעיר
המלך העשירי (90) וישאל את יהושע על מגיד בני
ישראל (91) ייאמר אליו יהושע אליהם נכבד מכה
את כל אויביהם: יכלותו גדלה משה נביהם (92) בקע
את הים בעבורם ויאבדו כל מצרים בתוכו: ישראל
בשם סגיל (?) (93) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך אחד עשר
(94) ויאמר המלך יהושע אל זה המלך מוכחים אנחנו
לכם נוסו מפני בני ישראל ובקשו לנפשכם שלם
(95) כי כמעט הם באים עליכם ואתם ראיתם את
אשר עשו למלכים אשר לפניכם (96) ויסעו משם
ויבאו לעיר המלך שנים עשר (97) ויאמר יהושע
כמעט יבאו לארצכם ויירשו את כל יושביה וישבו
את נשיכם ואת כל בנותיכם (98) וילכו ויבאו לעיר
המלך שלשה עשר: ביום הששי וישבתו את השבת
השלי" שם (99 ויהושע בן נון יאמר אליהם: משה
אשר על פיו ישק כל עם ישראל הוא בעל השם
הגדול אשר בתפלותו ישבר את כל איביו (100) אין
לכם יום מברח יום מאבדכם קרוב (101) וילכו ויבאו
לעיר המלך ארבעה עשר (102) וידבר אליהם יהושע
לאמר: בני ישראל מסובבים בשלטן גדול יהוה

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בעזרם ישמיד לפניהם את איביהם מלכי הארץ לפניהם
ולהם נביא גדול (103) כפירות החטאות בידיהם אין
בידיכם (104) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך חמשה עשר:
ביום השני (105) וידבר אליהם יהושע לאמר מעבד
הבעלים תועבה היא להם ישנאו את כל אלהי
הנכר: הגבור במלחמה עמם: והוא הנלחם להם
והוא ימית את כל איביהם (106) וילכו ויבאו לעיר
המלך ששה עשר (107) אחל יהושע יאמר שם:
עליונים על כל הגוים הם הענן יכסיהם (108) עבדי
יהוה נקרא שמם: והם בעלי ארץ כנען ואתם אכתב (!)
עליכם תעבדו להם (109) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך
שבע עשר: ביום הרביעי (110) וישאל המלך את
יהושע ויען ויאמר כבדה גדלה לישראל אשר
יצא מארץ מצרים במופתים גדלים (11) פתח להם
משה את הים ויסגרהו: פרעה מת בו בגלו: עמוד
הענן הלך לפניו לשרתו (112) וילכו ויבאו לעיר
המלך שמנה עשר (113) וישאל ויענו יהושע ויאמר
כל הצדיקים יאספו להם (114) בעל הצום עמד ביניהם
יתפלל בעדם: ואין עשיר מן תפלותו (115) והם יסירו
את מקורכם (!) (116) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך תשע
עשר: ביום הששי וישבתו את השבת הרביעי שם
(117) וידושע ידבר אליהם: המקדש יש בינם ואדון
הנביאים והשם הקדוש בינם (118) מכשף וקסם קסמים
לא ימצא בהם והם שמרים לעשרה המצות ומשמעם
יכו את כל הגוים ויהרגו כל הרשעים (119) אין לכם
תקומה פניהם (120) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך העשרים
ביום האחד (121) וידושע יען אתם על כל שיאלם
כדברים האלה (122) ויאמר אליהם ימצא נערים בבני
ישראל לא ימנו במספר (123) נגישים למלחמה ריקים
מכל חטא: והם גדולים מכל הגוים קצפם חזק

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עליכם: לא יניחו עד יתנחלו ארצכם (124) וילכו ויבאו
לעיר המתה (125) ויאמר מלך חמתה אל יהושע בן
נון ראה אל תבנית צבאי ואל כלי מלחמתי (126) ויען
יהושע: התוכל באלה לקראת את בני ישראל
(127) ויאמר לו מלך חמתה הלוא אוכל על כן ויאמר
לא (128) ויאמר המלך הגידה נא לי איך ילחמו
(129) ויאמר לו יהושע: יתקעו שלשה פעמים בשתי
חצצרות התרועה וינסו כל איביהם מפניהם (130) ודע
המלאכים סביבתיהם והשם ברוך הוא שכן בתוכם
והוא הנלחם להם באיביהם (131) מעשיהם תבניתם
במלחמה יכו יומם ולילה לא ישבתו (132) וגם
במלחמותם תמיד יהללו לאלהיהם ולא ישבתו
(133) וכאשר שמעו הגוים וכל המלכים מן יהושע את
הדברים האלה וירגזו ויאחזמו רעד וגם נמגו ונפלת
עליהם אימה ופחד (134) ויהושע בן נון וכלב בן יפנה
שמחים מפחד יושבי הארץ והאימה אשר נפלת עליהם
(135) אך עשרת האנשים לא היו בדמותם רק חשבו
חשבן רע: כי הרע שכז ביצרם (136) ויסעו מן חמתה
ביום הרביעי בהיות הבכר (137) והם שמחים הלב:
שלשת ימים הלכו וישבתו את יום השבת החמישי
בדרך (138) וילכו דרך חמשה ימים עד באו הרגריזים
בית אל ביום הששי (139) וישבתו את יום השבת
הששי עליו (140) וירבו מן השירות שם לאלהיהם
(141) ויאמר יהושע לחבריו בגלל זה המקום הקדוש
אמר השם בריך הוא לאבינו אברהם: לך לך מארצך
וממולדתך ובעבורו כרת עמו ברית וגם עם בניו יצחק
ויעקב הברית אשר נשבע להם כי לזרעם יתן את
המקום הזה לעבדו עליו (142) אשרינו כי השיגנו אל
המקום אשר בחרו יהוה: והוא מקום קדוש מכל
הארץ: מקום בית יהוה: ומכון מלאכי יהוה והוא

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שער השמים (143) וילכו מן הרגריזים ביום השלישי
ויבאו עיר חברון וילינו שם בלילה ההוא (144) ויהושע
בן נון יהלל את אבותיו כל הלילה עד בקר
(145) ואחר כן עברו את נחל אשכול וימצאו בני
ענק באבל כבד עד מאד (146) ויהי כאשר ראו אתם
ישבי העיר ויאמרו אלה האנשים הנסים (147) ויקמו
יהושע וכלב ויקחו מפרי הארץ וילכו אל משה
ואהרן אל מדבר פראן והם בשמח רב וטוב לבב
(148) וישאלם משה על הארץ אשר עברו בו (149) ויגד
יהושע למשה ויאמר לו לאמר הארץ אשר עברנו בה
ארץ זבת חלב ודבש טובה הארץ מאד (150) אך
עשרת האנשים עשו דבה בין עם ישראל
(151) ויסעו בני ישראל ממדבר פראן ויחנו בלבונה
ביום האחד (152) ויהי משה בכל חנות יצוה איש
מן העם יגש ויאסר את עגלות הצדיק יוסף ויטבל
במים ואחר כן יבא לפני אדון הנביאים משה
וישתחוי ליהוה ומשה עליו השלם יברכו (153) ויהי
בערב וירחץ את ידיו ואת רגליו מן הכיור ויבא
לבין הכרובים לפני ארון העדות יעשה את רצונו
(154) ויהיו החכמים והאנשיאים והשופטים יעמדו
לשרתו * * *

Translation

(page 1) (1) Pray to God for our sakes, so that we may return unto you in peace. (2) They wept after that with a loud weeping (3) and they went away from him on the sixth day (Friday), and they came to Hebron, and they kept the Sabbath there, and they stopped at the cave of the field Makhphelah, where our forefathers are. (4) And Joshua the son of Nun began to praise his forefathers, and he wept with them, (5) and he continued at great length in these things, and in what he spoke before them he said. (6) "Do you

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know that your children have come out of Egypt with a mighty hand and He fulfilled unto them the word which He spoke to my father [1] Abraham, "And afterwards they will go out with great wealth." (7) And His words to my father Isaac, "I will surely multiply thy seeds like the stars of heaven." And His words to my father Jacob, "And thy seed shall be like the dust of the earth." Happy are ye that your possession is from God." (8) And whilst Joshua was speaking these words at the gate of the cave of Makhphelah, men came from the two [2] kings (9) and these were Aḥiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, (page 2) the children of Anak. (10) And they said to them,[3] "Twelve princes have come hither: honourable, and they are beautifully dressed, and among them one more goodly than the others. His clothes are superior to those of the others, and he is their leader." (11) Then Aḥiman sent and he called Joshua and the men that were with him, (12) and when Joshua came, he stood before him and his brothers: (13) and Aḥiman said unto him, "Tell us of the things you have heard about the Children of Israel, and what they are seeking, and of the place which they desire to obtain?" (14) And Joshua answered the king Aḥiman, saying "We have heard of great things about the Children of Israel, and we are fleeing from before them, for we are afraid of them." (15) Aḥiman said unto him, "My soul wishes to see the lad who is the ruler over them all, of whom it is said that their success depends on him; and how he weakened Amalek who is the head of all the nations." (16) (page 3) And Joshua the son of Nun said unto him, "Have you not heard what he has done to Pharaoh and his army and his riders, and what he did at the Sea of Reeds, and how he cleft it; and he made unto them a road and they walked through it on dry land, (17) and Pharaoh and his army and

[1] Probably "our father," but abbreviated, without a sign of abbreviation, but no other word is abbreviated in this document. And so the next two.
[2] Text is corrupt, read three.
[3] In the text "he said to them". Scribe's mistake.

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his riders and his chariots all were sunk therein ? (18) Have you not heard that the bitter waters were made sweet for them ? (19) Have you not heard that the manna came down from heaven for them ? (20) Have you not heard that the Mighty One of the heaven and the earth spake with him mouth to mouth ? " (21) And the king said unto him, " Tell me about the form of their camps." (22) And Joshua answered the king with words which confounded them (amazed them). (23) He said, " They went forth with a mighty hand, and within a few days they will reach this place. (24) And we have heard that they have three forefathers, these are Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they are blessed by them. (25) And the sea was cleft for them, and they will pass over to the land of Canaan, for they say that the Lord has made a covenant with them to cause them to inherit it. (26) And they are seeking it (page 4) and they carry double-edged swords, and the Lord will drive their enemies before them." (27) And when the children of Anaḳ heard these words their hearts melted away, (28) and after that Joshua and his men went away, on the first day of the week (Sunday) going towards the town of Daneshek, by way of the land of Edom, and they came to that town ; (29) and the king of the town called for Joshua, and he stood before him. (30) And he asked him concerning the Children of Israel. (31) And Joshua answered the king, saying, " Behold, we are fleeing from before them : and the fear of them has fallen into our hearts." (32) And the king said to him, " Tell me all their manners (conduct)." (33) And Joshua answered and spoke words which confounded (amazed) them. (34) And he said, " They walk with great triumphant shouts, and they speak very proudly. They go according to the command of their prophet Moses, upon whom be peace.[1] (35) And they never cease praising and singing hymns day and night to their

[1] Rather a quaint remark by the Scribe, who evidently had forgotten that Moses was alive then, and he being accustomed to always use this phrase, put it in.

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God. (36) And the pillar (page 5) of cloud goes before them, and all their enemies are destroyed by their hand." (37) And when they heard these words their hearts greatly trembled. (38) And then they went on to the town of the third king on the third day. And they said unto them, "Why did you come hither?" (39) And they answered and said "We have fallen into a great plague (great slaughter) through the Children of Israel." (40) And they said unto them "Speak unto us about them, of all their ways (conduct) how they are carrying on." (41) And Joshua answered and spoke unto them words at which they were confounded (amazed). (42) And he said unto them, "These people carry themselves with great might; they hearken to a man who is their prince (ruler). His name is (Moses) of the name of God (43) and all the angels [1] minister unto him; and he is of the tribe of Levi." (44) And they journeyed to the town of the fourth king. (45) And the king sent for them and asked them as to what they could tell concerning the Children of Israel. (46) And Joshua answered and said, "We are fleeing from the Children of Israel." (page 6) (47) And the king said, "What have you heard concerning this people." (48) And Joshua answered and said to him, "This people is very numerous, and they are like as the sand of the shores of the sea and the stars of heaven. (49) And they carry themselves with honour. And they are the most perfect essence among the nations. Their food is the manna and the quails. (50) And whoever goes out against them, they weaken him (vanquish). And whoever pursues them is destroyed, but whoever flees from them is saved. (52) And whoever sits (quietly) before them, is shown pity." (53) And they went from there and came to the town of the fifth king on the fourth day of the week. (54) And this king asked them in the same manner as the kings whom we have mentioned. (55) And Joshua said

[1] This passage is evidently corrupt. For mishem elohim read perhaps Mosheh (ish-ha) elohim, "Moses, the man of God." The corruption obtains also in MS. Ab-Sakhua.

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unto him, " This people has come out of Egypt, and many things have happened for their sake, and the sea was a road unto them, (56) and Moses prayed unto God for them. And God fights for them, and they keep quiet. (57) It is better for you that you should flee from them, for they are seeking to possess your land." (58) And they went to the town of the sixth king and he was Og (page 7) the son of Anaḳ (i.e. giant). (59) When Og heard that they had come to his town, (60) he sent for them and called them, (61) and he asked them what they had to tell. (62) And they answered him " We are fleeing from the Children of Israel." (63) And he asked them, " What is the form of their camp ? " (64) And Joshua the son of Nun answered and said unto him, " The fear of them and the trembling before them is upon all the nations and all the cities, and they weaken (defeat) all the nations and all the people. Moses is their prince, for he is their prophet, (65) and you are already written down as slaves for them. They will soon come upon you. (66) And with them is a goodly youth, and he it was who smote Amalek and his people." (67) And they went on to the town of the seventh king on the sixth day. (68) And the king asked them concerning the Children of Israel, and he (Joshua) said unto them (unto him) " They rejoice in the land of Canaan and in the prospect of their smiting all its inhabitants. (69) They pray (ask of) the Lord, and God hearkens unto them. (70) And this land is an inheritance unto them, (71) and ye will be slaves unto them. And the Lord their God is all-powerful (lit. He has the power over everything). (72) And as for their prophet, God fulfills all his wishes." And then they kept (page 8) the Sabbath there. (73) [1] And on the first day they went to the town of the eighth king. (74) And the king said unto them, " Who are you and whence do you come, and which are the towns to which you are going ? " And the king Joshua [2] said, " We

[1] Photograph from here to v. 82a Jos., ch. 6.

[2] This is the way in which Joshua is always spoken of in the Samaritan Book of Joshua, and so in the Arabic text.

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do not know the towns which we are seeking, nor the towns whither we are fleeing from before the Children of Israel, and we are rather confused in our words (or, we have lost our aim)." (76) And the king said "What is there found among you which you could tell us about them." (77) And Joshua the son of Nun replied, "We have heard that there was a man to be found among them who strikes the sea with his rod, and it becomes a dry path. (78) He strikes the rock with his rod, and water comes out. (79) He calls unto his God and He answers him with a loud voice. (80) He lifts up his hands on high, and he weakens (defeats) his enemies. (81) And there is among them a youth, and the sun stood still for him until he destroyed Amalek.[1] (82) And they have two (page 9) trumpets, and when they blow (83) them they overthrow the walls of the cities in front of them." [2] (84) When the king heard these words he was stricken in the loins where he stood, and (85) he could not rise. Then they went away from him in peace and came to the town of the ninth king (in the MS., by mistake, "the third"). The king called them and said to them, "Tell me about the Children of Israel." (86) And Joshua answered and said unto him, "Their prince destroyed Egypt. (87) The world [3] goes on by his word. The seed of Israel cannot be counted for its multitude. (88) God is a God of mercy and loving-kindness. The dew of heaven is their food. It is their thought to kill you "(or to grind your bones down).[4] (89) And they went away thence and came to the town of the tenth king. (90) And he asked Joshua to report to him about the Children of Israel. (91) And Joshua

[1] Transference of the well-known incident in Joshua to the war against Amalek, where, on the contrary, the sun is described as veering towards the south.

[2] Evidently referring to Jericho.

[3] This may be a corruption from "haam", the "people", for the word 'Olam, with the meaning of the "world", is not found in the Pentateuch. In the Arabic it is also Olom "world". Evident proof that the translation has been made from a text like this, if not the very same.

A very extraordinary passage, which reminds one of Ezekiel the poet.

[4] The unintelligible yiṭḥawu (!) should be read yiṭḥanu (grind).

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said unto him, "They consider it an honour to smite all their enemies. Their power (page 10) is great. (92) Moses their prophet cleft the sea for their sakes, and the whole of Egypt was lost therein, and Israel got the name of 'The selected'." [1] (93) And they left and came to the town of the eleventh king. (94) And the king Joshua said unto this king, "We warn you, flee before the Children of Israel, and seek peace unto yourselves (95) for within a short time they will come upon you, and you see what they have done to the kings before you." (96) And they left and came to the town of the twelfth king.[2] (97) And Joshua said, "They are coming soon to your country, and they will dispossess all its inhabitants, and they will take prisoners your women and your daughters." (98) And they went away and came to the town of the thirteenth king on the sixth day, and they kept the third Sabbath there. (99) And Joshua the son of Nun said unto them, "Moses by whom is fed the whole people of Israel (page 11) is the master of the great name,[3] who by his prayer breaks to pieces all his enemies. (100) Nothing else is left for you but to flee away. The day of your destruction is nigh." (101) And they went away and came to the town of the fourteenth king. (102) And Joshua spoke unto them saying, "The Children of Israel carry themselves with great rule (power). God is their help. He annihilates before them their enemies, even the kings of the nations before them. And they have a great prophet, (103) and they have in their hands the atonement of sins, which are not in your hands." (104) And they went away and came to the town of the fifteenth king on the second day. (105) And Joshua spoke unto them as follows, "The worship of idols is an abomination unto them. They hate all the strange gods. The mighty in War is with them, and He it is fights for them

[1] Corrupt. Perhaps a word like nikra' has dropped out.

[2] Anachronystic.

[3] A very remarkable statement. Moses is here the master of the great mysterious, the wonder-working Name of God.

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and He it is kills all their foemen. (106) And they went and came to the town of the sixteenth king. (107) And Joshua began (page 12) and he said there, " High above all the other nations are they. The cloud covers them. (108) Their name is called, ' The servants of the Lord.' They are the masters of the land of Canaan and as far as you are concerned it is written down against you that you be slaves to them." (109) And they went away and came to the town of the seventeenth king on the fourth day. (110) And the king asked Joshua and he answered and said, " Israel has great honour, for he came out of Egypt with great wonders. (111) Moses opened unto them the sea, and he closed it, Pharaoh died therein ; in the wave thereof the pillar of cloud goes before him (i.e. Israel) to serve him." (112) And they went and came to the town of the eighteenth king, (113) and he asked, and Joshua answered him and said, " All the righteous men have gathered themselves unto (114) them, the ' master of the fast ',[1] stands among them, prays for them. There is no richer prayer than his. (115) And they will remove your foundations." [2] (116) And they went away and came to the town of the nineteenth king on the sixth day (page 13). And they kept there the fourth Sabbath. (117) And Joshua spoke to them, " The sanctuary is among them, and the master of the prophets, and the Holy Name is among them. (118) A wizard and a sorcerer is not to be found among them, and they observe the Ten Commandments,[3] and by their report alone they smite all the nations and kill all the wicked ones. (119) Ye shall have no upstanding against them." (120) And they went away and came to the town of the twentieth king on the first day. (121) And Joshua answered them to all their questions, with words like these, (122) And he said unto them, " There are among the Children of Israel

[1] Moses who *fasted* 40 days on Mount Sinai.

[2] The reading of this word is doubtful. Perhaps for mekorechem read mekomechem in the sense " your high-places ".

[3] A very remarkable passage. It is here for the first time one finds instead of the " 10 words " the " 10 commandments ".

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youths without number, (123) who go to war pure of all sin, and they are mightier than all the nations. Their wrath is against you. They will not rest until they inherit your land. (124) And they went away and came to the town Ḥamatah. (125) And the king of Ḥamatah said to Joshua the son of Nun, "Behold the form of my army, and my weapons of war." (126) And Joshua answered, "Wilt thou be capable with (weapons like) these to go against the Children of Israel?" (127) And the king of Ḥamatah said to him, "Shall I not (page 14) be able to succeed in this manner?" And he said unto him (probably a mistake of the scribe, לו instead of לא, which means "No").[1] (128) And the king said, "Tell me, I pray, how do they wage war?" (129) Joshua said unto him, "They blow three times with the two trumpets of loud sounding and their enemies all flee from before them. (130) And know that the angels are surrounding them, and the Name (God), blessed be He, dwells in their midst, and He it is who fights for them against their enemies. (131) Their manner in war is that they smite day and night, and never cease. (132) And even during their fights they are continually praising God, and never cease."

(133) And when all the nations and kings heard from Joshua these things then they quaked and trembling seized hold on them, and also they melted away. And there fell upon them fear and terror. (134) And Joshua the son of Nun and Kaleb the son of Jefuneh were rejoicing at the terror of the inhabitants of the lands, and at the fear that had fallen upon them. (135) But the ten men were not like unto them. They thought evil, for evil dwelt in their nature. (136) And they went away from Ḥamatah on the fourth day at daybreak. (137) And they were joyful of heart (page 15). They walked on for three days, and they rested on the fifth Sabbath on the way. (138) And then they went another five days' journey, until they came to Mount Garizim Beth-El on the sixth day, (139) and they kept

[1] Or a few words have dropped out here and so in the Arabic.

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the sixth Sabbath thereon, (140) and they sung many hymns there to their God. (141) And Joshua said to his companions, "Because of this holy place, the Name (God), blessed be He, said unto our father Abraham, 'Get thee away from thy land and from thy birth-place' and for its sake He made with him a Covenant, and also with his sons Isaac and Jacob, even that covenant which he swore unto them, that He would give to their seed this place to worship (serve) Him there. (142) Blessed are we that we have reached the place which the Lord hath chosen, the most holy place of the whole earth, the place of the house of God, and the seat of the angels of God. It is the gate of heaven." (143) And on the third day they went from the Mount of Garizim, and came to the town of Hebron, and they spent that night there. (144) And Joshua son of Nun sang the praises of his forefathers the whole night until the morning. (145) And after that they forded the river Eshkol, and they found the children of Anak in great mourning (page 16). (146) And when the inhabitants of the town saw them they said, "These are the men who fled away." (147) And Joshua and Kaleb rose up and took of the fruit of the land, and they went to Moses and Aaron in the desert of Parān. And they were in great rejoicing and with a happy heart. (148) And Moses asked them concerning the land through which they had gone. (149) And Joshua reported to Moses, and he said to him as follows: "The land through which we passed is a land flowing with milk and honey, (150) the land is exceeding good, but the ten men spread an evil report among the people of Israel. (151) And the Children of Israel went from the desert of Parān, and camped in Libnah on the first day. (152) And whenever they came to encamp then Moses would command a man from the people to go and tie up the wagons of Joseph the pious; and he washed himself in water, and he would come before the master of the prophets, Moses, and he would prostrate himself before God, and Moses, upon whom be peace (!), would bless him (153) And in the evening he would wash his hands and feet

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from the basin, and he would come to the cherubim before the Ark of the Testimony, [to pray that] God may show him His favour and the pages, the princes, and the judges would stand there to serve him, until . . .

Thus far the MS.

In the Arabic text and in Ab Sakhua's the story finishes as follows :—

" And the sages and the judges stood there ready to minister to him until he came out from the Sanctuary, then they kissed his hands and feet. In the same way also acted the priests and the Levites. And his entry into the Sanctuary was from the East, whilst Aaron and his sons, and the wagon of Joseph, the righteous one, was in the West. And the wagon upon which was lying the coffin of the righteous Joseph used to go before the Ark of Testimony. And know that he whom God wishes to honour no one can contemn. Joseph was great in his lifetime and great also after his death."

Thus the story ends.

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Excavations at Kish, 1928–9

(*Lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society, 12th December*, 1929)

By S. LANGDON

(PLATES VII–XI)

LAST winter was the seventh consecutive season of the Herbert Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum Expedition at Kish, when Mr. Watelin, in charge of the excavations, reached virgin soil 28 feet below plain level, and 61 feet below mound level. At the end of the sixth season (1927–8), Watelin, Mr. Henry Field, and Mr. Eric Schroeder found the series of vaulted brick tombs and four-wheeled chariots, described in *Art and Archæology*, 1928, November, pp. 155–68. The Neo-Babylonian reconstruction of the temple Ehursagkalamma by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabunidus,[1] whose pavement lies 20 feet below mound level, may be seen in the back ground on the photograph in *Illustrated London News*, 1930, 8th February, p. 206. Where the deep wide excavations now appear, stood a large mound, when Mr. Mackay and I first attacked this great *tal* in 1925. This mound marked *Z* on my plan of Kish,[2] contained above the red stratum or temenos platform (see below) a ruined building from the periods of Sargon of Agade and the first Babylonian dynasty. Outside the wall near the *ziggurat* we found that year a marble statuette after the style of the one published in *Art and Archæology*, 1928, November, p. 160, with the cartouche on the right shoulder as figured on p. 602.

Lines 1–2 are defaced, but line 3 has Kish clearly. The name of the temple Hursagkalamma had not yet given its name to Eastern Kish, known as Hursagkalamma on the contracts of a late period excavated in 1927–8.[3] Lines 4–7

[1] *Art and Archæology*, October, 1927, pp. 103–11. This temple is now fully described in *Excavations at Kish*, vol. iii, by Mr. Watelin.

[2] *Excavations at Kish*, vol. i, pl. xxxiii.

[3] *Excavations at Kish*, vol. iii.

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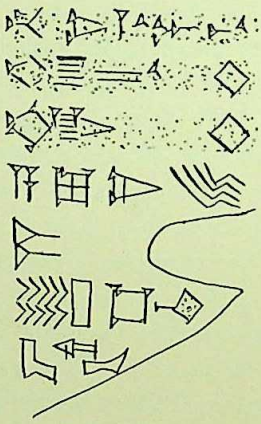
read *A-lu-i-lum mar Šar-gĩn-na išruḳ*. I first read the name of Alu-ilum's father, *Šar-rin-na*, but it is entirely possible that the sign *NIGIN* had also the value *gin*, and that this is Sargon of Agade. The two sons of Sargon who came to the throne were Rimush and Maništiššu.[1] In line 7, *SAG-TUK-DU* has certainly the same sense as the late ideogram *PA-KAB-DU* written in the early period *PA-TUK-DU*. See also CT. 5, 2, No. 3, ii, 3; OBI. 109, 4.

Plate VII shows a plan of Watelin's stratifications at the end of the seventh season, made by Mr. T. K. Penniman,



anthropologist to the Expedition, who took charge of the human remains excavated in the tombs last year. The figures indicate *metres*, and opposite each important stratum he has given the pottery types and in the great tomb area he has added types of stone and copper vessels, and a few copper implements. All our reckonings are taken above or below modern plain level. The thick red stratum is the temenos platform, and in it are found pre-Sargonic tablets of the same script as those found at Lagash in the time of Entemena and Lugalanda, that is of the period *circa* 2800–2700. In and just above this temenos platform, on which the two stage towers probably stand, the same pottery types occur as in

[1] *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, ii, 17.

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the cemetery of the old palace. See E. Mackay, "Report on the Excavation of the 'A' Cemetery at Kish," vol. i, No. 1, of Field Museum Anthropology, *Memoirs* (1925), and vol. i, No. 2, *A Sumerian Palace and the "A" Cemetery* (1929). It is probable that the complete reconstruction of the temple area after the Flood was carried out during the second or third dynasties of Kish, about 3000 B.C.; for the red stratum is surely earlier than the graves found in it.[1] Below the red stratum, running right through the mound and out into the plain, lies a stratum of fine sand precipitated by a great deluge which covered the entire area, and long enough to precipitate a layer uniformly 1½ feet thick. In this Flood stratum rows of small fresh-water fish, embedded evenly and horizontally in the sand, are found in various places, pottery sherds and fresh-water mussels are also found, settled in undisturbed position with the precipitated sediment of the waters which lay over the city. The photograph in *Illustrated London News*, ibid., p. 207, shows some rooms of a building at water level, and the Flood stratum crossing the excavation, evenly and clearly separated from the debris above and below it. The camera reveals this stratum only in the portion directly in focus. Its position is marked by the letter *X*. Plate VIII, taken from another part of the wide excavation, shows the same stratum, and it is found continuously at this level wherever the excavation was extended at this depth again this winter (1929–30).

The Flood stratum is invariably unpierced. Whatever is found below it belongs to the pre-diluvian period. It is impossible to say whether the inhabitants returned immediately to their destroyed capital and carried out the great plan of restoration, marked by the thick temenos platform laid right over it, or whether some time elapsed. One view is that the cities of the Euphrates valley were inundated during the reign of a powerful dynasty, and that

[1] I am here using my reduced date for the second dynasty, as published in Langdon-Fotheringham, *Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*, 85.

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Kish was immediately rebuilt. This does not explain the fact that, in the greatest period of Sumerian culture found at Kish, the thick stratum of the brick tombs extending without interruption to water level, through 18 feet of debris contains pottery types almost totally different from those above the Flood stratum. Here the spouted pot is prolific, both in clay and copper, whereas above the Flood stratum it disappears, but persists sporadically in the palace cemetery, contemporaneous with the graves in the red stratum. The great jar with wide false handle, on which is depicted the bust of the mother goddess Ninḫursag is never found below the Flood.

Watelin has excavated over 200 tombs and graves below the Flood, and consequently the material is ample for making a categorical statement. The same thing is true of the champagne cup type of vase, which I take to be plates for eating. They are not found at all below the Flood, whereas they are numerous and characteristic above it and in the palace. On the contrary, the whole period of the great tombs to water level is characterized by the extraordinary object, Plate IX, 4, and in Mr. Penniman's drawing. These are invariably large objects and moulded from a single piece of clay. The average height is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, diameter at the base 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet. They recede in a slight curve toward the top where they again spread slightly, leaving a diameter at the open top about two-thirds that of the base. They are hollow from top to bottom, and the bottom is also open. Ridges run round the object in bands of various distances from each other, and there are rows of triangular holes, usually not piercing the texture entirely. So far as I can see, these triangular holes are made to lighten the weight, but enough of them do penetrate the texture to suggest that they are censers. If they are the *niknakku* of Babylonian rituals, it is curious that none have been found from the later periods; for they were in common use, according to the texts, right down to the Persian period.

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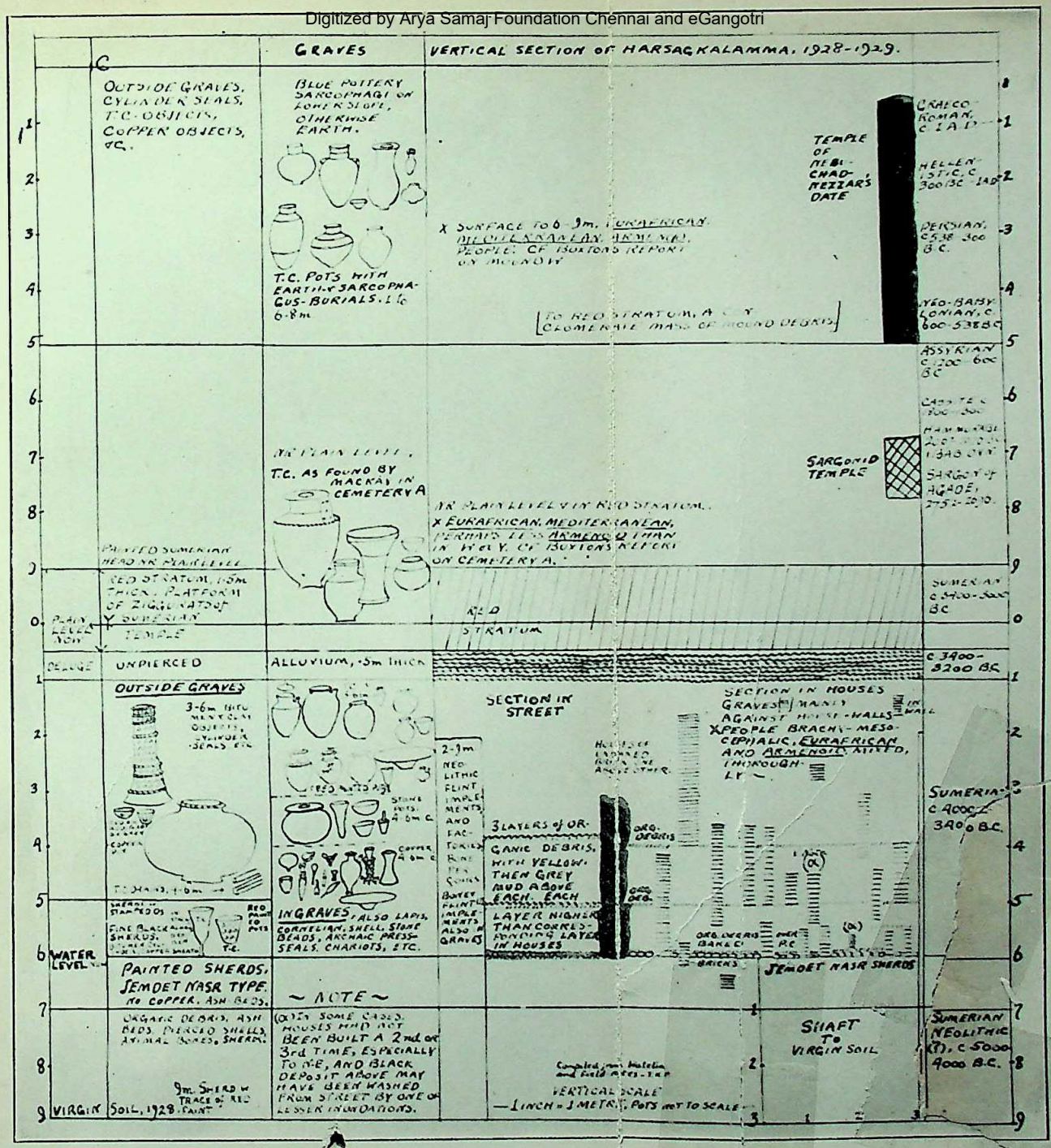

SERIES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRATIGRAPHY AT HURSAGKALAMMA.

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[To face p. 604.

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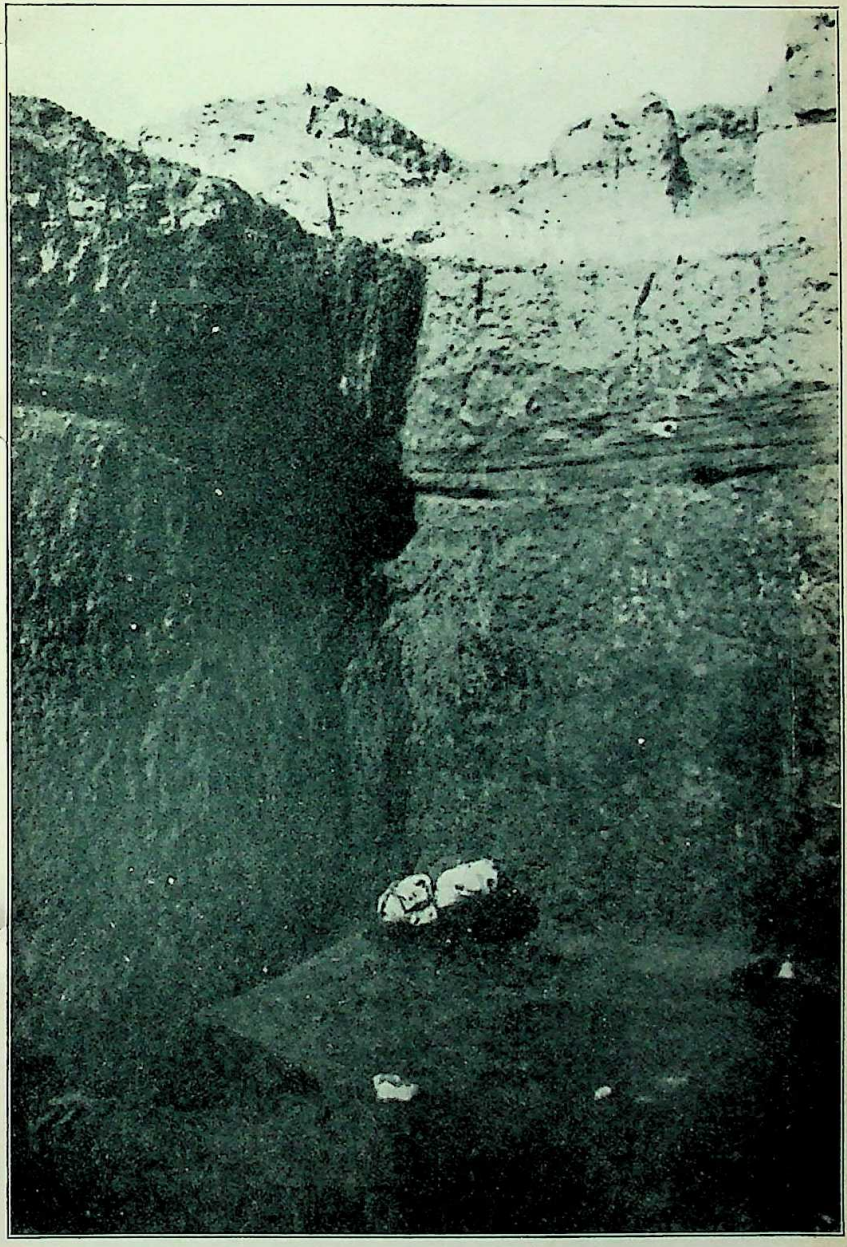

VIEW OF ONE PART OF THE EXCAVATIONS SHOWING THE FLOOD STRATUM.

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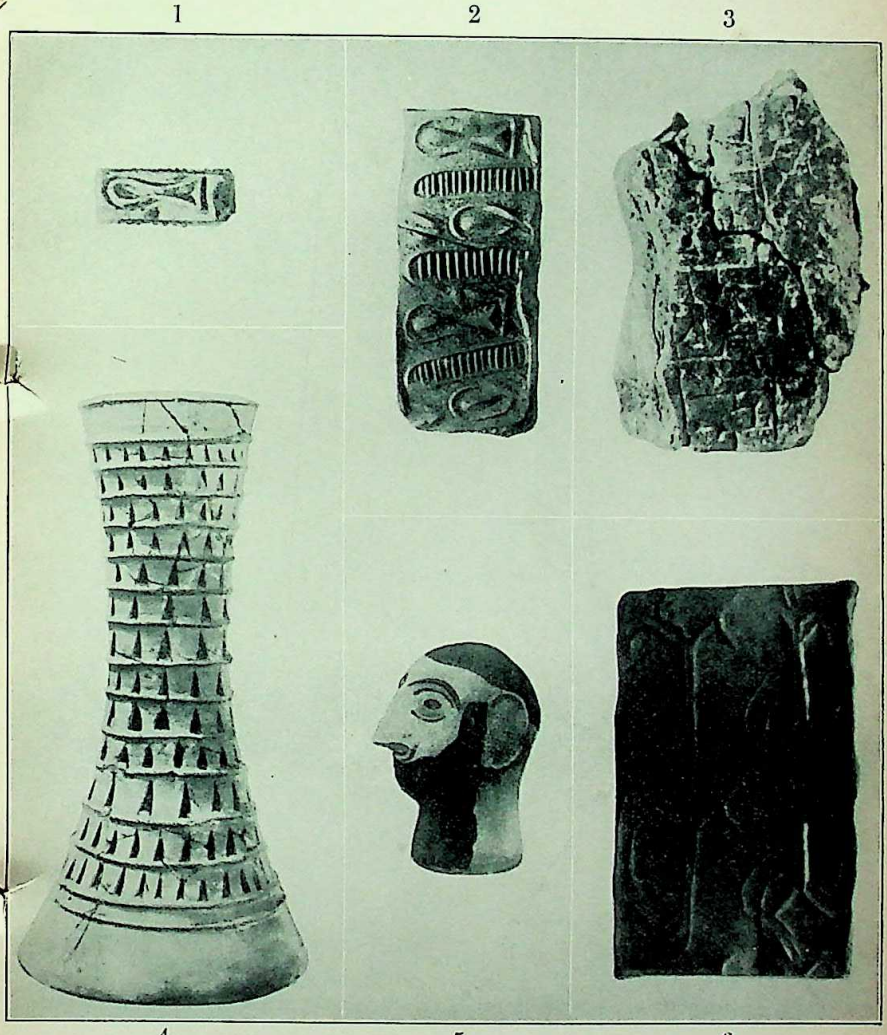

FIGS. 1 AND 2.—EARLY SUMERIAN SEAL. FIG. 3.—TABLET 3 METRES BELOW FLOOD STRATUM. FIG. 4.—CENSER (?) FROM BELOW FLOOD STRATUM. FIG. 5.—PAINTED SUMERIAN HEAD. FIG. 6.—EARLY SUMERIAN SEAL.

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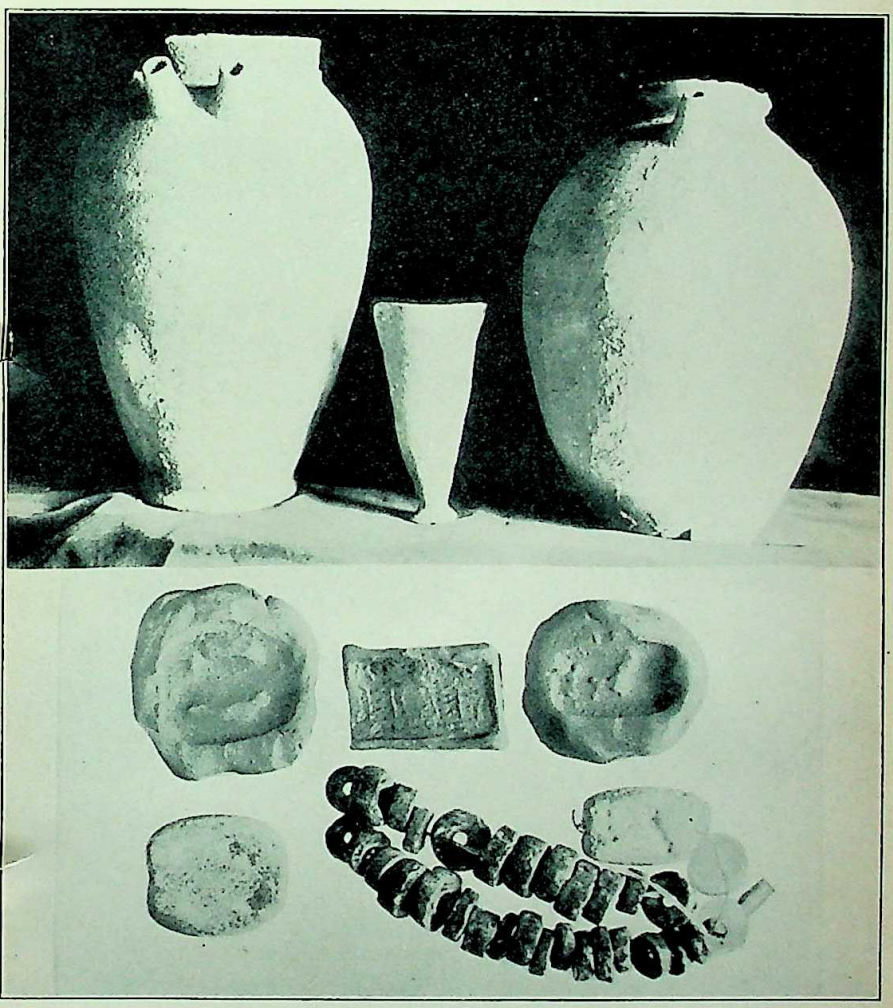

2

FIG. 1.—POTTERY FROM LOWEST SUMERIAN LEVELS.

FIG. 2.—SEALS AND BEADS FROM LOWEST SUMERIAN LEVELS.

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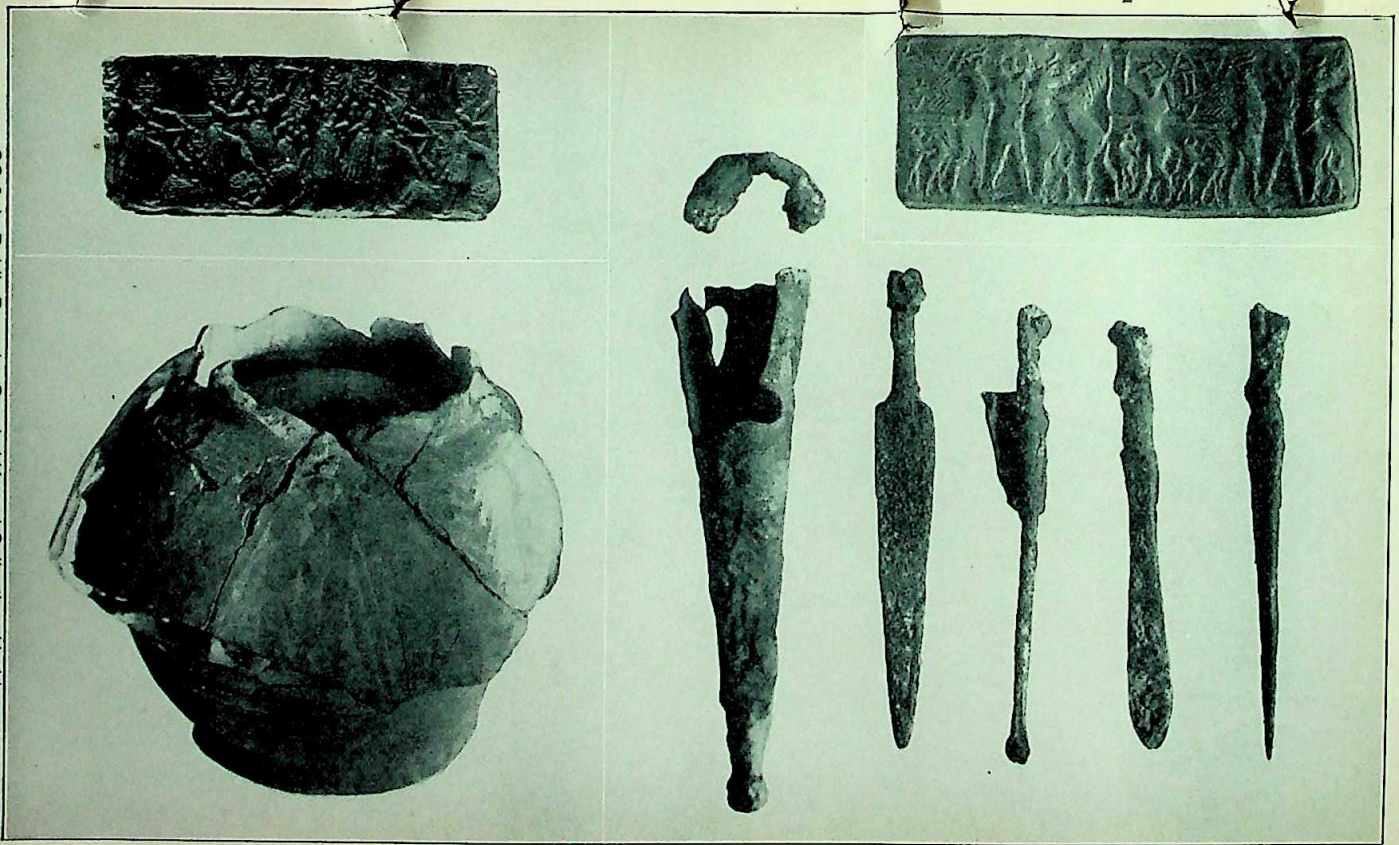

FIGS. 1 AND 2.—SEALS FROM RED STRATUM. FIG. 3.—SPECIMEN OF PAINTED WARE, BELOW WATER LEVEL. FIG. 4.—COPPER VANITY CASE FROM TOP OF RED STRATUM.

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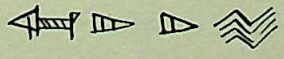
Plate X shows a one- and a two-spouted pot. The latter is confined to tombs very deep in this stratum. The one shown here was recovered at the palace by a shaft sunk by Watelin to a depth of two metres below plain level. In the centre of this group is seen a new type of vase, always crudely made, found in great quantities in a thin stratum just above water level. This marks a period between the great age of polychrome ware below water level and the long period of fine copper work known as the "tomb stratum" which is under discussion. The only painted ware found above water level is plain red, found also in the stratum marked by the prolific conical cups with small feet.

Plate XI, 4, shows the only copper vanity case, among many found in the red stratum and in graves of the palace, whose implements could be extracted. These are identical in type with those found in the tombs at Ur, and never occur below the Flood. Totally different also are the designs on the roll seals found above and below the Flood stratum. Plate XI, 2, is a seal from the red stratum, a so-called scene of Gilgamish and Enkidu in combat with a lion, Gilgamish protecting a stag and a bull, while Enkidu attacks the lion. It bears an Accadian name, *I-lum-magir(ir)*, if that be the correct reading. The text is unusual :—

The third sign is unlike anything known in Sumerian epigraphy and is certainly meant to be read directly from the seal. If so, the text is :—



Here the last sign *lum* is reversed, and the reading is *Gamir(ir)-ì-lum*. The first sign seems to be a curiously written *KA*. The second alternative makes an impossible Accadian name and *Ilumagir* is apparently the only choice. But *KA* does not have the value *magāru*. On the other hand

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a sign *KA* + *ŠU* + *ŠA-mil* has the meaning *gimil*.[1] A sign *KA* + *KAR*,[2] has the value *puzru* "secret", and so has also the simple form *KA*.[3] The seal, Plate XI, 1, was also found in the red stratum and in the so-called "gold burial", because of the gold band on the head of the woman, whose burial accoutrements were particularly costly. Plate IX, 6, shows a seal typical of the tomb stratum, found three metres below plain level. The animal file *motif* is common to the glyptique of the early Sumerian period. Plate X shows two primitive stone seals with their impressions, right and left of the photograph. These are really press seals and carry, as usual with specimens of this type, conventional and meaningless groups of dots and figures, designed solely to give individuality to the design. These were found at water level. In the centre is a roll seal made of bitumen, and covered with a thin sheath of copper. It carries a meaningless rectangle divided into three compartments. The two at the right and left ends contain parallel slanted lines, and the central compartment has two serpents in perpendicular position.

Plate IX, 1, 2, has a roll seal with curious geometrical design, which although effective in its individuality, has no apparent *motif* at all. It was found five metres below plain level. The tablet, Plate IX, 3, is the only one found below the Flood stratum last season, but Watelin has found more fragments in the stratum this year. The tablet seen here was found 5.50 metres below plain level, and is clearly not pictographic nor so old as those from Jemdet Nasr, published in *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, vol. vii. Since epigraphy is the most certain guide in fixing the chronology of the stratifications and the tablet was found *in situ* not far above the period of painted ware, it is of immense importance, and

[1] So in *Gimil(mil)-*^{d}*Dagan*; see *Babyloniaca*, vii, 70, n. 1. So in the year dates of Dungi, date formula 48, *é-Gimil-Dagan(ki)* is the full form.

[2] CT. xi, 25, A 5.

[3] Meissner, SAI. 406; cf. *pu-uz-rat ḫadê*, CT. xx, 29 B 8, with *KA ḫadê*, Sm. 67, 8 (*Babyloniaca*, vi, 113).

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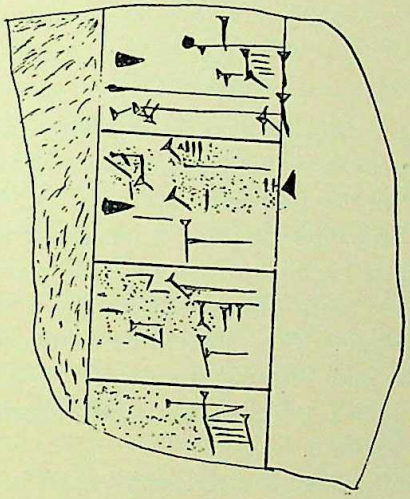
I give here a copy. It comes from the oval face of a tablet which carried at least two columns.



The photograph made at Kish has been taken upside down. Here the linear signs of the pictographic script have become slightly cuneiform and of the same period as the Fara tablets published by Professor Anton Deimel.

This season (1929–30) a good many tablets have been found in the central part of the tomb stratum about 3 metres below plain level, and 2 metres below the Flood stratum. I have not seen the originals, but the script is clearly later than the tablet above. For example, the sign is made

The sign is made

The ligature for *napḫaru*, total *AN-ŠÚ-GUN* appears in precisely the same form as on the Fara tablets.

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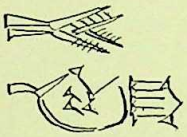
Other signs on these pre-diluvian fragments retain extremely primitive forms.



The former is apparently identical with *TSBA.* vi, 454, A. iv, 3, there identified with *gunu* of Thureau-Dangin, REC. 330 ? All the tablets found below the Flood stratum are not later than the Fara texts, but so far as the meagre material permits me to form an opinion there is not much evolution in the script during the age from water level to the Flood stratum. This I should date from about 3800 to 3300 B.C. The inundation of the city occurred at the end of this period, which contains the great chariots and best copper work at Kish.

In the seventh season Watelin sank a shaft in the far corner of the excavation, at the deep area on Plate VII. At a depth of 3 metres from water level, or nine from plain level, he reached virgin soil. This work had to be carried out by the primitive method of keeping the water back by dipping with buckets, but this year we have installed a pump driven by a gasoline engine, and a large space is now being excavated to virgin soil. This is extremely important, for in 1928–9 Watelin found not only quantities of neolithic flint implements in this shaft,[1] but he found a definitely defined stratum of polychrome painted ware precisely like that of Jemdet Nasr. This year, by means of the efficient hydraulic method mentioned above, the stratum containing polychrome pottery has yielded a large number of fragments sufficient perhaps in some cases to be repaired into whole pots. Plate XI, 3, shows the bottom of a large vessel in red and brown on a yellow slip. It is here turned upside down and placed over a plain pot to support it. This ware is found two metres below

[1] See "Note sur l'industrie lithique de Kish," par L. Ch. Watelin, *L'Anthropologie*, 1929, pp. 65–76.

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water level, and does not go down to virgin soil. Since pictographic tablets were found at Jemdet Nasr with the same pottery, and the same pictographic tablets have been found at Kish strayed to upper levels, and above the red stratum, it is certain that tablets of this kind will be found if they survived in this water-logged stratum. Judging by the depth and the evolution of the script on the series of tablets from 8 metres below plain level upward to the tablets in the red stratum, which may be safely dated at 2900 B.C., it is a low estimate when we date the painted ware of Kish and Jemdet Nasr at 4000 B.C.

For seven years the Expedition has sent to Oxford and the Field Museum skulls and skeletons that our anthropologists might study the racial character of the peoples who lived at various periods in Kish. In 1924, Mr. Buxton, Reader in Physical Anthropology at Oxford, proved that the skulls from the cemetery in the palace are predominantly dolichocephalic. A few brachycephalic skulls were found there. The same is true of the skulls found in or just above the red stratum, which is contemporary with the palace cemetery. I took this to mean that the Semite represents the long-headed race and the round heads are the Sumerians. Mr. Buxton refused to go further than to conclude that there were two races or a mixed race. Now we have a very large number of skulls from every stage of the great tomb stratum, right down to water level, or from the period 4000–3300 B.C. They have been studied by Mr. Penniman, and found to be preponderantly brachycephalic. Still the long-headed type persists here, and Mr. Buxton declares that right back to the deepest tombs at water level the population was already mixed. What the result will be if skulls are found in the still deeper trenches below water level remains to be seen. But both of these anthropologists agree on one vital point. The deeper the excavations, the more emphatic is the excess of round over long heads. This is clearly what we expect if the Sumerian is the round-headed type.

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Plate IX, 5, shows a painted head found above the red stratum. It clearly belongs to the period of painted ware. Pictographic tablets of the Jemdet Nasr type also lay in the same level, and it is obvious that the inhabitants of Kish had an antiquarian interest in the monuments of their remote ancestors. These remains from a stratum 30 feet below that in which they were found had been preserved through successive generations. The head is a typical armenoid, and probably the best evidence now at our disposal for studying a real Sumerian or proto-Sumerian of the period 4000 B.C. It is the only model moulded to life which has the colour of the hair and skin indicated in colours. The torso of the statue has not been recovered. A deep round hole remains at the bottom of the neck of the head to receive the projection which attached it to the body. I described it fully in the *Daily Telegraph*, 13th December, 1929, and again in the *Illustrated London News*, 8th February, 1930, where a drawing in colours by Miss Legge is reproduced. The hair left on the crown by the tonsure of the period and the full beard without moustaches are black. The skin is a pale yellow. The reproduction in the *Illustrated London News* has too much red in it. Mr. Buxton takes the colouring of the skin to indicate an olive coloured skin. The irises, eyebrows, and eye lashes are black. In no case is this a Mongolian, despite the skin. That is definitely excluded by the shape of the face and head according to Mr. Buxton.

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A Fragment from the Pratitya-samutpada-vyakhya of Vasubandhu

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

VERY little, as it is known, remains in Sanskrit of the literary activity of Vasubandhu. If we except some *kārikās* of the *Abhidharma-kośa*, we have nothing else than the *Viṃśikā* and the *Triṃśikā*, recently edited by Sylvain Lévi. I may add that the *Trisvabhāva-kārikā* has also been found in Nepal, and copies are with the French Sanskritist and with me. I shall also mention the fragments of the *vṛtti* upon the *Madhyānta-vibhaṅga* (or *vibhāga*) by Maitreya, incorporated in the *ṭīkā* of Sthiramati, which is being edited by me and Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī from the Nepalese manuscript. It will, therefore, be of interest to Buddhist scholars and to Indologists in general to see here published another short, but not insignificant, fragment from the pen of the same *ācārya*, viz. the *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā*, a commentary upon the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* referred to in the discussion of this same subject in the *Abhidharma-kośa* (*Bkaḥ-ḍgyur*, Mdo, xviii, 11).

The work was already known to us through its Tibetan translation (Cordier, *Catalogue*, iii, p. 365, Mdo. ཨ); but, as it is a very difficult and abstruse treatise, the value of the few leaves that I edit here cannot be sufficiently emphasized. Moreover, our text deals with one of the fundamental points, I should rather say, the very kernel of Buddhist dogmatics, viz. the law of the causal connection (12 *nidānas*); it supplements and explains the *Abhidharma-kośa*.[1] Unfortunately,

[1] Chap. i, *vijñāna* and *ṣaḍ-āyatana*; chap. iii, 1, *saṃskāra* and *bhava*; chap. v, *tṛṣṇā* and *upādāna*; general discussion on the *pratītya* and the remaining members in chap. iii.

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the fragment is not very large. In fact the extant Tibetan translation covers 69 folios; but the pages corresponding to our text are approximately only 8½. We may therefore infer that the six leaves here edited represent about one-eighth of the entire work.[1]

Of the twelve *vibhaṅgas* into which it was divided we have :

1 leaf of the first	*avidyā-vibhaṅga.*
1 leaf of the	*vedanā-vibhaṅga.*
1½ leaves of the	*tṛṣṇā-vibhaṅga* (complete).
1 leaf of the	*upādāna-vibhaṅga.*
1½ leaves of the	*bhava-vibhaṅga.*

The palm-leaf manuscript from which my copy has been taken belongs to His Holiness Śrī Hemarāja Śarmā, spiritual preceptor to His Highness the Mahārāja of Nepal. It is written in old Newari characters of the twelfth or thirteenth century and it is generally correct. It contains six lines per page. I have carefully compared my text with the Tibetan translation and noted down all the passages in which a *varia lectio* between the Sanskrit original and the Tibetan rendering is traceable.[2]

I cannot conclude these short introductory remarks without expressing my deepest gratitude to His Holiness Śrī Hemarāja Śarmā. He has not only been so kind as to show me the most precious gems of his private collection of MSS., but also has graciously allowed me to take copies of some of them ; while in the frequent meetings that we had at the Durbar Library I had the rare opportunity of learning very much from his unparalleled knowledge of Sanskrit literature and

[1] From the colophons of the various chapters we deduce that the title of the treatise was not *Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhaṅga-nirdeśa*, as restored in Tibetan, but *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā* (Tib. *lšad. pa.*). *Vibhaṅga* is the name of the various chapters, each corresponding to a particular *nidāna.*

[2] The Tibetan xylograph used by me belongs to the Calcutta University, and was kindly put at my disposal by the authorities. It is a good copy of the Narthang edition.

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things Indian. Nor should any Indologist forget the noble work in which, with the enlightened help of His Highness the Mahārāja of Nepal, he is engaged, I mean, the rescue from inevitable destruction of these old remains of ancient Indian culture which can still be found in the fortunate country of Nepal.

I

Avidyā-vibhaṅga

(Tib. fol. 4a, l. 1) . . . . [इत्यु]क्ता विधिर्विज्ञायते । न पूर्वकालक्रियार्थ इति । पुनश्चाह पश्चाद्विनिश्चयं करिष्यामः । व इति युष्मभ्यं युष्मानुद्दिश्येति दर्शयति । भिक्षव इति । आमन्त्रणं भिक्षूणामन्यचित्तानां तदुन्मुखीकरणार्थम् । कस्माद्भिक्षूणामेव नान्यासां पर्षदाम् । "अग्रत्वाच्छ्रेष्ठत्वादासन्नत्वात्सदा च सांनिध्याद्ग्रहणे च शक्तिमत्त्वाद्भिक्षूनामन्त्रयामास" इति भदन्तराङ्कलभद्रः[1]। आदिरुद्देशो निर्देशस्य तत्पूर्वकत्वात् । तेन चादीयते यस्मात्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः । विभङ्गे निर्देशः । निर्देश उद्देशवचनम् । उद्देशस्य सुखेनार्थगत्यर्थम् । निर्देशस्याल्पेन यत्नेन सुखं संधारणार्थञ्च । वृत्तिसूचभूतत्वात्[2]। एवं हि स्वाख्यातो भवति । समासतो व्यासतश्चाख्यानात्[3] । देशयिष्यामीत्यादि विभङ्गाख्ययोर्द्देशनयोः[4] प्रवर्तनं प्रतिजानीते । यथाऽन्यत्र धर्मं देशयिष्यामीत्याह । न च सूत्रादिधर्मादन्या तद्देशना । लोकेऽप्येकं वचनं वक्ष्यामीति । न च वचनस्यान्यत्पुनर्वचनम् । तदित्ययं निपातो वाक्योपन्यासे तस्मादर्थे च । शृणुतेति । श्रोत्रावधाने प्रयोजयति । साधु च सुष्ठु च

[1] We have another fragment of this disciple of Nāgārjuna, concerning whom see Ui, *Studies in Indian Philosophy* (in Japanese), vol. ii, p. 341, and *ZII.*, vol. vi, p. 224.

[2] Tib.: ạgrel . pa . daṅ . mdo . lta . bu . yin . pai . p'yir.

[3] This passage is quoted by Haribhadra in *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* (p. 19 of my forthcoming edition). *Samāsanirdiṣṭasya vyāsataś cākhyānāt svākhyātatvam.* But perhaps the common source is the *Vyākhyā-yukti* of Vasubandhu.

[4] Viz. *samāsataḥ* and *vyāsataḥ* (*uddeśa*).

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मनसिकृतेति । अविपरीतादरग्रहणे पर्षदो देश्यनाभाजनत्वापादनार्थम् । अन्यथा हि देश्यनायाः साफल्यं न स्यात् । त्रिभिर्दोषैः । आद्येपदोषेण व्यञ्जनस्याश्रवणात् । प्रज्ञादोषेण वा विपरीतव्यञ्जनार्थग्रहणात् । स्वस्त्यरिष्टादिवत्[1]। मन्दक्रन्ददोषेण वाऽनाग्रहोद्गृहीतस्याधारणात् । [retro] पराङ्मुखाशुचिच्छिद्रभाजनेषु वृष्यसाफल्यवत्[2]। तद्प्रवेश्यवैकृत्यानवस्थानतः । देश्यिष्यामीत्युक्त्वा भाषिष्य इति पुनः किमर्थमेवं भाषिष्ये[3]। अन्यथा नेति प्रदर्शनार्थम् । अहमपि च साधु च सुष्ठु च भाषिष्य इति सम्बन्धनार्थञ्च। भाषिष्ये केवलमहं युष्माभिस्तु प्रतिपत्त्या सम्याद्यमिति सन्दर्शनार्थञ्च । यथान्यत्राह "युष्माभिरेवंकरणीयमाख्यातारस्तथागताः" इति । प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्यादिः कतम इति परप्रश्नावकाशे स्वयं तद्वचनं तदनन्तरं कथाविच्छेददोषपरिहारार्थम् । गारवेण प्रष्टुमशक्नुवतामनुग्रहार्थम् । एकाग्रीकृतचेतसां वचनेर्यापथभेदात् । विचेपदोषपरिहारार्थञ्च । यदुतेतिनिपातद्वयमादिदेश्यनारम्भप्रदर्शनार्थम् । अस्मिन् सतीदं भवत्यस्योत्पादादिदमुत्पद्यत[4] इति । अभेदेन प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्यादिं देश्यति । अज्ञानामकीर्तनाद्यदुत "अविद्याप्रत्ययाः संस्काराः" इति भेदेनाज्ञानां कीर्तनात् । तत्रास्मिन् सतीति विद्यमान इदं भवतीति जायते । एषा हि सप्तमी हेत्वर्थे वेदितव्या । यथा देवे वर्षति शस्यं जायते । हिमे पतति शस्यं शुष्यतीति । अत्र वृष्टिः शस्यजन्महेतुर्विज्ञायते । हिमपातः शस्यशोषस्य । एवमस्मिन् सतीदं भवतीत्यन्यसद्भावोऽन्यप्रादुर्भावस्य हेतुर्गम्यते । अस्योत्पादादिति प्रादुर्भावात् । इदम . . . . (Tib. fol. 5b, l. 4).

[1] *svasti* is *śubhe*; but *ariṣṭa* is *śubhāśubhe* according to Amara (iii, 5 = 2406), and in Jyotiṣa is synonym of misfortune, or unlucky omen.

[2] This example is fully illustrated by Haribhadra, op. cit., p. 124. If a pot is upside down, unclean, or with holes, it cannot be used for collecting rain water: in the first case there is *apraveśa*, in the second *vaikṛtya*, in the third *anavasthāna*.

[3] rnam . par . dbye . ba . bstan . gyis . žes . gsuṅs . nas . yaṅ . yid . la . zuṅ . žig . daṅ . bšad . do . žes . gsuṅs . pa . cii . p'yir . že . na.

[4] So also *Śālistamba* ap. de la Vallée Poussin. *Théorie des douze causes*, p. 71; *Mahāvastu*, ii, 285; *Prasanna-padā*, p. 9 (and note 7 by the editor); *Abhidharma-kośa*.

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II

Vedanā-vibhaṅga

(Tib. fol. 39b, l. 6) . . . . [दुःखान्त][1]रोपरमे तु सुखबुद्धिर्भवति। यथेर्यापथान्तरभारावतारणयोः शिरशूलाद्युपरमे च। तस्मान्नास्त्येव सुखम्। तदिदमज्ञात्वा सुखहेतुं तस्याव्यवस्थितत्वं कल्प्यम्। [विष]य[2]विशेषं केवलं सुखहेतुं चेतसि कृत्वा नाध्यात्मिकं शरीरावस्थाविशेषम्। उभयञ्च तत्समग्रं सुखहेतुः। यादृशञ्च तदुभयं सुखाय कल्पते, तादृशं न कदाचिद्दुःखायेति। नाव्यवस्थितः सुखहेतुस्तद्यथाग्निः शालियवशाकमांसा[3]दीनां यादृशमवस्थान्तरं प्राप्य स्वादुरसहेतुर्भवति, न तादृशं[4] प्राप्य कदाचिदस्वादुरसहेतुरित्येष दृष्टान्तः। दुःखवेदनोपरमे ऽपि कदाचित्सुखवेदानन्तरं परिच्छिद्यते। तत्र सुख एव सुखबुद्धिर्भवति। न दुःखोपरमे। तद्यथा श्रान्तस्याङ्गसंवाहनेर्यापथान्तरयोः। अन्यथा कालान्तरेणापि श्रमोपरमे तादृश्येव सुखबुद्धिः स्यात्। कदाचिन्न सुखं न दुःखं परिच्छिद्यते। तत्र दुःखनिर्मोचमात्रे सुखोपचारो भवति, न सुखबुद्धिर्वेदनान्तरस्यापरिच्छेदात्। इत्यञ्चैतदेवं यन्मृष्टमन्नपानं भूयसा यत्नेन प्रार्थयते। न चोदनकुल्माषकाद्यिकोदकमात्रेणापि क्षुत्पिपासादुःखं नोपरमति। यदा च क्षुत्पिपासारहितस्य स्वादुसुगन्धिद्रव्यान्तराणां तारतम्यविशेषात्सुखविशेषबुद्धिर्जायते, सा[5] कतमस्य दुःखान्तरस्योपरमात्। [retro] घ्राणरसने वा[6] श्रोत्रे वा पुनः मधुरतूर्यसङ्गीतिध्वनीनां श्रवणात्, तस्मान्न दुःखायामेव वेदनायां दुःखान्तरोपरमात् सुखवेदनाबुद्धिः सिध्यति। न चापि केवले दुःखान्तरोपरमे। इत्यागमतो ऽपि युक्तितो ऽपि सिद्धास्तिस्रो

[1] sdug . bsñal . gžan . žig. For all the discussion see *Abhidharma-kośa*, vi, 3 ff. (Trans. by de la Vallée Poussin, iii, 127 ff.)

[2] des . ądi . dag . ma . rtogs . nas . bde . bai . rgyu . de . dag . rnam . par . gnas . pa . yin . par . rtog . par . byed . do . že . na | yul . gyi . bye . brag . ąba' . žig . ; the Locāva read therefore *tasyā vyavasthi*.

[3] Tib. *ña* . = *matsya*.

[4] Tib. adds *avasthāntaram* : de . ądra . bai . gnas . skabs . gžan . rñed . na.

[5] Tib. dei . ts'e . (*tadā*) . sdug . bsñal . gžan . ži . ba . gaṅ . žig . yin.

[6] Doubtful ; according to Tib. it should be : *ghrāṇena punaḥ* sna . bos . kyaṅ . yid . du . 'oṅ . ba . sñan . pa . sna . ts'ogs . pai . sgra . rnams . la . ñan . par . byed . pai . p'yir . ro. Cf. *Abhidh. k.*, iii, p. 135.

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वेदनाः[1]। "स्पर्शप्रत्यया वेदना" इति। अत्रापि प्रत्ययप्रत्ययि-द्वयनियमानियमेऽनियम एव श्रेयान्। किं कारणम्। प्रत्ययनियमे हि वेदनायाः, अन्ये हेतुसमनन्तरालम्बनप्रत्यया न स्युः सूत्रञ्च विरुध्येत। "यत्किञ्चित्सत्त्वानां वेदितमुत्पद्यते सर्वं तत्प्रतीत्य नाप्रतीत्य। किं प्रतीत्य। छन्दं प्रतीत्य वितर्कं प्रतीत्य स्पर्शं प्रतीत्य" इति। तथा "यत्किञ्चित्सत्त्वानां दुःखमुत्पद्यते सर्वभूतोपधिनिदानम"[2] इति। प्रत्ययिनियमे स्पर्शो नान्यचैतसिकधर्मप्रत्ययः स्यात्। उभयनियमे यथोक्तदोषप्रसङ्गः। तस्मादनियम एव श्रेयान्। न च देश्यनावैयर्थ्यम्। प्रधानप्रत्ययदेश्यनात्। स्पर्शस्य प्रधानप्रत्ययत्वं सुखवेदनीयादिस्पर्शभेदेन सुखादिवेदनोत्पत्तेः। तथा हि तदुत्पत्ता-वन्ये प्रत्यया छन्दवितर्कादयश्च स्पर्शमपेक्षन्ते न तु स्पर्शस्तानवश्यम् [अपेक्षते][3]

[प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादव्याख्यायां वेदनाविभङ्गः समाप्तः][4]

Tṛṣṇā-vibhaṅga

वेदना[प्रत्य]या तृष्णेति। तृष्णा कतमा। तिस्र तृष्णा इति विस्तरः[5]। अत्रापि भगवता कामरूपारूप्यभेदेन तृष्णायाः प्रभेद-[उक्तो न तु स्वभावता। विनेयविशेषापेक्षयेति पूर्ववत्। तत्र का][6]

III

माव[च]री तृष्णा कामतृष्णा मध्यपदलोपात्। श्वमत्रिकावद्रा-मसूकरवच्च। एवं रूपारूप्यतृष्णे यथायोग्यं वेदितव्ये। सैषा त्रैधातुकी तृष्णोक्ता भवति। सा पुनः कामरूपारूप्यावीतरागाणां यथाक्रमं या क्लिष्टा प्रार्थना सक्तिरालयः[7]। यद्भूमिका च या

[1] *sukha, duḥkha, asukhāduḥkha.*

[2] *Suttanipāta*, 728.

[3] reg . pa . ni . ñes . par . de . dag . la . bltos . pa . ma . yin . no.

[4] Colophon, not in the MS., rten . ciṅ . ạbrel . bar . ạbyuṅ . bšad . pa las . ts'or . ba . rnam . par . dbye . ba . rdsogs . so.

[5] *Abhidharma-kośa*, iii and v. *Théorie*, etc., p. 26.

[6] t'a . dad . pas . sred . pai . rab . tu . dbye . ba . gsuṅs . kyi . ṅo . bo . ñid . ni . ma . yin . te . | gdul . byai . bye . brag . la . bltos . nas . te . sṅa . ma . bžin . no . | de . la . ạdod . pa . na . spyod . pai . sred . pa . ni.

[7] ts'ol . ba . daṅ . c'ags . pa . daṅ . žen . pa.

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वेदना तद्भूमिकैव तत्प्रत्यया तृष्णायाः । कथं दुःखायां वेदनायां तृष्णा नोच्यते तस्यामेव तृष्णेति । अपि तु सुखा वेदना तत्संयोगवियोगतृष्णायाः प्रत्ययः । [1-] दुःखा तदसंयोगवियोगतृष्णायाः [-1] । अदुःखासुखा तदवस्थाऽभिरतितृष्णायाः । तत्संयोगावियोगतृष्णायाश्च कस्याश्चित्समापत्तौ [2] । उक्तं च भगवता "स दुःखया वेदनया स्पृष्टः कामसुखमभिनन्दति" [3] इति । दुःखापि वेदना सुखतृष्णायाः प्रत्ययः । अपि तु खलु त्रिविधवेदना व्यवकीर्णायां स्कन्धसन्ततावभेदेन या आत्मभावतृष्णा सहजात्मदृष्टिसहगता प्रवर्तते, सा वेदनामुखेन प्रवर्तते । तस्याः सर्वासौ वेदनासन्ततिरधिपतिप्रत्ययः । यथोक्तं महानिदान[4]पर्याये "यत्रानन्द वेदना नास्ति वेदको नोपलभ्यते । अपि तु तत्रास्मीति [5] स्यादिति नो भदन्त" [6] । ताञ्चाभेदप्रवृत्तामात्मभावतृष्णां प्रतीत्य परिकल्पितामात्मदृष्टिमुत्पादयन्त्येके । ताञ्च सन्धायोक्तं भगवता । "अविद्यासंस्पर्शजं भिक्षवो वेदितम् : प्रतीत्योत्पन्ना तृष्णा । ततस्ते संस्काराः" [7] इति । सा चात्मवादोपादाने व्यवस्थिता । [retro] कथञ्चान्यथात्मवादोपादानं तृष्णाप्रत्ययं सिध्येत् । यदि तर्हि त्रिविधवेदनाप्रत्यया तृष्णा, कस्मात् "सुखायां वेदनायां रागोऽनुशेते" [8] इत्युच्यते । तदालम्बनतत्सम्प्रयोगित्वात्, स्वां सान्तानिकीं सुखां वेदनामधिकृत्य । यदि वेदनाप्रत्यया तृष्णा सर्वस्यास्ति वेदनेति, अर्हतोऽपि तृष्णाप्रसङ्गः । नैष्क्रम्याश्रितसौमनस्याद्यभावप्रसङ्गः । यन्मेघप्रत्यया वृष्टिरित्युच्यते, किं मेघे सत्यवश्यं वृष्टिर्भवति । एवं सत्यामपि वेदनायां नावश्यं तृष्णा भवति । किं पुनः कारणं न भवति । प्रतिपक्षविशेषयोगात् । बीजमेवा[स्या उ]द्धृतं [9] भवत्याग्नेयादुपहतं वा, यतः सत्यपि प्रत्यये निर्बीजा नोत्पद्यते, उपहतबीजा वा । यथा सत्यपि चेतोदका-

[1-1] Missing in Tib.

[2] Tib. adds *pratyaya*: sred . pai . rkyen . yin . no.

[3] *Majjhima*, iii, 285, *so sukhāya vedanāya puṭṭho samāno abhinandati abhivadati ajjhosāya tiṭṭhati*. Cf. *Abhidharma-k.*, v, 1*a*–2*a* (iii, p. 7).

[4] Tib. adds *dharma*: rgyun . c'en . poi . c'os . kyi . rnam . graṅs.

[5] 'on . kyaṅ . de . la . bdag . go . sñam . byed . dam.

[6] *bhadanta* not in Tib. For the passage cf. *Dīgha.*, ii, p. 67.

[7] *Saṃyutta*, iii, 96.

[8] Cf. *Abhidharma-k.*, v, 18, 2*a* (vol. iii, p. 7).

[9] ḍdii . sa . bon . ñid . gnas . nas . bton . pa . 'm . mnan . pa . yin . te.

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दिप्रत्यये न निर्बीजोऽङ्कुरः प्रादुर्भवत्युपहतबीजो वा। विशेषितं चान्यत्र भगवता। "अविद्यासंस्पर्शजं वेदितं प्रतीत्योत्पन्ना तृष्णा"[1] इति। तथा।

सुखं वेदयमानस्य वेदनाऽसम्प्रजानतः।
रागस्यानुशयो भवत्यनिःसरणदर्शिनः[2] ॥ इति

। तस्मादपरिज्ञाता वेदना तृष्णायाः प्रत्ययो न सर्वा। इहापि तर्हि तथा किं न विशेषितम्। अविद्यया संस्कारसामान्यप्रत्ययत्वेनास्यार्थस्य [प्रदर्श]नत्वात्[3]। क्वचिद्भगवता तृष्णाया अविद्योक्तः प्रत्ययः। "तृष्णाया भिक्षवोऽविद्या हेतुरविद्या प्रत्ययोऽविद्या निदानम्" इति।

IV

[verse] तथा। "कश्च भिक्षवो भवतृष्णाया आहारः। अविद्या इति स्याद्वचनीयमिति"[4] क्वचित्स्पर्श एवोक्तः। "षट् तृष्णाकायाश्चक्षुःसंस्पर्शजा तृष्णा" इति विस्तरः। तथा। "यः कश्चिद्वेदनास्कन्धः संज्ञास्कन्धः[5] संस्कारस्कन्धः सर्वः संस्पर्शं प्रतीत्य" इति। इह पुनर्वेदनाप्रत्ययैवोक्तेति। कथं न सूत्रविरोधः। अभिसन्धिभेदात्। अविद्या हि तृष्णायाः सामान्यप्रत्ययं सन्धायोक्तम्। स्पर्शश्च। वेदना तु विशेषप्रत्ययम्। त्रिष्वपि हि धातुषु संमूढस्य यद्भूमिका वेदना तद्भूमिकतृष्णासमुदाचारात्। एकस्यामपि भूमौ तुल्यायामविद्यायां वेदनातदुत्कर्षापकर्षविशेषेण तृष्णाविशेषसमुदाचारात्। तृष्णासमुदाचारश्च प्रति सुखवेदनीयादिस्थानां वेदनाविशेषापेक्षत्वादतो नास्ति विरोधः। "वेदनाप्रत्यया तृष्णा" इत्यत्र प्रत्ययनियमे यथोक्तदोषप्रसङ्गः। अन्ये च हेतुसमनन्तरप्रत्ययास्तृष्णाया न स्युः। प्रत्ययिनियमे वेदनान्येषां धर्माणां हेतुसमनन्तरालम्बनप्रत्ययो न स्यात्। सूत्रञ्च विरुध्येत। "दुःखायां वेदनायां प्रतिघोऽनुशेते"[6] इति विस्तरः। "सुखितस्य चित्तं समाधियते। सुखितस्य धर्मा

[1] *Saṃyutta*, iii, 96.
[2] ṅes . par . mi . ṅabyuṅ . bar . ṅgyur . ro. *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 205.
[3] dei . don . bstan . zin . pai . p'yir . ro.
[4] *Aṅguttara*, v, 116.
[5] Not in Tib.
[6] *Saṃyutta*, iv, 208.

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अभिलयन्ती" त्येवमादि। द्वयनियमे द्विधादोषप्रसङ्गः। अनियमे व्यर्थ उपदेशः। नात्र नियमः। न चैव व्यर्थ उपदेशः। तृष्णाया विशेषप्रत्ययज्ञापनार्थम्। तथोपदेशात् पूर्ववत् प्रधानप्रत्ययश्च। यतो वेदनासुखादिवेदनासंयो[retro]गादिमुखेन तृष्णायाः समुदाचरणात्॥

प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादव्याख्यायां तृष्णाविभङ्गः समाप्तः॥

Upādāna-vibhaṅga

"तृष्णाप्रत्ययमुपादानमिति"। उपादानं कतमदिति विस्तरः। अत्र "कामोपादानं यावदात्मवादोपादानम्" इति। अयं समासः किं रूपदर्शनवद्वेदितव्यः। आहोस्विद्रूपायतनवत्। किञ्चातः। स्वरूपदर्शनवच्चेत् कामादीनामुपादानमिति, उपादेयभेदेनोपादानस्य प्रभेद एव निर्दिष्टो भवति, न तु स्वभावः। तत्र के कामादयः। किमेषामुपादानमिति निर्देष्टव्यम्। रूपायतनवच्चेत्, कामादय एवोपादानमिति। उपादानस्य स्वभावस्य निर्दिष्टो भवति, प्रभेदस्य। के तु कामादयः कथञ्चोपादानमिति निर्देष्टव्यम्। रूपदर्शनवदयं समासः। प्रभेदेनैव च स्वभावमेके बुध्यन्त इत्युक्तं प्राक्। तत्र कामाः पञ्चकामगुणा इहाभिप्रेताः। यथा चोक्तं "कामीकामा[1] इति पञ्चानां कामगुणानामेतदधिवचनम्"[2] इति। तथा।

तस्येदं कामयानस्य क्रन्दजातस्य देहिनः।
ते कामा न समृध्यन्ति शल्यविद्ध इव रूप्यते[3]॥

इति दृष्टिसमासतः। भवदृष्टिर्विभवदृष्टिश्च। तन्मुखेन चान्यानि दृष्टिगतानि। तदुपसंहितं[4] शीलञ्च व्रतञ्च शीलव्रतम्। तत्राकार्याद्विरतिसमादानं शीलम्। वेषपानभोजनस्नानकष्टचर्यादिविशेषसमादानं व्रतम्। आत्मेति दृष्टिरात्मवादस्तयात्माभव[5] . . . .

. . . . . .

[1] Tib. ḍod . can . ḍod . pa.

[2] MSS. °*nānāṃ mekadadhi*°. Tib. ḍod . pai . yon . tan . lṅa . po . de . dag . gi . ts'ig . bla . dags . yin . no |

[3] Tib. : gal . te . ḍod . pa . ts'ol . byed . ciṅ | ḍod . skyes . bai . lus . can . te || ḍod . pa . de . dag . ma . ḍbyor . na | zug . tu . zug . bžin . gnod . par . ḍgyur || *Abhidharma-kośa*, i, p. 24. *Suttanipāta-Aṭṭhakavagga*, i, 2.

[4] de . daṅ . ḍbrel . bai . ts'ul . k'rims.

[5] Here there is a gap. (= from Tib. 43*a*, l. 1, to Tib. 46*b*, l. 2.)

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V

क्लेशोऽस्ति । अतस्ते न दृष्टिं वा शीलव्रतं वाऽऽत्मवादं वा परामृश्याभिनिवसन्ते । तृष्णासंक्लेशस्त्वस्ति तेषां यतो भूमेरवीतरागास्तच्च छन्दराग उपादानम् । परिपूर्ण[क्लेश][1]मपुद्गलमधिकृत्येदं चतुर्विधमुपादानमुक्तं भगवता । अन्यत्र त्वभेदेनोक्तम् । "उपादानीया धर्माः[2] कतमे । चत्वारूपाणी" ति विस्तरः । उपादानं कतमत् । योऽत्र छन्दराग इदमत्रोपादानमिति । आत्मवादोपादानमप्येषामस्ति । आत्मभावे योऽस्मीति छन्दराग इत्यपरे । तृष्णाप्रत्ययमुपादानमित्यत्र प्रत्ययनियमश्चेत्, तृष्णैवोपादानस्य प्रत्ययो नान्य इत्यन्ये हेतुसमनन्तरालम्बनप्रत्यया उपादानस्य न स्युः, सूत्रान्तरं च परिहार्यम् । "अविद्या हेतुः संरागाय संद्वेषाय संमोहाय"[3] इति । तथा "ये केचिदनेकविधाः पापका अकुशला धर्मा संभवन्ति सर्वे ते ऽविद्यामूलका यावदविद्याप्रत्यया" इति । तथा "यः कश्चित्संस्कारस्कन्धः सर्वः संस्पर्शं प्रतीत्य" इत्येवमादि । प्रत्ययनियमश्चेत्, उपादानस्यैव तृष्णा प्रत्ययो नान्यस्येत्यन्येषां धर्माणां तृष्णा हेतुसमनन्तरालम्बनाधिपतिप्रत्ययो न स्यात् । सूत्रान्तरञ्च परिहार्यम् । "कर्मणो भिक्षवस्तृष्णा हेतुस्तृष्णा प्रत्ययस्तृष्णा निदान"मित्येवमादि । उभयनियमश्चेत्, उभयथैव यथोक्तदोषः । अनियमे देश्पनावैयर्थ्यम् । [retro] तस्मान्नास्ति नियमो न चैवानियमे देश्पनावैयर्थ्यं प्रधानप्रत्ययज्ञापनार्थं तथा देश्पनात् । तथा हि वेदना तृष्णया तत्संयोगवियोगार्थं, कामादुपादानं भवति । उपादानभेदश्च प्रत्यविद्यादयो वेदनातृष्णामपेक्षन्ते । न तु सा अविद्यादीनम् । अतिवक्रप्रसङ्गविनिश्चयं तूपादानव्यवस्थानमित्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन ।

प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादव्याख्यायामुपादानविभङ्गः समाप्तः

Bhava-vibhaṅga

उपादानप्रत्ययो भव इति । भवः कतमः । त्रयो भवाः । कामभवो रूपभव आरूप्यभव इति । अत्रापि समासं प्रति प्रसङ्गः पूर्ववत्प्रतिषेधते । तस्मात् कथमयं समास इति वक्तव्यम् । कामप्रतिसंयुक्तो भवः कामभव

[1] ñon . moṅs . pa . yoṅs . su . rdsogs . pai.
[2] But Tib.: ñe . bar . len . pa . med . gyur . pai . c'os.
[3] *Itivuttaka*, 40.

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इत्यवशेष[ा अपि मध्यपदलोपात्। मधूदकवत् शर्करदुग्धवच्च। कश्च भवः। "पञ्चोपादान]1स्कन्धा" इत्यभेदेनोक्तं सूत्रान्तरे भगवता। ते यथाज्ञानं2 त्रिषु धातुषु वेदितव्याः। एवं तर्हि भवप्रत्यया जातिरिति। कान्या जातिर्या भवप्रत्यया [ते च त्रयो भवा एव]3 सप्तभवा उक्ताः सूत्रान्तरे यथायोगम्। "नरकभवः। तिर्यग्भवः। प्रेतभवः। देवभवः। मनुष्यभवः। कर्मभवः। अन्तराभवः" इति। यत्र येन च भवन्ति सत्त्वास्तद्भव इतिकृत्वा। येनेति येन हेतुना येन च क्रमेण। अत एतस्मिन् सूत्रे कर्मभवसङ्गृहीतास्त्रयो भवा वेदितव्याः। उक्तं च सूत्रान्तरे। "यदप्यानन्द कर्मायत्यां पुनर्भवाभिनिर्वर्तकमिदमत्र भवस्य" इति4 विस्तरः। प्रकरणेष्वप्युक्तम्। "कामभवः कतमः। यत्कर्म कामप्रतिसंयुक्तमुपादानप्रत्ययमायत्यामभिनिर्वृत्तिकामम्। तस्य च कर्मणो यो विपाकः। रूपभवः कतमः। यत्कर्म रूपप्रतिसंयुक्तमिति पूर्ववत्। आरूप्यभवः कतमः।

VI

यत्कर्मारूप्यप्रतिसंयुक्तम्"5 इति पूर्ववत्। अत्रापि यत्कर्म भव इत्युक्तं तत्प्रत्यया जातिरभिप्रेता न तु तद्विपाकप्रत्यया। सोऽपि तु भवः। तस्मात्कर्मभव एव त्रैधातुकः कामादिभवो[ऽभि]प्रेतः6। भवत्यनेनान्तरं पुनर्भव इति भवः। यथा वहत्यनेनेति वहः। एवं तर्हि संस्काराणां भवस्य च को विशेषः। उभयमप्येतत्कर्माख्यां लभते। कर्म तूभयव्यवस्थं स्वरूपावस्थं वासनावस्थञ्च। तज्ज्ञोऽपि हि चित्तसन्ताने वा[सना]विशेषः7 कर्माख्यां लभते। यथा रसायनेन पलितानि

[1] Suppl. according to Tib.: de . bžin . du . lhag . ma . rnams . kyaṅ . ts'ig . bar . ma . mṅon . pai . p'yir . sbraṅ . rtsii . c'u . lta . bu . daṅ . bu . ram . 'o . ma . bžin . no . | srid . pa . yaṅ . gaṅ . že . na . | ñe . bar . len . pai . p'uṅ . po . lṅa . 'o.

[2] Here MS. has *bhava*, which is not in Tib. and seems to be misplaced.

[3] srid . pa . gsum . po . de . dag . ñid . mdo . sde . gžan . las . srid . pa . bdun . tu . gsuṅs . te.

[4] Cf. *Abhidharma-k.*, iii, p. 87. For this and the following passage cf. 阿毗達磨法蘊足論, Taishō edition, vol. xxvi, p. 512, 2, 3.

[5] I have failed to identify this passage in the *Jñānaprasthāna*.

[6] Tib. la . sogs . pai . srid . pa . yin . par . dgoṅs . pa . ste.

[7] sems . kyi . rgyun . la . bag . c'ags . kyi . bye . brag . de . las . skyes . pa.

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र्यीर्यन्त इति तज्जोऽपि शरीरपरिणामविशेषो रसायनाख्यां लभते। तत्र यदा संस्कारप्रत्ययं विज्ञानमित्युच्यते, तदा स्वरूपावस्थं कर्म संस्काराख्यं लभते शक्तिविशेषतो विज्ञानस्रोतसः। तत्प्रत्ययत्वात्। यदा तूपादानप्रत्ययो भव इत्युच्यते तदा वासनावस्थं भवाख्यं लभते। यदि सा तद्वासना पुनर्भवाभिनिर्वर्तने लब्धवृत्तिर्भवति। अलब्धवृत्तिस्तु कर्माख्यां संस्काराख्याञ्च लभते। यथोक्तं विनये।

न प्रणश्यन्ति कर्माणि अपि कल्पशतैरपि।
सामग्रीं प्राप्य कालञ्च फलन्ति खलु देहिनाम्[1]॥ इति॥

एकस्यापि च पुद्गलस्यैकस्मिन् काले पुण्या[retro]दिविविधसंस्कारास्तित्वाभ्युपगमात्। नो तु भवाख्यम्। सन्तोऽपि ह्यविद्याप्रत्ययाः संस्काराः कदाचित्पुनर्भवं नाभिनिर्वर्तयन्ति। तद्यथा वीतरागाणामधोभूमौ। अवीतरागाणामूर्ध्वभूमौ। दृष्टसत्यानामपायेषु शुद्धावासानामशुद्धावासेष्वर्हतां त्रैधातुके। तस्मान्न सर्वावस्थः संस्कारो भव इष्यते। स च सत्युपादाने भवावस्थां गच्छति नासतीत्युपादानप्रत्ययो भव इत्युच्यते। तथा सत्यप्यविद्याप्रत्यये संस्कारे यत्र [छन्द]²रागस्तदाच्छिन्न[पुनर्भव]³स्यानुकूलो न भवति। न तत्र पुनर्भवोऽभिनिर्वर्तते। किमेवं नेष्यते। कृतस्वफलपरिग्रहाण्यपि पूर्वकर्माणि वासनायाः परिणामविशेषाद्यथावलं पश्चा[त्फलदानक्रियार्थमुपस्थितानीति। सत्यम्। यथावलं तथा स्थितानि। यस्यां भूमौ][4] छन्दरागस्तदाच्छिन्नस्य पुनर्भवस्यानुकूलो भवति, तस्यामेव नान्यस्यामुपादानप्रत्ययो भव इत्युच्यते। यद्वीतरागोऽधरायां[5] भूमावुपपद्यते, तत्राधरभूमिको छन्दरागः कथं पुनर्भवस्यानुकूलो भवति। व्यवसानावस्थायां तद्वासनायाः पुनर्वृत्तिलाभात्।

[1] Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, 54 and *passim*. (*b* different).
[2] Tib. ḍun . pa . daṅ . ḍod . c'ags.
[3] Ex. cj. MS. *ākṣiptasādhanatā tasya*. Tib. des. ap'aṅs . ṛai . yaṅ . srid . daṅ . rjes . su . mt'un . pa . ma . yin . na.
[4] Tib. stobs . ji . lta . ba . bžin . du . p'yis . ḍbras . bu . sbyin . par . bya . bai . p'yir . ñe . bar . gnas . pa . yin . pa . de . ltar . cii . p'yir . mi . ḍod . ce . na . | bden . te . stobs . ji . lta . ba . bžin . du . gnas . pa . yin . no.
[5] Tib. 'og . ma.

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यद्वीतरागोऽप्यपायेषु दृष्टसत्यो नोपपद्यते किं तस्योपादानं न भवति । अपायानुकूलं भवति दर्शनप्रहातव्यस्य छन्दरागस्य प्रहीणत्वात् । तद्व्यस्य च भग्नपृष्ठत्वात् । कस्यां पुनरवस्थायां सोपादानस्यावश्यं कर्म । यथावलं भवो भवति मरणकालेऽवश्यम् । पूर्वकालेऽपि यन्नियतं कर्मोपपद्य वेदनीयमानन्तर्यादिकम् । यदि तद्भवो भूतकर्मादनन्तरं पुनर्भव[ति] (Tib. fol. 48b, l. 6).

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

LYDIAN NOTES ON THE SECOND SINGULAR IMPERATIVE AND ON HIPPONAX

The only verbal forms thus far definitely known in the Lydian inscriptions[1] are in the third present indicative or optative: *fēnsλlifid*, *fēnsλlibid* "he destroys", *d(ē)tdid* "he buries (?)", *varbtokid* "may he take vengeance",[2] *katsarlokid* (?), *vq(?)bapēnt* "may he (they two) destroy". Of these, *katsarlokid* is twice preceded by two deity-names (23 [4, 10]), once by one (24 [13]), and once (17 [3]) the text is too mutilated to give any information. Similarly *vq(?)bapēnt* is twice preceded by two deity-names (1 [8] [Aramaic version יברונה], 4*b* [5]) and twice by only one (3 [5, 5] [5]). The similarity of the verbal endings *-id* and *-ēnt* to the Indo-European system is obvious, but Littmann very wisely observes[3] that "perhaps Lydian had a verbal inflexion built on principles totally different from those of other languages".

Three Hesychian passages among the Lydian glosses collected by Buckler (pp. 85–7) seem to give evidence for another verb-form: *βασκε πικρολεα· πλησίαζε θᾶσσον* (cod. *πλησιον εξεθοαζε*). *Λυδιστί*; *βαστιζα κρολεα· θᾶσσον ἔρχου. Λυδιστί*; and *ιωπι· δεῦρο. Λυδοί*. The first is

[1] E. Littmann, *Sardis*, VI, i, 69–70, Leyden, 1916; the revised transcriptions and inscription-numbers given by W. H. Buckler, *Sardis*, VI, ii, Leyden, 1924, are here followed.

[2] Once *varbtok*, "the final letters of which may by mistake never have been engraved. Such omissions on the engraver's part were not uncommon" (Buckler, p. 23).

[3] p. 79; on Lydian generally, cf. J. Fraser, "The Lydian Language," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Ramsey*, pp. 139–50, Manchester, 1923; E. H. Sturtevant, "Remarks on the Lydian Inscriptions," in *Language*, i (1925), 69–79; J. Friedrich, in M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, i, 141, Berlin, 1924; Deeters, "Lydia (Sprache)," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, xiii, 2153–61, Stuttgart, 1927; A. Nehring, in O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*,[2] ii, 21–2, Berlin, 1929.

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evidently to be written βασκεπι κρολεα parallel with βαστιζα κρολεα, and the third seems to find a semantic parallel in "viens", etc. Both components apparently occur elsewhere in Hesychius: βασ- in βασαγικορος· ὁ θᾶσσον συνουσιάζων. παρὰ Ἱππώνακτι (frag. 107 Bergk) for *βασαϝικορος,[1] and κρολιαζε· πλησίαζε θᾶττον, apparently a Hellenized inflexion of a Lydian word.

The parallelism of βασκεπι and ιωπι (βαστιζα remains thus far quite obscure) seems to imply that the Lydian second singular imperative ended in *-pi*, although no words with this termination have so far been found in Lydian texts. If the suggestion here advanced be correct, it would appear to give additional evidence that the language is not Indo-European.

In connection with Hipponax, a few observations may be offered. The inscriptions associate *plδãnś* and *artimuś* (4*b*[4-5], 23[1, 3-1, 10]). The former is, very probably, the Lydian representative of the Asianic word-group from which was borrowed the Greek deity-name Ἀπολλων-[2]; and it may well be that an actual Lydian curse underlies Hipponax's fragment 31:

ἀπὸ σ' ὀλέσειεν Ἄρτεμις, σὲ δὲ κὠπόλλων.

The Hipponactian πάλμυς (1[1], 15[4], 30 A, B, 42[3]) is certainly the *ραλmλιλ* of the Lydian inscriptions (2[2], 16[3], 41[2], 42[2], 50[3])[6]; and some other words peculiar to him possibly belong to the same language. To this category one may tentatively assign ακαπαρδεῦσαι (1[3]; cf. Hesychius καπαρδεῦσαι· μαντεύσασθαι),

[1] For $\gamma = F$ in Hesychius cf. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, pp. 117–18, Leipzig, 1892; Bergk, ad loc., reads βασανίκορος, which seems less probable.

[2] Sturtevant, pp. 76–7; for various attempts to derive Apollo's name from Greek see O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, p. 1225[1], Munich, 1906; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, pp. 70–1, 1096–7, Paris, 1916.

[3] Cf. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, v, 455–6:—

τοῖς δὲ Λυδοῖς καὶ Ἴωσι τοῖς ἐν Ἐφέσου τόποις
πρὶν πάλμυς βασιλεὺς ὁ σύμπας ἐκαλεῖτο.

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νικύρτα (49 [5]—form !—cf. Hesychius νικύρτας· δουλέκδουλος), κόνισκε (64 [1]; glossed in one MS. by χαῖρε),[1] πισσεντασάντης (94; " Pisas Lydi lingua sua singularem [al. lunarem] portum significare dixerunt ", Servius, *ad Aen.*, x, 179), ἄββης·μάστιξ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι (Hesychius), and μαυλιστήριον· παρ' Ἱππώνακτι Λύδιον νόμισμα [MS. λεμισμα] λεπτόν τι (Hesychius).[2]

LOUIS H. GRAY.

THE SHADOW-PLAY IN CEYLON

Positive references to the existence of a shadow-play in India are very rare. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, 1925, p. 28, remarks of Ceylon " Auch aus Ceylon liegen keine gesicherten Nachrichten vor ". Under these circumstances, it seems worth while to call attention to *Mahāvaṁsa* (*Cūḷavaṁsa*), lxvi, 133, " Amongst the many Tamils and others (employed as spies) he (Gajabāhu II, r. 1137–53 A.D.) made such as were practised in dance and song, to appear as showmen of leather puppets (*camma-rūpa*) and the like." Here *camma-rūpa*, leather figures, seems to afford positive evidence for the shadow-play in Southern India and Ceylon in the twelfth century.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

[1] O. Hoffmann, *Griechische Dialekte*, iii, 150, Göttingen, 1898; see also Bergk, ad loc.

[2] A. H. Sayce, in *Classical Review*, xxxix (1925), 159, suggests that the κέρνας and μακέλας of *Anthologia Palatina*, vii, 709, as well as the Hesychian κέρμηλος· ἀφ' οὗ χαλκὸς γίνεται, are Lydian (cf. also G. A. Gerhard, in Pauly-Wissowa, viii, 1898–9 (1913). For Hipponax's Κανδαῦλαν (1 [2]), " κυνάγχα, σκυλλοπνίκτην " see G. M. Bolling, in *Language*, iii (1927), 15–18. Hipponax also uses the Phrygian words βέκος (82; cf. Herodotus, ii, 2) and νηνίατον (129, cited by Pollux, iv, 79; cf. νινήατος· νόμος παιδαριώδης καὶ Φρύγιον μέλος [Hesychius]; cf. likewise frag. 135). Despite Johannes Lydus, *de Mensibus*, iii, 20: εἰσὶ δὲ οἵ φασι τῇ Λυδῶν ἀρχαίᾳ φωνῇ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλεῖσθαι σάρδιν, the word σάρδιν is not Lydian in origin, but was borrowed from Iranian (Avesta *sarəd-*, Old Persian *θard-*; cf. L. H. Gray, in *JAOS.* xxviii [1907], 334).

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THE LEGEND OF TELIBINUS AND SOME ROUMANIAN CAROLS

In the last number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Professor Sayce has published the legend of Telibinus. As far as one is able to gather from the fragment it is clear that we have here a kind of passion play or, as Professor Sayce says, a parallel to the legend of Attys and Adonis. On page 309 the following description is given of the plight in which the world finds itself during the time of the death or disappearance of Telibinus, and the change which takes place on his recovery or resuscitation to life.

20. Telibinus comes back to the court (parnassa); his land he surveyed;
21. the frame of the door (?) remained: the roof of the house remained;
22. the temple of the gods was standing; the fuel of the hearth remained;
23. in the gold the sheep remained there; in the ox-stall the oxen
24. remained there. So the mother carried her child; the sheep carried its lamb;
25. the ox carried its calf, and Telibinus (restored) the king and queen; them
26. to life and strength (and) future days he appointed.

Among the Roumanian legends of Lady Mary which are sometimes used as Christmas Carols, which in reality are merely versified charms, there are a large number in which these essential features appear. I have published some of them in an English translation in my *Studies and Texts*, p. 1120 ff. and I am giving here a portion of two of them. The parallelism is absolutely striking. I do not venture to suggest any direct connection between the legend published by Professor Sayce and these Roumanian, separated as they are by so many thousands of years. But the coincidence is very curious, and it can only be explained if the legend had become a charm or incantation, as it may have been, and then

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transmitted the same as many other charms through Greek or Byzantine sources probably by the Manicheans and also by the Bogomils, oral or written, until they became part of the popular literature of the peoples of the Balkans in S.E. Europe. The line of demarcation between a carol and a charm is very difficult to draw, especially when it is recommended so as to bring salvation to the people.

I am giving here only the essential parts of the carol, p. 1123, lines 7–120.

(7) . . . a perfect cathedral,
And wonderfully beautifully.
Who can be seen in it ?
Who sits therein ?
Lady Mary sits
In the midst of the altar
On a golden stool,

(14) With her face towards the east.
She looked into the books,
She looked to different parts,
To all the saints
And all the just.
She looked for them
And found them,

(21) But only her Son,
The Lord of Heaven
And of the earth,
However much she searched,
She could not find Him.
Then she took
A white book,
In her right hand,
The holy book
In her left hand,
Then she looked
And she searched
Down the waters of the Jordan,
And she saw no one ;
She heard no one.
Then she took off
The white dress of the angels,
And she put on
The black robes of a nun,
And the white staff
In her right hand,
The holy staff
In the left hand.
And she looked,
And she searched,
Up the waters of the Jordan,
And she saw no one
And she heard no one,
Only John
St. John,
The godfather of the Lord.
And as soon as she laid her eyes
On him, she said to him :—
" Listen, John,

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St. John !
Hast thou seen
Or hast thou heard
Of my Son,
Of thy Godson,
The Lord of Heaven
And of earth,
And of all the Christians ? "
" Holy Mother,
With the sight of my eyes
I have not seen Him,

(67) With the hearing of my ears
I have heard of Him ;
That he is in the hands of Jews
And of unbelieving heathens,
For they have come together
And captured Him,
On the ' Great Thursday '
With great fury
And great hatred,
On the field of Pilate
They have pursued Him,
And on a cross of pine wood
They have fastened Him ;
A crown of thorns
They have put on His head ;
They have girded Him
With a girdle of thistles ;
With ash they have fed Him
And they have put on Him
A shirt of nettles.
With bitter wine they have quenched Him ;
And they have passed nails
Through his hands and feet.
They threw at Him three hatchets
And three rivers flowed.
And if thou wilt see Him,
Haste thither.
To the fountain of Pilate,
Where the birds are standing,
Taking a mouthful of the water
And giving praise to God.
And when thou reachest there
Wash thy face,
Wash thy arms,
Look towards the east,
Thou art sure to see Him,
Like a luminous morning star."
The holy mother listened to him
And then she took to her journey,
Weeping
And crying,
With a loud voice up to Heaven,
With rears rolling to the ground,
Where the tears fell,
Golden apples grew,
The angels gathered them up
And took them up to heaven.
And wherever her foot trod,

(117) A red ear of corn grew up,
The ear of the corn
Like the ointment of baptism,
The gift of the Lord. . . .

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and p. 1125, ll. 170–244.

(170) . . . . And she looked
And she saw,
Her beloved Son,
Like a luminous morning star,
Coming towards her in holiness.
When she saw Him,
She said to him :
" O, you flower of basilic,
O, my Son, just come hither,
And tell me in sooth
Why Thou hast given Thyself over,
Why hast Thou allowed Thyself
To fall into the hands of strangers,
In the land of the heathen ? "
Why hast Thou not sought (to escape)
Why didst Thou not fly (i.e. hide)
On heaven and upon earth,
And under the earth,
Under the roofs of houses,
Through the bunch of flowers of the maidens,
Through the bunch of flowers of the youths,
Through the mangers of the oxen,
Through the folds of the sheep ? "
" O, holy mother,
My beloved mother,
I have not given myself up,
Nor have I left myself (in their hands)
For My sake,
Nor for thy sake,
But for the sake of the whole world ;
For until I give Myself up,
Until I have left Myself in the hands of others,
One neither saw
Nor heard,
(218) The voices of birds,
The song of the ploughman,
Nor a sheep with a lamb,
Nor a cow with a calf,
Neither mothers loved their children,
Nor were the fields,
Green with grass,
Nor did the fountains run cold water ;
And whoever died,
Went straight to Hades (Iad).
But from this time forth
Torches will be lit in heaven,
And they will never be extinguished.
And they will gather together
And draw near
The birds to their nestlings,
The sheep to their lambs,
The cows to their calfs,
And mothers to their children.
Then will be seen,

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The fields green with grass,
And the fountains with cold water,
And whoever dies will belong to God."

In another variant, p. 1120, lines 201–165, the search for Jesus is described in the following manner. It agrees much more with the council of the gods and there is no parallel for it in the New Testament apocryphal literature. The odd thing about the council of the gods in the Telibinus legend is that the saints are already there before the Crucifixion, an evident proof of its pagan origin. There are also other parallels in the Roumanian popular literature, such as the stealing of the sun and other incidents found in these old-world legends.

(120) . . . There stands a white church,
With an altar of pearls
With beads of wax,
With gates of citron wood,
With thresholds of incense.
In the midst of the church
Stands a golden stool,
With legs of silver
Fastened to the ground
But who sits on the stool ?
Sits the holy Nikita
With a short doublet,
With a drawn sword,
In his right hand,
And a white book
In his left hand.
And by the lighted torch
He sits and reads,
And reading he says,
—" Ye holy ones,
Ye Fathers,
Stand still, stand
And listen !
Holy Nicolai,
Holy Archangel Michael,
Holy Grigore
And holy Vasile !

(147) Have you not seen,
Have you not heard
of the Son of Mary
the Pure Mother.
The Lord of Heaven
And earth ? "
" We have not seen Him,
But we have heard
That He has been caught
And put in a barrel of nails,
They dressed Him in a shirt of nettles,
And put on His feet red-hot iron shoes,

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They girt Him with a girdle
of hawthorn," etc.
(Here follow details of the
Passion.)
When the captain of the
church
Heard this,
He went down from heaven
Down into Hades
Upon the Cross
Until he reached the Lord
Christ.
And when he came to Hades
(Iad)
He broke the bolts,
He shattered the iron gates,
And he took
Jesus out of Hades.
And after he had saved
Him,
He took His soul,
And carried it up to heaven,
To sit at the right hand of
His Father,
Which was most pleasing to
him.

M. GASTER.

XVIIIth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

Secretariat: Musée Ethnographique, Rapenburg 67/69, Leiden, Holland.

FIRST NOTICE

In accordance with the decision of 1st September, 1928, at the last meeting of the XVIIth Congress at Oxford, the XVIIIth Congress will be held in Holland. A Committee has been formed in the university town of Leiden to make preparations for the coming Congress. This Committee has provisionally decided that the XVIIIth Congress will meet at Leiden (the meeting-place of the VIth Congress in 1883) in the week 7th to 12th September, 1931.

The Committee address this first notice to orientalists and oriental societies begging for their collaboration so that the complete success of the Congress may be assured. The Committee will issue a second notice in a few months time, accompanied by a definite invitation to the Congress.

J. H. KRAMERS,
Secretary.

LEIDEN.
May, 1930.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

CASTE IN INDIA. By EMILE SENART. Translated from the French by SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E. 9 × 6, pp. xxiii + 220. London: Methuen & Co. 1930. Price 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

More than thirty years have passed since Emile Senart's scholarly monograph on Caste [1] was first published, and it is a signal tribute to the authoritative nature of the work that a new edition of it in the original language, should have been called for so recently as 1927—a short time before the author's death. Its claim to be regarded as authoritative remains, indeed, unchallenged, and it is doubtful if anything that has been discovered since the book was originally published has added materially to our knowledge of the subject. And if the book is less well known to English readers than it deserves to be, the reason is not far to seek. Emile Senart in spite of—or perhaps because of—his scholarship, wrote in a style that baffled the Englishman equipped with nothing more than an average knowledge of the French language. Happily this obstacle in the way of a wider circulation of the book has at last been removed; for Sir E. Denison Ross, taking advantage of the recent reprint of the original volume, has now given the English reader an admirable version of it in his own tongue. For that service a wide circle of readers should be duly grateful.

Not the least of the merits of the book is that upon a subject which invites discursive writing, the author should have found it possible to compress not only an illuminating picture of the Caste system in operation at the present day, but a closely reasoned examination of its origins, within the compass of a volume of 220 pages of moderate size and excellent print. He gives an interesting account of the working of the Caste system at the present day; but it is in the chain of critical

[1] *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, 1896.

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reasoning by which he arrives at his conclusions as to the origin of Caste that his genius is most conspicuously displayed. At the time when the book was first published there was a dominant school of thought composed of Hindus—and of Europeans "who followed in their erring footsteps with regrettable docility"—which, basing itself upon the Brahmanic scriptures, saw in the numerous compartments of the Caste system nothing more than sub-divisions of the four great classes—the *varṇas*—of the ancient Aryan race. In these days when an origin independent of the four classes is generally assigned to caste, his insistence on the folly of confusing caste with class may seem to be a little laboured. But at the time when Senart wrote there was need for such insistence; and if opinion has now crystallized in favour of the view which he then urged, his is the credit for having led the way. What, then, was the origin of a social system which is to be found in no other country in the world? The author considers, only to dismiss, the theory of common occupation put forward by Nesfield and less dogmatically by Ibbetson, and that of race advanced by Risley. His own investigations led to a different conclusion. Briefly he finds the origin of caste in the ancient family constitution which was common to all Aryan peoples, but which in India evolved on lines which differed widely from those which it followed in other lands. With considerable ingenuity he traces back to a common origin the Hindu castes and the Roman city. Even in Rome it was a long time before the restrictions on the freedom of marriage were broken down and the *jus conubii* won by those outside the patrician families. The difference in India was that the restrictions were never broken down, and the *jus conubii*, consequently, never won. Why? Mainly, in the author's view, because the civil and political ideas which led to a slow fusion of the classes in Rome were altogether lacking in India. "In India the theocratic power blocks all evolution in this direction, and India has never attained to the idea either of the State or of the fatherland. The sphere of interest

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contracts rather than expands. In the republics of antiquity the class-conception tended to develop into the wider idea of the city ; in India it grows more sharply defined and inclines to confine itself within the narrow limits of the caste " (p. 198). But for the full argument recourse must be had to the book itself. In the opening section of the book in which the author deals with caste as it exists to-day, he speaks of the power of the caste Panchayat for dealing with offences, and while he observes that under the strong hand of British administration these tribunals are losing their hold, he also asserts that in its domain it is supreme. A notable example of a caste Panchayat asserting its authority came under my own notice in Calcutta in 1917. Certain merchants had been proved guilty of selling adulterated *ghi*. The case created unusual excitement among the orthodox Hindus. Brahmans to the number of 5,000 assembled on the banks of the Hughli river and through a long, hot August day and far into the night performed the ceremony of purification known as *Prayaschita Homa*. The castes to whom the guilty persons belonged assembled and appointed representatives to form a Panchayat to take charge of the matter. This court sat from 11 a.m. until 8.30 p.m. before issuing its verdict. In the case of the Agarwallas heavy fines, amounting in one case to Rs. 100,000, were imposed, and a number of persons excommunicated for a year, and in the case of the Maheswaris certain members were excommunicated for life. It provided an admirable example of a practice referred to on page 64 of M. Senart's book, namely, that of appointing a special Panchayat to deal with a specific issue, and it showed that caste is still a power in the land.

In conclusion, a word of praise must be accorded to Sir E. Denison Ross and his collaborators for the success with which they have overcome the special difficulties in the way of giving a satisfactory English rendering of M. Senart's book.

ZETLAND.

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L'INDE MYSTIQUE AU MOYEN AGE ; HINDOUS ET MUSULMANS. By YUSUF HUSAIN. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 211. Paris : Adrien Maisonneuve. 1929.

The author carefully disclaims exhaustiveness or a critical treatment of the texts cited and translated ; the former would, of course, have been impossible within the limits of some 200 pages, which nevertheless contain a great amount of very interesting history presented in the only convincing way, that of copious and well-selected quotations through which a central thesis is developed ; as to the latter, the present reviewer is not in a position to criticize the text and translation of the citations and can only say that the author's recognizable merits give confidence that in this respect too his work is adequate. It is unfortunate that the book is written in a language which will prevent many educated Indians from reading it.

The writer's central thought is that Islamic mysticism, *taṣawwuf*, found its spiritual home in India from a very early time, and that on the other hand Islam was a powerful formative influence in Hindu religious movements from the first contact of the two civilizations. Baldly stated, this perhaps seems obvious ; but it is in the concrete exposition of the idea that the value of this study consists. Everyone knows that Kabīr has at least a Muslim name, and that Sikhism stands in close relations with Kabīr (*Kabīrpanth ab bhayo Khālsā*) ; that Akbar's *Dīn i Ilāhī* was a symptom of what the author of this book more than once calls "the progressive indianization of Islam", and that this tendency often manifested itself in forms which were a scandal to the orthodox. But the present reviewer at any rate knows these astonishing facts much better after reading this book. It may seem sometimes that very little has come of it all : the facts remain, but they remain astonishing ; and, for those who look for even a *modus vivendi* (not to speak of a rapprochement), *hanoz Dillī dūr ast*. The author's final words are : "Le jour où le mouvement vers le rapprochement des deux

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religions s'affirmera de nouveau, ce ne sera plus sur des bases mystiques." It is not clear what this means; but the rest of the book is an admirable statement of the facts, and will put most readers in a better position to draw whatever (if any) inference is to be drawn from them.

H. N. RANDLE.

THE VISION OF KWANNON SAMA. By B. L. BROUGHTON. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 154. London: Luzac & Co. 1929.

Mr. Broughton says that the story which he tells is extremely popular among Chinese Buddhists and was related to him by Chinese friends. Is it he or the Chinese narrators who are responsible for the introduction of airships and wireless masts (p. 49) and of "optic glasses" (p. 52)? Not that they matter much so far as the telling of the tale goes: if he had not apologized for them in his Introduction by suggesting that such things "seem to confirm the hypothesis that our universe is curved in a higher space, and that all arts and sciences are re-discovered again in the perpetual recurrence of evolution and involution", they need not have troubled any reader. And, for those readers who are not attracted by this example of Mr. Broughton's standpoint, it would be better to skip the Introduction and get on with the tale. For the tale is a good one, and was worth telling in English. It is the myth of the feminine *avatāra* of Avalokiteśvara (Kwannon) a Bodhisattva who embodies the Buddhist ideal of saintly womanhood. She was a Princess who lived once upon a time in a mysterious land (which Mr. Broughton is "irresistibly tempted to identify with the sunken land of Lemuria") and after suffering cruel wrongs from a tyrant father gave her hand and eye to cure him of the ills that his wickedness had brought upon him, thereby attaining not her herself alone but for her father and other relatives the status of Bodhisattva, so that they all lived happily ever after. The tale belongs to the Sukhāvatī cycle of ideas, and a great part of its interest is that it is a reflection

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of the perfervid imaginings of the joys of Paradise by which the Buddhists of the Greater Vehicle compensated (with what degree of consistency can of course be doubted) for an otherwise complete condemnation of life. How much of the imagining is Mr. Broughton's and how much comes from his Chinese sources it is difficult to say. That is the drawback of a book of this kind.

H. N. Randle.

Fallacies and their Classification according to the Early Hindu Logic. By Stefan Stasiak. Rocznik Orjentalistyczny Tom. vi. pp. 191–8. Lwow. 1929.

The principal interest of M. Stasiak's paper is in the account which he gives of the passage in the *Nyāya-vārttika* (on *Nyāya-sūtra* I, ii,4) in which Uddyotakara develops elaborately the formal syllogistic set out by Diṅnāga in his *Hetu-cakra* or " wheel of reasons ". This " wheel " is a mere application of the *trairūpya* or three canons of syllogism which were first explicitly formulated in Vaiśesika-Bauddha logic manuals, although they can be read into (e.g.) *Nyāya-sūtra* V, i, 34 and Vātsyāyana's *bhāṣya* thereon.

The phrase *ubhayathā bhāvāt* in that passage easily formalizes itself into the *sapakṣe bhāvo vipakṣe 'bhāvaḥ* of the *trairūpya*. And Sugiura says that in fact the *trairūpya* doctrine was attributed to " Sockmock ", that is Akṣapāda the author of the *Nyāya-sūtra*, by Buddhist logicians. But the truth seems to be that the genuine Naiyāyika *sampradāya*, which Uddyotakara set out to defend against *kutārkikāḥ* (Buddhist interlopers into the śāstra such as Diṅnāga), never fell a victim to formalism. Uddyotakara never tires of attacking the *trairūpya*; and, although his criticisms are invariably directed against the inconsistency in the formulation, the inference from the fact that he does not attempt to formulate his own " Canons " is surely that he rejects the whole spirit of formalism in which such formulæ originate. Why then

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does he devote a long section to the elaboration of a scheme of syllogistic " moods " which M. Stasiak can compare to " an abacus or a logical machine " ? If it is true that the genuine Naiyāyika is not a formalist, what is the point of tabulating forty-eight possible forms of the syllogism, when even the Bauddha was content with only nine ? The solution of this difficulty is, I believe, that the whole passage is in the nature of an *argumentum ad hominem* meant to show that the Bauddha has failed even to exploit his own position satisfactorily. Uddyotakara argues that Diṅnāga's application of the *trairūpya* in his *hetu-cakra* is at once inconsistent and inadequate ; inconsistent, because he does not see that the example (sound is non-eternal because a product) which he gives of one of his two types of valid syllogism is on Buddhist principles *kevalānvayin* (everything being non-eternal for the Buddhist, so that a *vipakṣa*, a case of an eternal thing, cannot be adduced) ; and inadequate because, in addition to the failure to note the various forms of *kevalānvayin* and *kevalavyatirekin*, the inclusion of which would increase the number of possible moods from nine to sixteen, he has ignored the threefold possibility in the relation of *hetu* to *pakṣa* (All S is M, Some S is M, No S is M) which multiplies the sixteen moods by three.

It follows that I disagree with M. Stasiak's view that Uddyotakara's teaching is opposed to that of Gautama, as also with his statement (so far as it applies to Uddyotakara) that the Naiyāyikas " not only fought their opponents, but plundered their armoury ". If Uddyotakara borrowed Diṅnāga's weapon for the moment, it was, I conceive, for no other purpose than to demolish Diṅnāga with it. Nor do I agree that " In India, one of its greatest, if not its very greatest philosopher Dignāga was the first to unmask logical fallacy ". It seems to me that Uddyotakara (incidentally, M. Stasiak's denomination of him as " the author of the Uddyota " must be questioned) as a great exponent of Nyāya is teaching a profounder logical doctrine than the formalism which Buddhist

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(or Vaiśeṣika ?) logicians evolved after plundering their opponents' armoury.

These are matters in which (especially in view of Uddyotakara's constant habit of wrapping up his positive teaching in polemic) difference of opinion is inevitable, and disagreement does not mean failure to appreciate. M. Stasiak has done a useful service in being the first to draw attention to this section of the *Nyāya-vārttika*, and his able paper is a contribution of value to the study of the Nyāya. His adaptation of the A E I of western logical symbolism to the expression of *vyāpakatva*, *ekadeśa-vṛttitva* and *avṛttitva* (of *hetu* in *pakṣa*, *sapakṣa* and *vipakṣa*), with the addition of a dash to express absence of *sapakṣa* or *vipakṣa*, is an ingenious device for the notation of Indian syllogistic. Thus he uses A A A to symbolize an argument in which the *hetu* is *pakṣavyāpaka*, *sapakṣavyāpaka* and *vipakṣavyāpaka*. This is convenient, and worthy of general adoption.

H. N. Randle.

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1. La Peinture Indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols. Par Ivan Stchoukine, Docteur ès Lettres. 13 × 10, pp. 214 + ii, 100 plates, 31 figures in text. Paris : Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1929. Frs. 350.
2. Les Miniatures Indiennes de l'époque des Grands Moghols au Musée du Louvre. Par Ivan Stchoukine, Docteur ès Lettres. 10 × 8, pp. 106 + ii, 20 plates. Paris : Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1929. Frs. 100.

These two books will be of great service to all students of Indian painting. In *La Peinture Indienne*—which deserves a larger notice than can be given here—M. Stchoukine treats his subject comprehensively, except that he deliberately omits questions of iconography, and also hardly touches on the difficult matter of attributions.

The book is arranged in three parts. In the first is an admirably documented history of the development of Indian

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painting, with an estimation of its place in the national culture through the ages. In the second the author analyses its qualities under the three headings of "La Nature", "Les Animaux", and "L'Homme", giving separate consideration, within each heading, to the conventions of ancient and medieval Indian, Persian, Mughal, and provincial Indian art. The third part consists of a synthetic account of "Les lois des ensembles dans la peinture indienne", and here also the comparison is carried on between European, Persian, and Indian practice, in composition, colour, and technique.

The main conclusions of the book are: First, that the influence of Persia on Mughal painting was not, in essentials, a profound one; secondly, that, on the contrary, European influence was much greater than is usually admitted; thirdly, that, nevertheless, the essential character of Mughal painting derived from indigenous sources. M. Stchoukine holds that the later history of Mughal and provincial painting shows a regular reciprocal approach, the two combining in the eighteenth century in one main style, which subsequently shows a steady return to ancient forms, local schools being merely variations on the main style. The hard and fast distinction between Mughal and Rajput painting, he thinks, cannot be sustained, depending as it does on "subject", not on artistic form.

The book is highly original, both in method and in some of its conclusions, and is clearly the result of long research and independent thought. M. Stchoukine has an interesting and lucid style, and a highly logical mind. One sometimes suspects, indeed, that he is led too far by his logical scheme, as, for instance, when he tends to depreciate the compositional qualities of Persian drawing, and to accuse it, comprehensively, of a dislike of symmetry, which is not by any means, at all periods, one of its characteristics. But he has given us an admirable book. Perhaps the greatest of its many merits is the careful analysis—the fullest which we have seen—of technical features, finely illustrated by diagrams.

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There is a good bibliography, and the reproductions reach a high standard.

The Louvre Collection of Indian drawings consists of 160 examples, of which those of the Mughal school form the majority. By no means all of these are of the first quality, but the collection, taken as a whole, is an extremely fine one; it is also representative, except for sixteenth century work. M. Stchoukine's catalogue is a model of conciseness, the descriptions, colour notes, and references being all that could be desired, acute, scholarly, and to the point.

Among the most interesting of the illustrations are the portraits of Mīr Muṣavvir, of I'tibār Khān (by Bichitr), of the Emperor Jahāngīr holding the portrait of his father Akbar (by Abu'l-Ḥasan), and of Shaikh Ḥusain Jāmī and an attendant (by Gorardhan); with a remarkable page of calligraphy, containing in the margin, among other curious features, a copy of a Dürer etching.

M. Stchoukine, in his introduction, gives a description of the origin of the collection, of which the nucleus came out of the spoils of Napoleon's victorious campaign in 1806, and of its subsequent enrichment, in modern times, by important additions, especially by the splendid bequest, in 1916, of M. Marteau. A summary of the various works and schools embodies several valuable critical appreciations.

J. V. S. Wilkinson.

The White Mutiny. By Sir Alexander Cardew, K.C.S.I. 9 × 6, pp. 264. Constable. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

The author's main object in recalling an almost forgotten episode in the history of the British in India appears to have been to obtain tardy justice for Sir George Barlow, temporary Governor-General of India, and Governor of Madras, against whom, as he observes, the judgment of history has gone. This unfavourable verdict is based on two counts: his policy as Governor-General, and his handling of the serious misconduct

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of the Officers of the Madras Army. As regards the first point, the author claims that Sir George Barlow rightly considered that he was bound to follow the instructions which Lord Cornwallis had brought out from home. This perhaps rather ignores the point that Barlow himself had been a strong supporter of Lord Wellesley's forward policy. Taking the most favourable view of Barlow's conduct, it would justify the somewhat cynical view of Wellesley's latest biographer, Mr. P. E. Roberts, that Barlow "had the civil servant's characteristic virtue of being able to adapt himself to any policy dictated by his chief". The least friendly opinion of his policy is that, in the words of Thornton, "he manifested a degree of moral hardihood commanding admiration, if from no other cause, at least from its extreme rarity." The abandonment by Barlow of the Rajputana States to the cruel mercies of the Marathas and Pindaris was obviously open to the reproach, not unknown even at the present day, that temporary peace in India is purchased by the sacrifice and desertion of our friends. It is, however, with Barlow's conduct in Madras that Sir Alexander Cardew is principally concerned. It is easily shown that the Coast Army was in a thoroughly bad state when Sir George Barlow came to Madras. He was in no way responsible for the creation of this unsatisfactory condition, but the real criterion of his actions is the manner in which he dealt with it, and we do not think that Sir Alexander Cardew is likely to obtain a reversal of the verdict of the historians, which in this respect also has gone heavily against Barlow. The author admits that the action taken by Barlow's Government against the officers who had signed in a ministerial capacity the improper General Order of the Commander-in-Chief was entirely unjustified. As the Governor-General, Lord Minto, said in a private letter it was a "most unfortunate and impolitic measure". It greatly increased the simmering discontent of the Company's Army officers: yet it is doubtful whether that discontent would have burst into flame but for the Governor's further action.

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On the 1st May the Government suspended four officers of high rank, and removed eight others from their command, on the ground of their having signed a memorial to the Governor-General. Sir Alexander Cardew does not notice the assertion of Wilson, the historian of the Madras Army, that the intention to forward the memorial had been abandoned before the action of Government was taken. In any case, no effort was made to allow the officers, several of whom protested their innocence, to make any defence, and the orders of Government were inconsistent with Barlow's assurances to the Governor-General that matters were settling down. There can be little doubt that the order of 1st May was the final spark applied to the conflagration, the materials for which had been long accumulating. There can, of course, be only one opinion of the mad and criminal folly of the officers themselves. Sir Alexander Cardew might well have quoted the considered view of it which Wellington found time to write from Badajoz to Sir John Malcolm; nor was the latter backward in his description of the insanity of the officers. Sir Alexander is very severe on Malcolm's conduct, and practically ascuses him of disloyalty towards Barlow. It may be admitted that Malcolm relied too much on his personal influence and on his powers of diplomacy, and that the terms which he proposed should be offered were dangerously near to surrender. But it is fair to him to point out that he undertook the mission to Masulipatam, where the disaffected Company's European regiment lay, with great reluctance, and that Barlow must have been aware what line Malcolm intended to take with the mutineers. Malcolm, moreover, went to the point of greatest danger; he kept the European Regiment, the rank and file of which were as disaffected as the officers, quiet, and his letters to Hyderabad admittedly had a great effect in inducing the officers at that station to submit, and thereby causing the whole movement to collapse. Nor was Sir George Barlow guiltless of other errors; he sent an obviously unsuitable officer to command the European

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Regiment, and he delayed the coming of Lord Minto, a delay to which Wilson attributes much of the insurrection. The test which Barlow caused to be administered to the officers was doubtless a legitimate measure; yet it must have been a cruel necessity which compelled so good an officer as Colonel James Welsh, along with 1,300 of the 1,450 officers of the Army, to refuse to sign it. We may allow Sir George Barlow his full measure of praise for the firm courage with which he met the mutiny; but the manner in which matters were tranquillized after the arrival of Lord Minto would suggest that more judicious action might have prevented the outbreak, just as the equally mutinous combination of the Bengal officers in 1796, to which curiously enough Sir Alexander Cardew does not refer, was successfully met. The author attributes the recall of Sir George Barlow to the influence of the discharged officers and to the system of a shifting body of merchants in Leadenhall Street. There must, however, have been other reasons which lost Barlow the favour of the directors whose policy he had been so careful to follow. There were the numerous disputes with the non-official Europeans, in most of which Barlow was doubtless in the right. There may also have been the ill-success of his efforts to introduce the Bengal Revenue System into another Presidency. But, above all, there was Barlow's personal unpopularity. Lord Minto observed that he was "hated, indeed, execrated, though unjustly". The Duke of Wellington once observed, of the appointment of a nobleman to the Governorship of Bombay, that, though his ability was doubtful, "his good manners will keep people in good humour and in order." There was no doubt about Barlow's ability; but unfortunately equally little of the effect of his manners. Although we do not think that the author will upset the verdict of history as recorded by Kaye and others, he has produced a very interesting book.

P. R. C.

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THE DUTCH IN CEYLON. By R. G. ANTHONISZ, I.S.O. Vol. I. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 198. Colombo: C.A.C. Press, 1929.

This volume of 189 pages represents an attempt to supply for the general reader "a connected and complete, yet concise, account of the Dutch occupation of Ceylon, which extended from A.D. 1640 to 1796—a period of 156 years". For this task the late Mr. Anthonisz, once Archivist to the Ceylon Government, was peculiarly fitted by his intimate knowledge of the records and by his careful and painstaking scholarship. It is satisfactory to learn that vol. ii is to be published shortly, as the period following the fall of Jaffna in 1658 to the collapse of the Dutch rule in 1796 has never been treated as a whole in a really complete manner.

The volume under review begins with an account of the formation of the Dutch East India Company, and then proceeds with the history of the Dutch in Ceylon from their first appearance in 1602 until the fall of the last Portuguese stronghold in 1658. The last two chapters deal with the Dutch Colonization in the Island and their Civil Establishments.

The work is marred by the reproduction of the Dutch spelling of local names, sometimes almost impossible of recognition by the general reader; and it would have been better had the Portuguese personal and other names been given in their correct form. In spite of this defect, however, the book with its maps and illustrations cannot fail to be of use to the public. The list of authorities, given at the head of each chapter, enables the student to go to the original documents without undue research.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

ÜBER DIE SEMITISCHEN UND NICHT INDISCHEN GRUNDLAGEN DER MALAIISCH-POLYNESISCHEN KULTUR. Von ENGELBERTUS E. W. Gs. SCHRÖDER. Buch II: Das Verhältnis der Austronesischen zu den Semitischen Sprachen. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$, pp. 93–210 + ii. Göttingen, Medan printed, 1928.

The thesis of Heer Schröder's book is that the Austronesian languages, which extend from Madagascar on the west to

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Easter Island on the east, have been at a very early period of history profoundly influenced by a primitive form of Semitic speech, an "Ausgangssprache" which "united in itself the different characters" of the tongues known to us as Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic, etc., and which had impressed strongly marked Semitic features on the vocabulary, morphology, and syntax of the Austronesian languages. In itself, this hypothesis is conceivable (with some reserves, to which we shall refer); the question is whether Heer Schröder has demonstrated it.

The philologer who seeks to trace the derivation of words needs, if his results are to attain any certainty, ample documentation by which he can trace phonetic and other changes step by step. In the absence of such evidence his theories are apt to become mere speculations. Even the speech of highly civilised peoples, fixed by cultural conventions and literature, undergoes in course of time extraordinary alterations. Without previous data, who could imagine for instance that the modern Persian *gul* is from the same original as our *rose*? Fortunately, in dealing with the Indo-European and Semitic groups we have abundance of records, so that within each of them philology stands on fairly safe ground. But with Austronesian languages the case is different. No very ancient documents of any of them exist, and most of them are only known in modern forms. The difficulty of comparison is further complicated by the fact that these tongues are peculiarly liable to sporadic modifications such as metathesis, insertion and omission of consonants, reduplication, etc., which in the absence of stabilising traditions such as are furnished by civilisation have often changed their words beyond recognition. Hence the inquirer who is so daring as to essay a comparison of Semitic with Austronesian tongues should first seek (as a few scholars have done) for some lines of historical development within the latter which will enable him to distinguish old from new, and supply some relatively early forms and types which with due reserve may be compared

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with Semitic. Judged from this standpoint Heer Schröder's work is very unsatisfactory, and his results wholly unconvincing.

It is *per se* very improbable that Semitic could have seriously modified the morphological and syntactical structure of Austronesian. Experience suggests the contrary: for example, we see that Malay, after being for centuries in close touch with Arabic and absorbing from it a large number of words, has been quite unaffected by it in regard to structure. Our initial doubts on this head are not set at rest by Heer Schröder's treatment. Many of the parallels on which he insists with a certainty emphasised by copious use of capital letters are probably only fortuitous coincidences, while many other equations advanced by him seem to us arbitrary and forced. A typical example of the latter is his derivation of Fiji *dukadukal* from Heb. *qadhar*, "via **qadăl*, **daqăl*"; if such statements are to be accepted on an *ipse dixit*, philology ceases to be a science. That there are in some cases striking similarities between the two groups of speech may be granted; but it remains to be proved that these features as they appear in Austronesian are (*a*) essentially unchanged since the time of the alleged contact, and (*b*) not mere coincidences. Likeness of forms does not always prove identity of origins. The resources of human speech are limited, so that coincidences often occur between unrelated languages. Thus interrogatives are used as relatives in a good many languages, Indo-European as well as Semitic; the Austronesian pers. pron. 3 sing. *iya*, etc., might be compared with IE. *i-* as well as with Semitic *hiya*, and the Fiji interrogative *cei* reminds one of IE. *qi-*, neither parallel proving anything.

If we did not know their antecedents, we might make out a beautiful case to prove that the Keltic languages have been as profoundly modified by Semitic as Heer Schröder believes Austronesian to have been. For example, in Welsh we have the pronouns *hwn* "this" (masc.) = Arab. *huwa* and *hi* "she" = Arab. *hiya*; we have plurals in *-on* and *-i*, and a prefix

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ym- giving to active verbs a middle or passive sense; most wonderful of all, we have the genitive denoted simply by position after the leading substantive, while in such constructions the definite article is not allowed before the first member, e.g. *meibion Israel* = Arab. *banī Isrā'īl* "children of Israel" or "*the* children of Israel". Such resemblances may be left to the supporters of the British-Israel doctrine and their congeners; but they are useful as awful examples of the dangers which beset philologers who stray into uncharted paths.

Another feature of the work that invites criticism is the imperfect knowledge of Semitic which it displays and the unscientific manner in which this side of the subject is handled. There are many mistakes in transliteration of words (e.g. the monstrous "*mĭ-dĕbbar*" on p. 154 and "*măchăppîs*" on p. 159). Still more serious is the assumption running throughout the book that the proto-Semitic which is supposed to have influenced Austronesian contained all the specific forms of the classical languages quoted, which is as if one should assert that Greek λέγειν, Lat. *dicere*, and Sanskrit *kathayitum* already existed full-fledged in Indo-European. Very possibly a certain number of Semitic words may have been absorbed by Austronesian and subjected to its peculiar processes of phonetic and morphological change; but that this borrowing was of immense antiquity and that it profoundly altered the character of Austronesian is a thesis which, in my opinion, Herr Schröder has failed to prove, in spite of the great learning and industry which he has applied to it.

L. D. Barnett.

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Reviews on Indonesian and other Subjects by C. O. Blagden

1. The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilisations in the Malay Archipelago. Edited by Dr. B. Schrieke. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. vii + 247. Batavia: G. Kolff & Co. 1929.

This is a collection of eleven articles, preceded by a brief Introduction from the general editor, that have been published in pursuance of a resolution of the Third Pan-Pacific Science Congress (Tokyo, 1926). They appear under the imprimatur of the Royal Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, and deal with a variety of subjects such as administration, hygiene and ethnography, economics, language, law, etc., with reference to several different portions of the Dutch East Indies. Needless to say, they embody some very valuable and interesting information, primarily concerning the Dutch colonial empire but also of importance to other nations that have colonies. It is to be regretted that the English version of these articles, though for the most part quite good, is sometimes not as clear as could have been desired. But most English readers will readily overlook such minor deficiencies in consideration of being able to read the work in their mother tongue.

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2. Oudheden van Bali. I. Het oude rijk van Pedjeng. Text. Door Dr. W. F. Stutterheim. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 216. Singaradja, Bali: Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk. 1929.

Though the island of Bali became a place of refuge for Javanese Hinduism when Islam finally prevailed in Java, it had been Hindu for many centuries before that time. This point is illustrated in the present work, the first of the publications of the Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk foundation, which gives the results of the author's investigations in an important centre of southern Bali. After an introductory chapter on the historical and legendary data and the

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topography of the district from the archæological point of view, the work proceeds to deal with the inscriptions and monuments found. Of the former some are in Sanskrit, others in Old Balinese or Old Javanese, but unfortunately they are for the most part fragmentary. The chapter on the monuments goes into details and runs to 96 pages; but it will be easier to appreciate it when the promised volume of illustrations has appeared. A final chapter contains the author's provisional conclusions under the heads of history, palæography, topography, religion, and art, with special reference to the period between the end of the ninth century and the middle of the fourteenth.

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3. The Races of Java. By Dr. D. J. H. Nyèssen. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. viii + 122 + vii. 25 sketches and 9 maps. Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co. 1929.

This is No. IV of the publications of the Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen, and it was prepared with a view to the Fourth Pan-Pacific Science Congress held last year. The sub-title modestly calls it "a few remarks towards the acquisition of some preliminary knowledge concerning the influence of geographic environment on the physical structure of the Javanese". But it is much more than that, for a good part of it is based on the careful examination of a large number of individuals in selected areas; and in connection with some of these a number of statistics are given. The sub-title applies mainly to the earlier chapters. Chapter ii discusses the position of the Malay Archipelago from the point of view of its geographical relations with other countries, and stress is laid on the effect of seasonal winds and ocean currents in facilitating movements by sea in those regions, which on Map II are shown as extending from east Africa to central Polynesia. Chapter iii deals more specifically with Java, and Chapter iv with the general principles of the investigations conducted there.

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The conclusions provisionally arrived at are that in Java one can discern three racial strains, which may be termed Eastern (or South Mongolian), Western (or Dravido-Australian), and Meridional (which seems to have certain African characteristics); and that the first-named strain probably reached Java after the other two.

A bibliographical list and an index add to the value of the work; and the sketches, which are mostly line drawings of heads, help to illustrate the text.

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4. De Remonstrantie van W. Geleynssen de Jongh. Uitgegeven door Professor Dr. W. Caland. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 127, 1 plate, 1 map. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. 1929.

This work constitutes No. XXXI of the publications of the Linschoten-Vereeniging, which brought out its first number in 1909. Most of its issues are accounts of voyages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but the one under review is of a different type. It is a description of things in general in India about 1625, with special reference to Gujerat. Besides a good deal of information about matters political, topographical, and economic (e.g. textiles, and the trade of western India with the Malay Archipelago, the Persian Gulf, Arabia, Europe, etc.), the work contains detailed accounts of various Indian communities, such as Muslims, Hindus (particularly Jains), and Parsis. Considering the time when it was written, this may fairly be called a very good piece of work, the writer having been a servant of the Dutch East India Company, who went to the Spice Islands before he was twenty, and to western India some ten years later. The work has been well edited and produced.

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5. Le Japonais et les Langues Austroasiatiques : Étude de vocabulaire comparé. Par Nobuhiro Matsumoto. (= Austro-Asiatica, documents et travaux publiés sous la direction de Jean Przyluski, tome I.) $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 117. Paris : Paul Geuthner. 1928.

As the title indicates, this is the first volume of a series in which it is proposed to study matters connected with certain peoples and languages of South-Eastern Asia. In the preface M. J. Przyluski explains that " austroasiatique " without the hyphen refers to a certain group of languages, while with the hyphen the word is to be taken in its etymological sense. Personally I think it would have been better to follow the lead of Father W. Schmidt, who invented the term, and use Austroasiatic for the linguistic group that includes Mon, Khmer, Muṇḍa, etc., Austronesian for the other group that up to his time had been termed Malayo-Polynesian, and Austric to include both groups. I agree with M. Przyluski that the idea of the relation between them is a purely linguistic hypothesis. It is one which I accept in the same way that one accepts the theory of evolution, in one or other of its forms, because, as at present advised, it seems to be the best explanation of the observed facts.

But that does not imply a very close connection between the two linguistic groups, whose mutual relation was compared years ago by the late Professor H. Kern to that which is generally believed to exist between Hamitic and Semitic. The use of the word Austroasiatic to cover both of them strikes me, therefore, as being misplaced and unfortunate, because it tends to cover up very considerable differences. The relation between these two groups is in fact a very complex matter. Probably of remotely common origin, they must have been separated for a very long time to have evolved on such divergent lines. But some members of each group in much more recent times came again into contact with some of the other group, so that there has been mutual borrowing.

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Out of the 113 sets of words which Dr. Matsumoto has compared with Japanese ones, rather more than half appear to be Austroasiatic, rather more than a fifth Austronesian, and rather less than a quarter common to both groups. This is in itself a somewhat remarkable proportion. It has long been surmised that a certain strain in the composition of the Japanese people came from the Malay Archipelago, and Dr. Matsumoto points out that physical and cultural anthropology, as well as comparative mythology, give some support to the idea. Moreover it is well known that the aborigines of Formosa are Austronesian, and from that island to the Lu-Chu (or Ryu-Kyu) archipelago is but a step. *A priori*, therefore, Austronesian linguistic influence is probable enough. But the case is quite different with Austroasiatic, properly so called. Except in the Nicobar islands, the populations speaking Austroasiatic languages are confined to the mainland, and nowhere do they approach at all closely to Japan. It is all the more curious that this linguistic comparison should attribute to them a preponderant influence.

The author in his Introduction makes it quite clear that he does not claim for Japanese a common origin with the two southern language groups concerned, and is at some pains to reject the thesis of Heer Van Hinloopen Labberton that Japanese is an Austronesian form of speech. His task, therefore, is reduced to the identification of loan-words, and that raises some difficult questions. What degree of apparent agreement in form and meaning, and how many cases of such agreement, suffice to support the conclusion that all or any of the words in question are genuine loan-words and not mere examples of fortuitous coincidence? No responsible scholar in these days would identify the Malay *mati* "dead" with the Arabic *maut* or the Sanskrit *mṛtyu*. Japanese admits no final consonant, except *n*, and consequently part of the evidence is often inevitably missing. One cannot reject offhand the possibility of such proposed equations as *wata* "entrails" = *wătaṅ* "belly", *kimo* "intestines, liver" = *kömat* "gall-

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bladder", *pozo* (a hypothetical form inferred from an actual *hozo*) "navel" = *pusat* "navel", *kami* "deity" = *kamoit* "demon". But possibility is not certainty.

It must be admitted that in some cases the agreement is very close, e.g. *ta, te* = *tai, ti* "hand", *ame* = *amīh* "rain" *sawa* "swamp" = *sawah* "paddy-field", *nomu* = *inum*, "drink", *tomona-fu* "accompany" = *tĕman* "companion". But these are hardly typical of the whole. In many instances there is really little or no resemblance, e.g. *nuka* = *kĕniṅ* "forehead", *mi* (*mu*) = *tuboh* "body", *kokoro* = *grês*, "heart". The attempt to equate the Japanese *muki* "direction, front", both with the Mon-Khmer *muh* "nose" and the Malay *muka* "face" seems to me hopeless. The latter is certainly a loan-word from Sanskrit, and the case is not helped by the suggestion, borrowed from M. J. Bloch, that *mukha* may be of Dravidian origin. That would not make it Austroasiatic or Austronesian. It may be noted that Old Javanese, though it has no native aspirates, preserves the spelling *mukha*; and Mon has the word in the form *muk* "face", side by side with its native *muh* "nose".

The author is too fond of combining in one group words which are obviously unconnected with one another. For example he compares a hypothetical Japanese word *kapo* (inferred from an actual *kaho*) "face" with such forms as *kapō* "face", *kâpo* "cheek", found in certain aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula and rather doubtfully supported by some Austroasiatic parallels. He then throws in the entirely unconnected word *pipi*, which in a number of Austronesian languages means "cheek". Another example is *mi* "fruit" = Mon *me* "seed, numeral auxiliary for fruits", followed by a string of Austronesian forms such as *buh, boh, buah* "fruit", which can have no bearing on the matter. It is also doubtful whether the Japanese word can be fairly compared with the Mon one, for the latter, though it may be pronounced *me*, is spelt *ma*. But in these comparisons vowel quality does not count for much.

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Dr. Matsumoto has produced an arguable case ; but as to whether he had proved it, opinions will differ, and I confess that I am not yet entirely convinced. After all, when the necessary deductions, on the lines indicated above, have been made from his evidence, the remainder will not amount to a very large percentage of the Japanese vocabulary. Will it be enough to exclude the possibility of fortuitous coincidence ? That seems to be a point for a mathematician to consider. One thing is quite clear. If there has been genuine borrowing, it cannot have been from Austroasiatic alone, for some of the Austronesian parallels are equally plausible.

From the point of view of scholars who may desire to verify the author's materials, and who may not themselves be familiar with the literature, it is unfortunate that he gives no bibliographical list of his obviously numerous sources for the Austroasiatic and Austronesian words he cites. There are, however, two useful indexes ; and it should be added that in his Introduction he has given a good deal of interesting information on the various attempts that have been made in the past to link up Japanese with other forms of speech.

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6. Four Faces of Siva. By Robert J. Casey. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 270, 32 plates, 4 plans in the text, 2 maps in the covers. London : George C. Harrap & Co., Ltd. 1929. 12*s*. 6*d*. net.

Books about Angkor and its environment threaten to become embarrassingly numerous. The work under review is pleasantly illustrated with a number of good photographs and it is on the whole readable enough, though the author indulges in too much "fine writing" and mystery making. For example, Chapter i is a lurid account of a European explorer in the Cambojan forests, who scouts the tales of hidden cities and records his scepticism in his notebook. Three days later he finds himself at Angkor. "And this," says Mr. Casey, "for all that it is a hearsay story, reconstructed on the

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dusty foundations of a tradition so often repeated that it partakes of the character of a myth, must be very nearly an historical recital of the manner in which Mouhot, the French naturalist, came to Angkor and brought back to the world the amazing puzzle of the Khmer civilization."

This conclusion is not confirmed by Mouhot's own words in a letter written on 20th December, 1859, at Pinhalú, a place not many miles above Phnom Penh, between the latter and the great lake: "I arrived last evening at Pinhalú, in perfect health, and am now about to go northward to visit the famous ruins of Ongcor and then return to Bangkok" (*Travels in Indo-China, Cambodia and Laos* (1864), vol. ii, p. 248). How, after that, could Mouhot have doubted the existence of the ruins?

The author, having studied Angkor under French tuition, gives us French transcriptions, such as Fou Nan, Djamboudvipa, Tcheou-Ta-Quan, and Groudas (but on another page Garonda, probably a printer's error). This habit results in spellings like Paramacevera and Arya Deca, which conform to no system. Other misprints are Pellot (for Pelliot), Saint Chapelle, and Phimeneakas (for Phimeanakas). "Rice-paddies," for paddy-fields, is not English; and I wonder who nowadays supposes that the Rāmāyaṇa was written some time before 2000 B.C. Chapter xxviii deals, rather sketchily, with Javanese temples.

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7. Outlines of the Anthropology of the Timor-Archipelago. By Dr. H. J. T. Bijlmer. With an Appendix by Dr. phil. et med. K. Saller. Photographs taken by Mrs. C. Bijlmer-Wepster. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. 234, xcix plates, 3 illustrations in the text, 2 maps (1 in the covers). Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co. 1929.

This work is No. III of the "Publicaties van het Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen, Batavia", the preceding numbers having been devoted to expeditions to

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Sumba and east-central Borneo respectively. The area represented in the present volume is the one where the brown race of western Indonesia meets the much darker Negroid types allied to the Papuans, and gives rise to a variety of blends which have been carefully measured and photographed. They are well described in this book, which embodies all the evidence, statistical and pictorial, furnished by the examination of a large number of individuals. The information, inevitably somewhat technical, is conveyed in an intelligible and interesting manner, and the photographic illustrations are extremely good. Appendix II gives the full details of the measurements made. Appendix I, by Dr. Saller, is in German, and is concerned with specimens of hair from the same region.

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8. TANTRI, DE MIDDEL-JAVAANSCHE PAÑCATANTRA-BEWERKING. Door C. HOOYKAAS. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 135, 2 folding tables, 9 tail-piece illustrations. Leiden : A. Vros. 1929.

This Leyden Ph.D. thesis is a valuable contribution to the literature of a big subject, namely the extension and distribution of versions of the Pañcatantra in various countries. It is mainly concerned with three medieval Javanese recensions, which the author has summarized in considerable detail and compared in parallel columns with Siamese and Laotian versions. All these have a great deal in common and may be said to constitute a distinct group ; curiously enough, they begin with a frame-story resembling to some extent the frame-story of the *Arabian Nights*. It appears also that this group has special points of agreement with a Canarese version of the Pañcatantra by Durgasiṁha.

The author also refers to the relations between the Pañcatantra and the "Stories of a Parrot", which have likewise enjoyed a widespread popularity ; and in his first chapter he has collected a large number of references to Pañcatantra literature.

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9. FESTBUNDEL UITGEGEVEN DOOR HET KONINKLIJK BATAVIAASCH GENOOTSCHAP VAN KUNSTEN EN WETENSCHAPPEN BIJ GELEGENHEID VAN ZIJN 150 JARIG BESTAAN, 1778–1928. Deel I. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. ii + 429, 41 plates. Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co. 1929.

In April, 1928, the oldest of the existing Asiatic Societies celebrated at Batavia its 150th anniversary and in that connection it has issued this first volume of a commemorative work, to which twenty-seven scholars have contributed articles in four different languages. Dutch, as is natural, predominates with 19, German has 4, and French and English each have 2. For the most part the articles deal with matters closely concerning the Dutch East Indies, and include such subjects as linguistics, literature, archæology and art, history, law, music, folk-lore, etc. Among articles not particularly connected with the Dutch East Indies may be mentioned one by Professor Shuzo Kure on Von Siebold and his influence on modern Japanese civilization and another by Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy on certain Indian sculptural motifs. M. Gabriel Ferrand's article on the Malagasy language, which in spite of its geographical position rightly belongs to the Indonesian group, and an important article by Herr Otto Dempwolff on the Austronesian words and formatives in Polynesian have also something more than a purely local interest; and the same may be said of Heer J. C. van Eerde's article on the kind of barter (mentioned in the *Periplus*, etc.) where the parties do not meet, and Professor J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan's contribution on the sanctity of feet and footprints (and of artificial representations of them), and likewise of other things connected with the body, particularly of eminent persons. The discussion on these subjects starts with a special reference to the island of Nias, but a number of parallels from elsewhere are introduced. Mr. J. Kunst's article on Sundanese vocal music will be of interest to such musicians as study their subject on broad comparative lines; and Indian archaeologists will find congenial matter in M. G.

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Coedès' account of a Buddhist statuette, Heer Th. van Erp's article on the encasing of the base of Barabudur, and Heer de B. Haan's account of one of the temples of the group known as Chaṇḍi Sewu.

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10. Johannes Rach en zijn werk. Door J. de Loos-Haaxman. De topografische beschrijving der teekeningen met medewerking van W. Fruin-Mees door Mr. P. C. Bloys van Treslong Prins. 12 × 9½, pp. 27 + 141* (of which 60 are illustrations). Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., n.d.

The first part of this work contains a brief preface and an equally short biographical note on Johannes Rach, followed by about twenty pages on his artistic career, his methods and subjects, the development of his style and the dating of his productions, his collaborators and pupils, and the various collections that contain specimens of his work. The second part, in which the pages are marked with an asterisk, comprises illustrations of some of his sepia drawings with descriptions of them on the opposite pages, lists of his works in several collections, and finally an index of proper names of persons and places.

The pictures are of strictly local interest. They are landscapes, with buildings and figures, or seascapes with ships, etc., all dealing with Batavia or places not very far away from it; but they are of historical value, having been done just about 150 years ago. Rach arrived at Batavia in 1764 as a gunner on 14 florins a month, rose from the ranks, eventually becoming major, and died in 1783. The book is published under the auspices of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, Batavia, in connection with its 150th anniversary in 1928.

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11. BOROBUDUR: Six Original Etchings. By JAN POORTENAAR. Explanatory Introduction by Dr. N. J. Krom. $15\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 4, 6 plates. London: Luzac & Co. 1930.

Dr. Krom has furnished in his introduction a brief account of Borobudur and of its religious meaning as a monument of Mahāyāna Buddhism. A short foreword by Mr. Laurence Binyon introduces Mr. Poortenaar to the reader as " an etcher whose art is known and esteemed not only in his native Holland but also in this country ". Of the six etchings, two represent aspects of the monument as a whole, two are devoted to groups of the stūpas which crown it, one to a stairway, and one to a Buddhist statue in its niche. The long series of reliefs are not represented, though, as Dr. Krom points out, they are a vital part of the religious message of the monument. It may be presumed that they were not considered to be suitable subjects for the etcher's art. Without any pretensions whatever to judge his work from the technical point of view of an art critic, I may be permitted to express the purely personal feeling that etching is a medium far less suitable for the representation of this monument than photography. No doubt this is the view of a Philistine who is more interested in the details of the building than in any impressionist effect. The first plate, giving a distant view of Borobudur as a whole, is the one that to my mind is the most satisfactory, and next to it I should rank the Buddhist statue. But I am quite prepared to believe that from the technical point of view they are all good work.

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12. 'ADAT RADJA RADJA MELAJOE. Door Dr. PH. S. VAN RONKEL. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vii + 113. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1929.

This is the first edition of a small treatise written in A.H. 1193 by a Malay at Malacca, at the request of the Dutch Governor, about the customs and ceremonies in use among Malay princely families on such occasions as births, marriages

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and deaths. The text (of which a small portion had already appeared in G. K. Niemann's *Bloemlezing uit Maleische geschriften*) has been collated from three London MSS., the principal one having been lent for the purpose by our Society, and the variants are shown in the footnotes. The eleventh chapter of the Sĕjarah Mĕlayu, which also deals with royal ceremonial, has been reprinted as an appendix to the newer work. Not much more need be said about the latter, except that its contents are of considerable interest; the collation seems to have been done with care, a brief preface explains the origin of the work, and the Arabic type and printing are good.

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13. Indian Influences in the Lands of the Pacific. By Dr. W. F. Stutterheim. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. 9. Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co., n.d.

This article contains a brief sketch of the penetration of Buddhism and Hinduism into the Far East, more especially with reference to Indonesia. In this latter region Hinduism ultimately had the deeper influence, though throughout the greater part of the area it was afterwards supplanted by Islam as the official religion. Dr. Stutterheim raises two points, which in his view create difficulties, viz. that to be a Hindu one must be born a Hindu, and that to a Hindu travelling overseas is forbidden. These things may be so in theory, but surely the problem *solvitur ambulando*. In India itself families, tribes, and individuals have even in recent times been received into the Hindu fold; and we know from history that Hindus did in fact travel and trade overseas a good deal in the early centuries of our era. I doubt whether the use of the so-called Śaka era in Indonesia and Indo-China (which is common in Southern India also) can reasonably be attributed to the compulsory emigration of "Śaka rulers" to the former regions.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT WA LAWÁMI'U'R-RIWÁYÁT OF SADÍDU'D-DÍN MUḤAMMAD AL-'AWFÍ. By MUḤAMMAD NIẒÁMU'D-DÍN, Ph.D. (Cantab.). E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, N.S., Vol. VIII. 12 × 9, pp. 316. London: Luzac and Co. 1929. 42*s*.

The *Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát wa Lawámi'u'r-Riwáyát* ("Compendium of Anecdotes and Flashes of Traditions") of al-'Awfí, of which the present volume treats, is a huge collection of anecdotes on a large variety of subjects, drawn from many sources, and written down between A.H. 625 and 630. It is divided into four parts, each of which consists of twenty-five chapters; the total number of anecdotes is 2113, which are taken from about ninety-three acknowledged sources, and probably from as many more which are unmentioned; the whole forms one of the most voluminous works in Persian, and occupies 397 folios (12 in. by 9½ in., quarto size) of 29 lines per page, in the manuscript B.M. Or. 6855, which is not quite complete. Of the other works of its author, the earliest, the Lubábu'l-Albáb, an anthology of the poets, is well known to scholars through the edition of the late Professor Browne; the second, a Persian translation of at-Tanúkhí's *Al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*, is little known; a third ("probably a collection of all the Panegyrics composed by al-'Awfí on various occasions in praise of Iltutmish and his patron-wazir") has apparently not been preserved.

The present volume forms an introduction to the study of the *Jawámi'*, the text of which exists at present only in MS.; the author also has in hand an edition of the text, but this cannot appear for a few more years. Chapter i consists of observations on the life and works of al-'Awfí, and establishes his *laqab* as Sadídu'd-Dín (not Núru'd-Dín). The more probable dates for his birth and death are A.H. 572–635 (= A.D. 1176/7–1232/3). His life is divided into three periods; (*a*) birth, childhood and early education, A.H. 572–97, mostly passed in Bukhárá; (*b*) itinerary period, A.H. 597–617, comprising visits to (among other places) Samarqand, Khwárazm,

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Shahr-i-naw, Níshápúr, Sijistán, and a return to Bukhárá, with a journey to India, where he finally settled, becoming Chief Judge of Gujrát under Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha, ruler of Sind; here (*c*) the third period of his life was passed in literary productivity. The author gives some notes on al-'Awfí's translation of at-Tanúkhí's *Al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*.

Chapter ii treats of the position of the *Jawámi'* in Persian prose, and its value as a mine of historical and biographical anecdotes. The author then passes on to consider the use made of the *Jawámi'* by subsequent writers—the borrowings and abridgements to which it was subjected, and the translations which have been made from it. The investigation of the borrowings must have required much laborious research; to the author's statement that "at least ten direct quotations are traceable in the geographical part of the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb* of Ḥamdulláh al-Mustawfí we may now add that thirteen such occur in the zoological part, and that al-Mustawfí's indebtedness is probably even greater, since he states that "in this section everything that I have not transcribed from other books is taken from the account given in the *'Ajá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát* and the *Jámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát*". Doubtless many more quotations remain as yet undiscovered in the botanical and mineralogical sections of the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*.

In Chapter iii a conspectus of the sources of the *Jawámi'* is given, with notes on many of them, and indications of the anecdotes borrowed from each. Chapter iv describes all the known MSS. of the *Jawámi'*, thirty-seven in number, of which twenty-three were examined by the author; those which were not examined are many of them late and unreliable; their value is assessed, and it is found that the order of merit of the MSS. almost corresponds with the chronological arrangement; about ten old and reliable MSS. are indicated, from which a standard and complete text can be safely established. In Chapter v the titles of the four parts of the work, and of its hundred chapters, are given; in the first

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part are chapters treating of such subjects as the Miracles of the Prophets, Witty Sayings of Kings, Efficient Wazirs and their Diplomacy, Musicians and the Influence of Music; in the second the virtues are considered—Culture and Good Manners, Secrecy and Keeping Counsel, Grace and Nobility of Character, etc.; in the third the vices, under such headings as Strange Anecdotes about Robbers, Mean and Wretched Creatures, Chaste and Virtuous Women (but why such a chapter in such associations?); in the fourth, strange occurrences of all kinds—the Efficacy of Prayer, People who succumbed through Love, Peculiarities of Strange Animals, the Facetiousness of Eminent Persons, etc.

Chapter vi gives a "suitable descriptive and synoptical title" to each of the 2113 anecdotes, and occupies pp. 140–261, more than one-third of the volume; it is here that we best see the matter and manner of the book; a few titles taken quite at random read as follows: "al-Manṣúr detects a miser who concealed his wealth and posed as a beggar"; "Isháq b. Ibráhím al-Mawṣilí liberates a slave on account of a witty remark"; "al-Ma'mún and al-Mu'taṣim test the hospitality of 'Alí b. Hishám and find him an ideal host"; "the anguish of a youth of Baghdád at the loss of his favourite girl-musician, and the generosity of the Háshimí who restored her to him." Finally Chapter vii reclassifies the contents of the *Jawámi'*, since "the original scheme of the author is very unsatisfactory"; in the reclassification a number of the anecdotes are arranged under chronological headings, from "legendary and semi-historical" through the periods of Muslim history and the various dynasties; others are grouped as stories about religious persons, stories about secular persons (secretaries, poets, astrologers, artful persons, witty and humorous persons and many other classes), ethical stories, stories of encounters and exciting occurrences, geographical anecdotes, accounts of the physical properties of objects, natural history, etc. An excellent index completes the work.

The extreme interest and importance of the *Jawámi'*, and

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of Dr. Niẓámu'd-Dín's *Introduction*, will be abundantly evident from what has been written above. And yet it seems to me that Dr. Niẓámu'd-Dín, while not, perhaps, over-estimating this importance, nevertheless bases it on the wrong grounds. Thus he speaks of the authenticity of the material (p. 35); of the remarkable range of sources that gives the *Jawámi'* the historical value it enjoys (p. 24); he laments that al-'Awfí has abstained from giving contemporary history, and that there is practically nothing of first-hand material, which would have been of immense value to us (p. 25); he complains of the lack of dates in the historical anecdotes, of the arbitrary arrangement of anecdotes about a particular individual in different chapters and under different headings, and of the absence of chronological sequence or systematic design, as being great hindrances to the utility of the work (p. 25). That is, he conceives that the value of the *Jawámi'* lies in its being primarily a storehouse of authentic historical facts.

But surely this is to misconceive matters. The work was written to be a source of delight and amusement; and who can doubt that it has amply fulfilled this function in the past, and that it will continue to fulfil it, even for us occidentals of to-day, as soon as an edition of the text can be provided? Historical value it has, but not as an accumulation of authentic facts; its value lies in the provision of a background. Works which do not pretend to be "histories" will often prove, within their limits, truer sources of history than the chronicles. It is scarcely too much to say that practically every "historical" writer distorts his "facts" in the interest of this or that faction or clique; but the background—the mode of life of upper and lower classes, the dress, the food, the customs, the speech, the salutations, the general conditions of the time—no author thinks of distorting these; all these things are part of his very mind, and of the minds of contemporary readers; there is no object in attempting a falsification here, nor possibility of success if it were attempted. The value of

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the *Jawámi'* is of the same kind as that of *The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, which has been given to us by Professor Margoliouth; or, in its own degree (to compare it with one of the great books of the world—and Professor Niẓámu'd-Dín will then hardly complain of my want of appreciation of its merits) as that of Sa'dí's *Gulistán*, that charming picture of the thirteenth century, a joy and a delight to peruse, but *not* a source of historical information about Luqmán, or Anúshírwán, or Bahrám Gúr, or anyone else.

All Persian students will be grateful to Dr. Niẓámu'd-Dín for this beginning of his work on the *Jawámi'*; the labour has been great, but he will be repaid by knowing that not only is its value great to-day, but it will be greater still when, in a few years, the present volume can be used along with the text which he is editing. The work is scholarly and thorough; the author's critical ability and range of erudition are evident throughout. We wish him all success in his further progress towards his goal.

Most of the Gibb Memorial volumes have been in octavo; this one makes its appearance as a handsome quarto, presumably in order to accommodate the tables on the pages. The Trustees and the publishers are to be congratulated on the style and general get-up of the volume.

J. STEPHENSON.

A BAGHDAD CHRONICLE. By REUBEN LEVY, M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. 9 × 6, pp. x + 279, 4 plates. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1929.

As appears from the introduction to this pleasing chronicle, the author has been impelled by the fascination of contemporary Baghdad into attempting a reconstruction of its past. The result is a rapid survey of the Abbasid caliphate (in its narrower sense), since the period dealt with is that of the

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five centuries during which the Abbasid House endured, with Baghdad as its capital for all but forty years.

Mr. Levy has used a large number of works, Arabic, Persian and European, manuscript and printed. His matter is generally familiar, and yet it is so arranged as to suggest fresh thoughts. Most histories of the caliphate are concerned almost exclusively with politics, whereas this is concerned mainly with culture and manners; they are apt to deal also either (as Muir's) too cursorily with the Abbasids, or (as Weil's) almost too fully, to provide such a view as Mr. Levy's. The point of his book for the Orientalist is, accordingly, the provision of this view.

All the caliphate (in its larger sense) looked to Baghdad throughout the Abbasid period as the centre of Islam—as did even the anti-caliphate of Egypt after its foundation, in matters of culture. We have here depicted, therefore, the development of the Moslem polity at what is perhaps its most important stage. Above all, Mr. Levy makes clear why it was that Moslem society was retrogressive in essence, and decayed in fact—namely, that its civilization was not developed from its beliefs, having been acquired as it were ready-made. For the mixture of sophisticated Greek-Persian culture with comparatively barbaric Arab religion was, in fact, unfortunate. In thought religion won, and speculation was practically suppressed, to the promotion of bigotry. In manners (consequently) luxury, untempered by good sense, tended to oust the simplicity that had originally accompanied a simple creed.

Mr. Levy does not, it is true, dissertate on these considerations. But the picture he draws seems to me chiefly to suggest them. His method is to recount all the major events that befell the capital, and to portray typical characters, generally by anecdote. He eschews the mention of politics as far as possible; but, perhaps for this very reason, provides an uncommonly clear view of the caliphs' situation from one age to another. He naturally refers frequently to the topography of the city, but has not embarked on a fresh investigation of

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this vexed question—doubtless it is for this reason that he provides no map. In another vexed question, that of the transliteration of Arabic names, Mr. Levy is notably inconsistent—perhaps intentionally so. For instance, on p. 41 we get in one line Mu'aẓẓam and Kadhimain. There are also a number of minor historical points on which he has slipped—as that (p. 86) it was the Khuld palace that came to be called the Ḥasaní, or that (p. 150) al-Rádí was murdered by the general Mu'nis; that (p. 164) the 'Aḍud al-Dawlah was actually the founder of the 'Aḍudí hospital; that (p. 186) al-Malik al-Raḥím was put to death by Sultan Ṭughrul-beg; that (p. 204) the Niẓám al-Mulk was dismissed from office before his assassination; or that (p. 212) the Mazyadite line was founded by Ṣadaqah. The practice of kissing the threshold of the Báb al-Nawbí, again, originated much earlier than Mr. Levy suggests—it was certainly in vogue during the reign of al-Qá'im (fifth century), if not before, and so cannot be connected with the burial of the "True-Cross" (p. 238). These are details, however, that do not compromise at all the value of Mr. Levy's work. Four excellent photographs of the city in its present state lend actuality to the narrative.

HAROLD BOWEN.

THE DĪWĀN OF ḤAKĪM NĀṢIR-I-KHUSRAW, together with the Rawshanā'ī'nāma, Sa'ādatnāma, and a prose Risāla. Printed and published by the Ṭehrān Library.

The closely printed volume of nearly 800 pages contains the Dīwān of Nāṣīr-i-Khusraw and other works as stated. The text of the Dīwān has been prepared by Agha Haji Sayyid Nasrullah Taqawi, Agha Parwiz, and Agha Minawi from the Ṭehrān printed edition of A.H. 1314 compared with, and supplemented from, a number of MSS. It is preceded by a Foreword written by Agha Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh and a separate introduction by Mirza Mujtabi Minawi; it has an index of names, and an appendix by Agha Mirza Ali

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Akbar Khan Dihkhuda. The binding is attractive (except that leaves seem rather apt to become unstitched); the printing is excellent; the general appearance is most creditable. That is not to say that there are no misprints; the list of errata extends to seven and a half closely printed pages, and there are a good many minor errors unnoticed. But the misprints are not generally serious, and it is fair to remember what a mass of print is involved.

The notes to the Dīwān contain various readings and the explanation of a certain number of rare words. But the explanatory notes might have been greatly increased; they are very little more than are to be found already in lithographed editions, and, as the writers observe, the text is full of difficulties. The metre of each poem is given, but there are many inaccuracies and slips. The first poem is stated to be هزج مثمن احزب مکفوف مجذوف—the proof reader might have got this right; on p. 15, l. 4, the metre should be مضارع اخرب مکفوف, not simply مضارع مکفوف, and the last fort is مفاعیلن and not مفاعیلْ; p. 21, l. 20, the metre is هزج اخرب مقبوض, not simply هزج اخرب; the metres are not fully and correctly given in many other cases, e.g. p. 28, l. 14; p. 33, l. 5; p. 393, l. 16 (where I first opened the book at random).

The Foreword written by Mirza Taqizadeh is a valuable and interesting article. The writer admits his indebtedness to European scholars. He gives a general account of the poet's life and works and beliefs, basing it upon passages in his writings, and discarding the tales of Dawlatshāh and the famous Pseudo-Autobiography. (Vide Browne's article, *JRAS.*, 1905, pp. 313–52, and *Literary History*, vol. ii, p. 218.) It is, of course, impossible to repeat here what the writer says, but the following salient points may be noted. Nāṣir was born in Qubādiyān under Balkh A.H. 394, of good Persian family and no 'Alawī—nor a native

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of Iṣfahān. He set out on his seven years' journey to Egypt and the West in A.H. 438, and in Egypt he became a follower of the Fātimid Khalīfas, and, passing through the lower grades of the Ismā'īliya faith—مستجيب, مأذون, and داعی—became a Ḥujjat (حجّت, "Proof") and was appointed to the Khurāsān Circle (جزيره)—Khurāsān having the extended meaning of that time. He returned to Balkh, and a few years later—at all events before A.H. 453—opposition to his propaganda forced him to fly, first to Māzandarān, thence perhaps to Nīshāpūr, and finally to Yamkān, which is a valley to the south of Jirm, a town 6 or 7 leagues south of Fayẓābād, the present capital of Badakhshān. There he died, probably in A.H. 456, and there he was buried. The writer adopts the spelling Yamkān, but Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazwini in his introduction to 'Attār's Tadhkiratu'l-awliyā writes Yumgān. Nāṣir's extant writings all date from the latter part of his life, but none of them can be accurately fixed, except the Zādu'l-Musāfirīn, which was written in A.H. 453. The writer discusses at length the date of the Rawshanā'ī'nāma, for which astronomical data are available, and considers that A.H. 460 fits in with more of these data than any other year.

Taqizadeh's Foreword is followed by a subsidiary introduction (ذيل) by Agha Mirza Mujtabi Minawi, who gives certain information about the sources from which the text has been taken. This information is not as full as it might be. He refers to the prose Risāla—a treatise written at the request of the Amīr of Badakhshān in answer to the philosophical and religious questions proposed by an earlier poet in a qasīda of eighty couplets. The text given is from a MS. recopied for Agha Mirza Taqawi and another MS. belonging to Agha Haji Husayn Maliku't-tujjār. Mirza Mujtabi mentions the alleged descent of Nāṣir from 'Alī. This was the general belief of the time of 'Attār, who writes :—

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بود فرزند رسول آن مرد دین
با خوارج بود اورا جنگ و کین

Nāṣir *was* an 'Alawī, but only in the sense of a follower of 'Alī.

Considerations of space will only allow a few words as to the Appendix by Dihkhuda. It was originally intended that this should contain critical notes and emendations by Qazwini, but that scholar was unable to undertake the work. Dihkhuda's notes are chiefly conjectural emendations. They are interesting, but sometimes hardly convincing. A certain number of notes are, however, of a more useful type, e.g. that on " Ghumdān " on p. 619, and that on " Ādhar burzīn " on p. 657. Dihkhuda states that he has since been shown three prose works on the Ismā'īliyas, which offer further useful information, with which he hopes to deal in some later article.

From these remarks it may be gathered that the work now reviewed can be criticized and is not free from defects and imperfections. Notwithstanding this it is a valuable piece of work, for which Orientalists can be grateful, and the fact that it has been done in Ṭehrān by native Persian scholars is of good augury for the future.

C. N. S.

A Literary History of the Arabs. By Reynold A. Nicholson. 8 × 6, pp. xxxii + 506. Cambridge: University Press. 1930.

Professor Nicholson's *Literary History* has held for so long a foremost place in the esteem and affection not only of Arabic students, but of all who are interested in Eastern poetry and the civilization of Islam, that a new edition is assured of a warm welcome. The passage of nearly a quarter of a century has not affected the sureness and quality of his

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judgments, and the almost verbatim reprint of the text gives little cause for regret. For the rest, a few pages of supplementary notes summarize the results of more recent research, and the bibliographies have been revised and brought up to date.

H. A. R. G.

TURKEY AND SYRIA REBORN. A Record of two years of Travel. By HAROLD ARMSTRONG. 9 × 6, pp. x + 270. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd., 1930.

This work is a record of the author's experiences during two years of travel in Syria and Turkey, as one of the Delegates of the Commission for Assessment of War Damage. Perusal is rendered easy by the division into short chapters, averaging about five pages in length, and it should be decidedly agreeable to those who, like the ancient Athenians, enjoy listening to vituperation, which the author lavishes in full measure on persons, places, and communities. Some specimens may be quoted: "From Alexandretta to Alexandria, whether they be Arabs, Syrians, Jews, Levantines, or Egyptians, these tradesmen of the coast towns have not one virtue, not one lovable characteristic, mental, moral, or physical" (p. 46). "Wherever the missionaries have influenced the Syrian, they have taken from him any stability and virtues which his own traditions and beliefs could give him, and they have offered him nothing to fill the gap. They have vulgarized him in the clothes he wears, in his outlook on life, in his speech, and his manners and his aims" (p. 42). "With the old Gods the Hebrew drove away joy in the beauty of the body and of living, the purity of sex, and replaced laughter with the weak wan smile of spiritual superiority" (p. 82).

"Beyrouth (inside) was a town without a soul, with the hard, blatant, vulgar character of a Marseilles dancing-girl" (p. 11). "Adana was an unhappy town. It was ugly, unpleasant and unhealthy" (p. 135). "Aleppo was an evil

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place. It was only late May, but already the sun was banking its heat down into the narrow streets as in an oven—heat so thick and heavy that I could take great handfuls of it and squeeze it out like putty between my perspiring fingers" (p. 94 : surely he ought to have preserved some of it for the use of physicists). "I would not have advised my worst enemy even to visit it (Antioch), much less to build a house and live here" (p. 113). "It is recorded that St. Paul was born here (in Tarsus), but having once left Tarsus, after his eyes were opened, he never returned. After a short enforced stay I appreciated his good judgment" (p. 129 : the record of the Acts is different). The author states that on a certain occasion he "woke foul-mouthed" (p. 159). Probably this happened several other days.

His descriptions of places rarely visited by Europeans will have some value as contemporary records, and some interest attaches to his statements about the effects of the present régime on their inhabitants, and his forecasts of the future, which are apt to resemble those of Horace's Tiresias, *O Laertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit, aut non.* But most of these matters are outside the scope of this *Journal*, as are his judgments of his contemporaries, such as T. E. Lawrence and Mustafa Kemal. I may close with the epilogue of his controversy with the former :—

"Finally our arguments slid down on to a lower plane, as to the respective values of the Arabs and the Turks, and we parted, having arranged that if the choice should come our way—and in those days it was possible—we would pit a hundred Turks against a hundred Arabs and back our shirts on our fancies. It would have been a poor bet, for I must have won, as ten Turks would have chased a hundred of the best Arabs as wolves chase sheep" (p. 90).

The history of Yemen makes it uncertain whether Mr. Armstrong would have retained his shirt.

D. S. M.

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DIE STAATENBILDUNGEN IN DEN ARABISCHEN TEILEN DER TÜRKEI SEIT DEM WELTKRIEGE NACH ENTSTEHUNG, BEDEUTUNG UND LEBENSFÄHIGKEIT. Von ERICH TOPF. (Hamburgische Universität: Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Band 31, Reihe A, Band 3.) $12 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 260. Hamburg, 1929.

This well-written, well-arranged, and well-documented work belongs to a region from which our *Journal* is excluded—contemporary politics. It furnishes a clear and intelligible account of the mode wherein the Arabic speaking countries which before the Great War formed parts of the Ottoman Empire have acquired their existing political status and the vicissitudes through which they have passed. The author's anti-British and anti-French bias is very marked; yet perhaps his condemnation of British policy is not more severe than the judgments to be found in the works of English writers such as Lawrence, Philby, Harold Jacob, and Richard Coke. Study of the notes and references will help the reader to appreciate the historical importance of the magazines *The Near East and India* and *Oriente Moderno*, of Mr. A. J. Toynbee's *Islamic World since the Peace Settlement*, and of the *Letters* of Gertrude Bell, which last have won their popularity more by their personal and domestic touches than by their contributions to the history of Irak.

The book should have permanent value as a succinct record of highly complicated series of events, and as a collection of official agreements and treaties. It would be scarcely possible to discuss any of the writer's judgments or conclusions without trespassing on forbidden ground. Yet even here we may protest against the description of Greece and Portugal as "English vassal states" (p. 105).

D. S. M.

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ابراهيم باشا فى سوريا هو تاريخ بدء النهضة الحديثة فى الشرق الادنى واحوال سوريا فى عهد محمد على الخ. IBRAHIM PASHA IN SYRIA : History of the commencement of the new movement in the Near East, the condition of Syria in the time of Muhammad Ali, etc. By SULAIMAN ABU IZZ AL-DIN. Beyrut, 1929.

This work is a historical monograph written in the European style, and based on authoritative printed books in various languages, and to a smaller extent on MS. materials. The author is no mean stylist, since it is not easy to leave the book unfinished if one has once started reading it. To the Egyptians both Muhammad Ali and Ibrahim Pasha are heroes of the first order; but that is not the view which this Syrian writer takes of them, though he admits the military ability of the latter. The reasons which he enumerates for Muhammad Ali's invasion of Syria are similar to those which dictated Napoleon's aggressions; chiefly the need of sources of revenue which would enable him to carry out his plans in Egypt and for himself without rendering the burdens imposed on the Egyptians intolerable. The Syrian communities either told the invader that they regarded themselves as the conqueror's property, whether the Ottoman Sultan or Muhammad Ali, or being allured by his promises welcomed him in the hope of an improvement in their condition. That hope was speedily found to be delusive. The system of extortion devised by Muhammad Ali surpassed all the efforts of the Ottomans. Disarmament and enforced enlistments aroused universal indignation. When, after barely ten years of this occupation the European powers intervened, Ibrahim Pasha's fabric collapsed like a house of cards.

It is not clear that the Syrian writer has added anything of importance to what is to be found in the narrative of A. A. Paton, who had some share in the events. Since the former criticizes the French government of the time somewhat severely, it would appear that the press in Syria enjoys

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more liberty under the present than under the Turkish régime.

D. S. M.

THE SMELL OF LEBANON. Twenty-four Syrian Folk-songs collected by S. H. STEPHAN and with English Versions made by E. POWYS MATHERS. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 50. Francis Walterson, Talybont Dyffryn, Merioneth, 1928. 21*s*.

This little work resembles G. Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan*, but is on a very much smaller scale. The odes are in vulgar Arabic, and mostly erotic in character; they are accompanied with verse translations, of which the following may serve as a specimen :—

O sea, I will not fare you
For my love made a quest on you,
O rose, I will not wear you,
His crimson is confessed on you,
O kohl, I will not grind you,
His darkness is to find on you,
O bed, I will not near you,
Since my love showed his breast on you.

Without pronouncing on the beauty of these verses, which must be a matter of individual taste, it may be observed that they are obscure where the original is clear. For "his crimson" the original has "the red of his cheeks"; for "his darkness" it has "the blackness of his eyes". Further, since *nuhud* in the last line is correctly rendered in the Lexica as *sororiantes mammas habuit puella*, it is clear that *her* should throughout be substituted for *his*. The need of rhyme has made the translator substitute *I will not wear you* for *I will not pick you*, seriously altering the sense. On the whole this "smell of Lebanon" is of doubtful fragrance.

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WISDOM OF THE PROPHETS (IN THE LIGHT OF TASAWWUF). Being a synoptical translation into English of Shayk Muhiyuddin ibni-i-Ali ul Arabi's famous standard book on Tasawwuf *Fusus-ul-Hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) with Analytical Notes on each Fas and a Life of the Shayk. By KHAN SAHIB KHAJA KHAN, B.A. 9 × 6. Printed at the Hogarth Press, Mount Road, Madras, 1928 (?).

The "Adage-gems" of the famous mystic Ibn'Arabī, revealed to him, he asserts, at Damascus in the last decade of Muharram, 627 (11th–20th December, 1229), deserves translation into European languages as much as any Arabic treatise. Some of its ideas seem to anticipate human progress by half a millennium; such as that mercy to the creature takes precedence over piety to the Creator: that no worshipper has ever worshipped any but the Divine Being; that we should not think evil of God. And it is not surprising that the book should at times have been publicly burned.

Translation is indeed a difficult undertaking, partly because the philosophical and theological terms employed rarely coincide with English terms, and partly because the work is usually accompanied with a "mixed commentary", apt to be inextricably mixed. Since Professor Nicholson is unusually well qualified for this task it was disappointing to find the rendering of only a few extracts from the work in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*. And though Mr. Khaja Khan's work is sponsored by M. Massignon, whose contributions to the study of Islamic mysticism have earned just eulogy, it is disappointing, if only on the ground that instead of offering a faithful rendering, following the guidance of the best commentaries, it furnishes a paraphrase of excerpts. Thus whereas the Gem which is found in a saying of Isaac (chapter vi) starts with twelve verses, Mr. Khaja Khan gives a paraphrase of two, and says nothing about the rest. His opinion of Ibn Arabi as a writer is certainly not very high:

"The Shayk is in the habit of running off the line; sometimes he runs off at a tangent in explanation of a mere word

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that occurs in his theme, and does not finally revert to the point from which he digressed. He is carried away by his thoughts and is not under the control of sequence. Such treatment will be objected to by modern writers. The Shayk's trend of thought is more or less Carlylean. Portions like these have been omitted as well as portions that did not seem quite germane to the subject."

Certainly the dress in which Ibn 'Arabi clothes his ideas is at least as fantastic as that which Carlyle gave to *Sartor Resartus*. But it would be a bold venture in the latter case to omit digressions and portions that did not seem quite germane to the subject, and the same may be said in reference to the Adage-gems. Let us hope then that we may regard this work of Mr. Khaja Khan as a *Vorarbeit*, to be followed by a complete and faithful rendering, which will enable those who have not access to Ibn 'Arabi's original to appreciate the boldness of his innovations, the ingenuity with which he introduces new wine into old bottles, and (at times) the brilliancy of his wit.

D. S. M.

THE JEWS IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA: FROM THE FIRST TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO ITS CIVILIZATION. By LAURIE MAGNUS. 9 × 6, pp. 426. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1929. 15*s*.

Mr. Laurie Magnus has been able to condense within 426 pages a spirited survey of the history of the Jews from the beginning of the Christian era to the eighteenth century. The book is divided into ten chapters, each one with a picturesque title and graphic sub-titles. There are at the end a number of explanatory notes in which some of the points touched upon in the course of the description are more fully developed, but it was not an easy task. The history of the Jews who are scattered over all the continents is quite unique, and it is very difficult to do full justice to each of the phases

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through which the Jews have passed in their manifold and checkered career, and yet Mr. Magnus has been able to draw a lively picture in which the interest is sustained from beginning to end. This book differs to a large extent from the many histories which have appeared notably during the recent years. People's attention seems to have been turned more and more towards the elucidation of the problem of Jewish life and activity in many lands and over such a long period. Without losing himself in details, Mr. Magnus keeps steadily in view the great current of internal development and the part which the Jews have played in furthering the civilization of the nations among whom they lived. He shows convincingly how closely the Jews have been able to adjust themselves to their environment and to conditions under which they were placed and how many of the phenomena which strike the superficial observer in the activity of the Jews in various parts of the world and their treatment, especially during the middle ages, are due to those political and economic conditions under which they were forced to live from time to time.

Taking the middle ages as an example, Mr. Magnus plumps for the reformation, and he gives a very vivid picture of the medieval society divested of its romanticism and presented in its true aspect such as it emerges now from unbiased historical research. He strips the medieval knight of his armour, he shows that the consequence of the feudal system was the concentration of Jews in the towns since it was forbidden to them to own landed property. He furthermore shows that they were made to be the tools of kings and the mighty ones or, rather, the screens behind which the rulers drained the wealth of the country. There is another and very important feature in this book, viz. the constant parallelism which the author draws between the literary activity of the Jews and that of scholars and poets of other nations in ancient and modern times. He lays especial stress on the influence which this Jewish thought and work had upon the

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development of the European civilization and he thus illuminated his description of the history of the Jews by this constant reference to the historical background. Although he himself owns that no historian can be quite objective on the whole he endeavours to keep free from too much sympathy with one party or another, and he succeeds in remaining unbiased in his judgment, often brilliantly expressed, on men and events. It is a valuable and stimulating contribution to the history of the Jews.

M. GASTER.

LA PRÉHISTOIRE ORIENTALE. By JACQUES DE MORGAN. Ouvrage posthume publié par LOUIS GERMAIN. Tome iii, L'Asie Antérieure. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 458. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927. Price for the 3 vols., 300 frs.

In this posthumous work de Morgan completes his description of the prehistoric civilization of mankind. The book is divided into ten chapters, this is the third volume, and here the author starts with the beginnings of arts and crafts in Syria and Mesopotamia: he proceeds then to describe the obsidian in Western Asia, and the formation of Chaldea and the plain of Susa. Then the various stages of the development of the arts and crafts in Chaldea and in Elam, the development of the stone implements in Eastern Asia, the settlements of the colonization of Chaldea and Elam, Hellas and the islands, the first appearance of metals in the north-west of Asia, copper, bronze, weapons, dress, and trinkets; this is followed by the first appearance of iron, ceramics, and so on up to the final chapter, which is devoted to the origin of the pictorial writings. The conclusion at which the author arrives after a careful investigation of all the monuments and after paying special attention to the objects found in the various tombs is briefly as follows: Leaving aside the glacial periods treated in the previous volumes the

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author comes to the conclusion that the first spark of human civilization was seen when the first furnace was lit in western Asia for smelting ore. This could only have been done in the neighbourhood of copper mines, thence that civilization spread in the first place over the whole plain of Syria and Mesopotamia, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt; Europe was then still covered with ice down to the Pyrenees, and Siberia enjoyed a much warmer climate than it had since, but the tremendous mountain barriers in the south and east prevented the population that had grown up in that part from spreading. The west was closed by the ice barrier.

According to the author the Semitic element coming from Arabia chiefly by way of the Persian Gulf, filtered in slowly, and it was able entirely to subjugate and to absorb the Sumerian element; this Accadian-Semitic element was long-headed and it further developed the primitive elements of culture which are found in that region until it brought it to a very high state of perfection. The author then claims priority of this civilization over the Egyptian and he contends that although a Libyan element may have been settling in small numbers on the banks of the Nile it was this Chaldean or Accadian element which worked its way from the punt and along the shores of the Mediterranean which conquered Egypt. They brought the Chaldean civilization to Egypt, and thus the problem is being solved why no primitive beginnings can be found in Egypt. In Siberia the Indo-European or Arian nation developed and after a long period was able to penetrate into the south, occupying Persia and India and driving some primitive races before them or annihilating them. The glacier had meanwhile disappeared from Europe, the Dorian element came down from the same quarter occupying Hellas, but the most important element in the history of civilization was the Celtic nation, to which the author devotes long chapters. The time is that of the Halsted monument, the Celts were the carriers of the ancient

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civilization and found their way, probably by the Caucasus, into Europe, bringing first copper and bronze and the art of smelting, and about 1,000 B.C.E. also iron; with their arrival the prehistoric period practically comes to an end. Of the Mongolian element the author does not speak at all, although he hints at a possible second population living in Siberia and then journeying south and east. He speaks with scorn and indignation of the rapacity of the Spaniards and the fanaticism of the priests who ruthlessly destroyed the ancient civilizations of Central America, and he points with indignation also to the same processes being carried out in our times by missioners and priests who help to destroy the primitive races whenever they come in contact with them. The author also traces the beginnings of the pictorial writings to ancient Chaldea and he pays special attention to the old ceramics, which he divides into two distinct classes, the one coloured, chiefly the Elamite and Chaldean, and the crude one, chiefly European with the exception of some Greek ceramics.

Many will probably dissent from his theory of the priority of the Chaldean over the Egyptian civilization or finding the homes of the Arian or Indo-European nations in Siberia, but the author brings very weighty arguments in favour of his theory and he is convinced that further researches among the ancient monuments and burial places scattered over that part of the world will fully justify his views.

The book contains no less than 380 illustrations, the last of which is a map showing the route taken by the nations that invaded Europe in the course of the ages, and there are three beautiful coloured plates of two vases from Susa and also the index of all the three volumes.

M. GASTER.

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THE EMPEROR ROMANUS LECAPENUS AND HIS REIGN. A study of Tenth-Century Byzantium, by STEVEN RUNCIMAN. 9 × 6, pp. 275, with map. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Price 16*s.* net.

The author is a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in dealing with a Byzantine subject naturally depends chiefly on Greek and Latin authorities ; the bibliography (pp. 254–61) shows, however, that he is aware of Arabic, Slavonic and Armenian and "Caucasian" (Georgian) material published on the subject, though through no fault of his, the information derived from the last group (p. 257 D) might have been much fuller, for during the last quarter of a century a great deal of epigraphic and palæographic work has been done in the Caucasus bearing directly or indirectly on Byzantine history ; it is unfortunately not yet easily accessible for Western students. The chapter (viii, pp. 151–77) on Armenia and the Caucasus might have been the better for revision in the light of publications of more recent date than those of fifty or sixty years ago. As to the Somekhis (note 5, p. 172), who are described as "probably of no significance", this is the name by which the Armenians to this day are called by their neighbours the Georgians. To make the history of Byzantium fascinating to the general reader needs a gift of style far out of the common, and we cannot demand that the subject should be the monopoly of writers like Gibbon, Bury, Diehl, and Iorga, but Mr. Runciman has done a vast amount of research well worth doing, and his next volume will, we think, have more vivacity and grace of language ; the present book is promising. O. W.

HANNES SKÖLD : ZUR VERWANDTSCHAFTSLEHRE : DIE KAUKASISCHE MODE (reprint from "Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft"). 10 × 7, pp. 80–130. Lund, 1929.

During the last seven years Hr. Sköld has contributed several works to the publications of the University of Lund, on

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subjects chiefly Indian, but including Hungarian and Osset. His present essay is of a decidedly polemical character, and condemns in strong terms the recent works of Professor N. Y. Marr, of the Russian Academy, and Hr. Ferdinand Bork. It is curious to note that Hr. Sköld could not find a collection of Marr's work in Lund, but had to go to Russia, and even as far as Tashkent, to gather materials for his criticism, which is, to say the least, tinged with disapproval of the political régime under which Mr. Marr has lived for the last twelve years. Hr. Sköld is probably right in some of the things he says about the monstrous length to which the Japhetic theory has been extended, but it would have been better perhaps to limit his deprecations to the field of linguistics; to go outside this in a scientific journal reminds some of us rather of the now long past period when in heated controversy irrelevant matters were brought into discussions between Orientalists.

O. W.

EXPLORATIONS IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA, Season of 1926. By H. H. VON DER OSTEN. 12 × 9, pp. 167, with xxiv plates, 242 figures, and map. Chicago: University Press, 1929. 18*s.* net.

This is volume i of *Researches in Anatolia*, and vol. v of the Oriental Institute publications of the University of Chicago. It contains eleven brief monographs summarizing what Mr. von der Osten saw during his survey in 1926, especially in the bend of the river Halys, and is a useful contribution to Hittite studies. The photographic illustrations are generally clear. Two more volumes dealing with the Alishar Hüyük Season of Exploration in 1927 are announced to follow shortly. Such a record of work, in a region where the continued existence of antiquities is imperilled by any attention drawn to them, is of great importance to archæologists as a guide for their labours; itinerant students

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necessarily desire to limit their luggage, and it seems a pity that the book could not have been issued in a more easily portable form. Mr. von der Osten's journey in Asia Minor lasted nearly three months, and the distances covered were 4,428 kilometres by automobile, and 179 kilometres on foot or horseback. In the introduction (p. 4) a description of the three "Hittite" types of pottery will be found. On pp. 66–7 Mr. T. G. Allen describes the black granite statuette (Pl. vi) seen at Kirik Kaleh as "A Middle Kingdom Egyptian Contact with Asia Minor" and compares it with figures in Chicago and Berlin.

O. W.

Histoire des Grands Prêtres d'Amon de Karnak. Par Gustave Lefebvre. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 603. Paris: Geuthner, 1929. Frs. 150.

M. Gustave Lefebvre, of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités, has written a very readable, as well as useful, history of the high priests of Amon at Karnak, from the time of the XIIth Dynasty to that of the XXIst, a period of a thousand years (*c.* 2000–1000 B.C.). He has collected all that is known on the subject, combined with a critical examination of former work on it, notably that of Dr. Wreszinski. He confines himself rigidly to the high priests of Amon at Karnak: there were high priests of Amon elsewhere, even at Thebes; but the real pontiffs of Thebes under the Empire were the high priests of Karnak, and these only M. Lefebvre admits to his history, whereas Dr. Wreszinski seems to have included some of the others. He gives all the evidence known to him, followed by a summing-up and a precise documentation of the authorities.

The summing-up is very good. In it M. Lefebvre sketches succinctly the story of the rise of the simple chief priest, the *ḥem-neter-tepi*, of the chief temple in Thebes of the god Amon, whom the kings of the XIIth Dynasty chose

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to make, instead of Mentu, the original deity of the Thebaïd as well as of Hermonthis, their chief god. Only one or two of the chief priests of *Nesut-taui* ("The Thrones of the Two Lands" = Karnak) at this period are known. It is with the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, when Thebes developed suddenly into the capital of a great empire, that they rise into prominence. Under Ḥatshepsut the high priest Ḥapusenb is not only high-priest, but also vizier. Ṯutmase III separated the two offices: making Rekhmira' vizier and Menkheperra'senb high priest. But Menkheperra'senb had many civil offices as well: he was minister of finance, for one thing, and many other things also. And both Ḥapusenb and he were in reality the Popes of Egypt, for they were given the dignity of "Chief of the Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt": the primacy of Amon and his great high-priest was undoubted. A later pontiff, under the XVIIIth Dynasty, Bakenkhonsu I, and his successor, Meriptah, bear the even more definite title of "Chief of the Prophets of all the gods", and Ptaḥmase, who officiated under Amenhotep III, uses this as well as that of "Chief of the Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt". Ptaḥmase is also vizier, whereas the intervening high priests since the time of Ṯutmase III had not been permitted to become the highest minister of the land like Ḥapusenb. Then came the religious revolution of Akhenaten, and when the high priest of Amon reappears it is with shorn dignity. He is, it is true, "Chief of the Prophets of all the gods," but only of those of Thebes: the other temples had been able to assert their independence. Under Seti I, however, Nebentiru reasserts the claim to primacy as "Chief of the Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt". The next great pontiff is Bakenkhonsu II, under Rameses II, who rivals the grandeur of Menkheperra'senb in ecclesiastical matters, but only at Thebes: he is not primate, nor does he hold any civil office; the king saw to that. His successor, Roma-Rei, who flourished *c.* 1240–1210 B.C., also had no civil charge, but is primate again. And he is the first to place

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his own figure on the walls of Karnak, under the weaker rule of the successor of Rameses. Bakenkhonsu III, under Rameses III, still has no civil dignities : none of these high-priests were also ministers until Rameses-nekht (under Rameses IV), and, above all, his ambitious and powerful son Amenḥotep, who treated with Rameses IX as an equal, fashioned his image with that of the king at Karnak on the same scale as that of his master, and seems to have seized temporarily the financial power of the crown until by a *coup d'état*, accompanied by violence, the king overthrew this too orgulous priest, who perhaps perished, another Becket, at the hands of the royal knights. Rejoicing filled the court, and, a thing unprecedented, a new era was begun (nineteenth year of Rameses IX, *c.* 1138 B.C.), and the king now counted his years of reign from " The Renewing of Births ", marked by the fall of his misproud subject. Never before had the high-priests tried to form a dynasty : royal policy demanded that this should not form a precedent. But the king was successful only for a moment. He fell out of the frying-pan of ecclesiastical into the fire of military domination. Not long after, a general, Ḥriḥor, perhaps he who had overthrown Amenḥotep, was made high priest, no doubt in order to check the ecclesiastics by putting the power of the high-priesthood into military hands. Ḥriḥor became a dictator ; and it was not long before when the last Ramesside passed away he ascended the throne as the first of the " Priest-Kings " and founder of the XXIst Dynasty. The history of the dynasty of priests as kings is not traced by M. Lefebvre ; it belongs to the story of the kings. But he shows that the idea that Ḥriḥor was a legitimate high priest, allied by marriage to the Ramesside family and inheriting the throne by marriage, is erroneous. He was a soldier, made high-priest for reasons of policy, and soon turning into a dictator and eventually king himself.

It is interesting history, and M. Lefebvre tells it well. His analysis of the documents and critical examination of the

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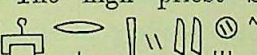
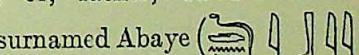
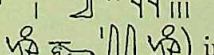
previous texts and elimination of several supposed high priests from them is well done. We may add a small contribution to his list of sources: in the British Museum we possess, beside inscriptions mentioned by him, four scarabs of XVIIIth Dynasty high priests: Ṯuti (No. 28291), Ḥapusenb (Nos. 21568, 29435), and Menkheperra'senb (No. 17773). Each bears the title of the high-priest as *ḥem-neter tepi n Amon*, and Ḥapusenb has on No. 21568 in addition his civil dignities as Chancellor and Sole Friend, and the title *ma'at ḫraw*, which shows that the scarab was funerary. Ḥapusenb died many years before his mistress, Queen Ḥatshepsut, and was buried in great state, and Ṯutmase III could wreak no vengeance on him beyond the hammering out of the names of his detested consort in the high-priest's tomb-inscriptions.

In this connection it is rather surprising to find that M. Lefebvre seems still to accept in its entirety the Sethe-Breasted theory of the *Thronwirren* of Ṯutmase III and Ḥatshepsut (p. 72). Naville's criticisms were, of course, often very wide of the mark, but some of his points told, as also did von Bissing's; and I do not think that the theory is generally accepted now as it originally was formulated: a great deal of unnecessary complication as to the exits and reappearances of Ṯutmase I, Ṯutmase II, Ṯutmase III, and Ḥatshepsut has been discarded (see my *Ancient History of the Near East* (1927), p. 286 ff.). But M. Lefebvre continues to regard Ṯutmase III as a son of Ṯutmase I, and so brother, not nephew, of Ḥatshepsut.

The high priest Sarabina, or, rather, Sa-rabi-rabi-na () surnamed Abaye () or () included by Wreszinski in his catalogue, is, of course, to be rejected from the list, as M. Lefebvre says. He was "high priest of Amon and the Ennead of gods in She-nefer", not at Karnak, and was also prophet of Baal and Astarte; that is to say, he was, as his name indicates, a Semite, a priest of foreign gods as well as of the local Amon

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near Memphis: his tomb was found at Saqqārah. But it is quite impossible to date him, as M. Lefebvre does (p. 111), to "an epoch later than the XXVth Dynasty". The documents as to Sarabina and his tomb are published in the text of Lepsius's *Denkmaeler*, ed. Naville and Sethe, p. 16. His name and priesthoods point decisively to the end of the XVIIIth or beginning of the XIXth Dynasty, as also does the style of the inscriptions on the objects said to have been found in his tomb (at Berlin). And among them was a gold ring with the name of Akhenaten. Further, among objects presumed but not certainly known to come from the tomb, was the well-known carved wooden "Roundel of Sarabina", a Minoan Cretan, or possibly Mycenæan Cyprian work of art, which can only date between the sixteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C., and most probably belongs to the 'Amarna period (latest photographic illustration, Bossert, *Altkreta*, 350). Now, the probability that this roundel was actually found in Sarabina's tomb is heightened by the fact that Lepsius, of course, knew nothing of what we know as to the date of the roundel quite apart from Egyptian evidence; Lepsius knew nothing of Mycenæ, of Knossos, and of Enkomi. Yet he assigns to this tomb of a man with a name typical of the foreign immigrants of the XIXth Dynasty, in which a signet-ring of Akhenaten was found, an object of Minoan-Mycenæan art. It looks as if he were right. But M. Lefebvre says: "Quant à la bague d'or au nom d'Aménophis IV, elle ne prouve en aucune façon que le tombeau est du temps de ce roi. J'attribuerais plutôt les objets découverts dans le tombeau et le tombeau lui-même à une époque postérieure à la XXVe dynastie." Is a ring of an XVIIIth Dynasty king or person likely to be found in a tomb of the XXVth Dynasty or later? Who would treasure a ring of the heretic under the Saïtes? If there is anything more clear than another it is that objects of Akhenaten date only from Akhenaten's time, and that the idea that the name of Akhenaten could be reverenced in Saïte days, as those of Ṭhutmase III and

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Amenḥotep III were, is rather absurd. Neither new "editions" of his scarabs and rings or heirlooming of contemporary ones is possible. The only possible means of getting the ring of Akhenaten into the tomb of Sarabina, if the latter were of the XXVth Dynasty, would be to suppose that the dealer who dug the tomb purposely salted it with a ring from Amarna. This is probably what M. Lefebvre thinks likely. Against it is the evidence of the roundel, and above all the name, titles, and inscriptions of Sarabina, which are not of the XXVth Dynasty or later, but of the XVIIIth–XIXth Dynasty. It is then natural to suppose that the ring really belonged to the burial, and that Sarabina lived in the time of Akhenaten.

On p. 107 M. Lefebvre still retains the erroneous reading of the name of Akhenaten's ephemeral successor as "Saakare". There is no doubt whatever from the fayence rings with his name that it was Smenkhkara'. M. Lefebvre approves of Mr. Battiscombe Gunn's new meaning for the name of Tut'ankhaton, "The life of Aton is pleasing" (*J.E.A.* 1926, p. 252); but personally I still prefer the old interpretation as "Living Image of Aton" (later, Amon), to which I cannot see the objection that Mr. Gunn finds: after all, the Aton itself *was* imaged as the sun with rays ending in hands holding the symbol of life, and Tut'ankhaton might well aspire to be "made in the image of" the one god believed the Aton. I think that the use of *tut*, meaning "pleasing", in his Horus-name *Tut-masut*, was a holy pun. On pp. 124, 151, "Pahenneter" should be Paḥemneter (Ṗhemnuter).

By the way, even if the first volume of *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-bahari* (Egypt Exploration Fund, 1907) is quoted as by Naville alone (which, of course, it was not: see the title-page), the third volume is distinctly stated on the title-page to be by us both, and this volume, at any rate, should therefore be quoted always as "by Naville and Hall", not as "by Naville" alone, as it is on p. 238, *à propos* of the inscription of the high-priest Amenemḥet, found during our excavations.

H. R. Hall.

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THE ELEMENTS OF JAPANESE WRITING. By COMMANDER N. E. ISEMONGER, R.N. (Retd.). 11 × 9, pp. 253. Royal Asiatic Society (James G. Forlong Fund Publications, Vol. VIII). £1 5*s*.

This book would have been better entitled, "How to read Japanese," for its main purpose is to show how the Chinese characters, and their abbreviations the Kana, as used in printed Japanese, may be read, and translated into English.

The book is divided into two Sections, prefaced by an Introduction. Section II will be useful to students. The 400 Chinese characters it contains are presented, with their common pronunciations and their meanings in English, twenty at a time. After each twenty characters there are explanatory notes showing how the characters are used by the Japanese not only singly but in combinations of two or more characters, how these combinations of characters are pronounced by the Japanese, and what the pronunciations mean in English. There are additional notes in which the structure of the characters is examined and the student's attention drawn to similarities and differences between characters. When 100 characters have been examined, useful phrases and sentences in printed Japanese are introduced in which the 100 characters reappear. The Japanese reading of the phrases and sentences is given by a transliteration in Roman script and the sentences are translated into English. When 200 characters have been examined the sentences given embody the 200 characters, and when 300 and 400 characters have been examined they are revised in the same way. Throughout the Section the katakana and hiragana appear in their places in the Japanese sentences. This is a good method of introducing the student to simple printed Japanese. It is not tedious, and incidentally it provides the student with a useful vocabulary. But in order to understand all that he reads in Section II, the student must, as Commander Isemonger says in the Introduction to his book, have a knowledge of the grammar and syntax of Japanese, which he must obtain from other sources.

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Section I of the book, to which Commander Isemonger has given the difficult title "Theoretical and practical Considerations of the Basis of Study", has four Chapters. In Chapter i Commander Isemonger describes how the Japanese borrowed the Chinese system of writing and modified it to suit the needs of their own language. In the Introduction, he recommends the beginner first to read Chapter i so as to get a broad view of the whole subject. But he has made Chapter i unnecessarily difficult for the beginner. He introduces the Chinese characters by saying that they are simply words. This will mislead the beginner to whom a word is something composed of the letters of an alphabet, and much of Chapter i will puzzle the beginner because he has not been shown, at the outset, that the Chinese characters are essentially pictures and not words.

Chapter ii explains the uses of the katakana, the hiragana, and romaji. Commander Isemonger gives much space to examples of the uses of these symbols, and the student who has mastered the contents of Chapter ii will have a good knowledge of how they are employed. The Chapter, however, contains many grammatical terms, such as "negative gerund", "second bases (indefinite forms) of verbs", "first (negative) bases of verbs," "post position," "teniwoha," the meaning of which the student will have to look for in other text books.

In Chapter iii Commander Isemonger explains how it has come about that a single Chinese character may, in Japanese, be pronounced in four or more different ways and have several different meanings; and in Chapter iv he deals with the origin of the Chinese characters and their growth from simple picture writing to complicated ideographs. There is useful material in Chapters iii and iv; but it would be more easily assimilable if Chapter iv were in its logical place at the beginning of the book, and if the student began by learning that the Chinese characters were originally pictures drawn with a brush. There are difficulties for the beginner in Chapters

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iii and iv because Commander Isemonger, as in Chapter i, refers to the Chinese characters as " words " and at the same time uses " words " to mean spoken sounds. The general impression given by Section I of the book is that Commander Isemonger has made his subject more difficult for the beginner than it need be.

The format of the book as a whole is good, and convenient for study. There are a few blemishes in the text, e.g. :—

Page 20, section 34 : " it " is omitted after " employed ".

Page 52, section 136 : " in the event of any serious effort being made " should be " in case any serious effort should be made ".

Page 58, section 144 : " when working on the characters " is a solecism out of place in a text book on language.

Page 58, section 146 : The paragraph begins " Now the Chinese Language ", and the phrase is repeated a little further on, at the beginning of paragraph 150. The repetition grates on the ear.

Page 60, section 150 : " differ " should be " differs ".

Page 63, section 163 : " between " should be " among ".

Page 66, section 169 : NAMASHIMA should be NAMA-SHINA, and the characters preceding the word should be in the order NAN SHIN and not SHIN NAN.

Page 69, section 181 : " Japanese and " is omitted before " foreigners ".

Page 73, section 202 : DANJO is incorrectly given the abstract meaning " sex ".

Page 75, section 211 : " compound " should be " compounds ".

H. A. M.

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HOBOGIRIN. Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de Bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises. By SYLVAIN LEVI, J. TAKAKUSU, PAUL DEMIÉVILLE. Premier fascicule: A–Bombai. 11 × 8, pp. iv + 96. Tôkyô: Maison Franco-Japonaise. 1929.

The Asiatic Societies which met in London in 1919, Paris in 1920, Brussels in 1921, expressed by unanimous vote a desire for a Dictionary of Buddhism founded on Chinese and Japanese texts. By the liberality of M. Ôtani, of Kyoto, and M. Wada, of Osaka, it is now found possible to respond to that request in the production of this valuable work, of which the first fascicule has recently been published. All those who are interested in Far Eastern Buddhism will welcome the appearance of this first number and look forward with pleasure to further issues.

The compilers are limiting themselves at present "aux termes techniques et aux noms propres d'ordre surnaturel". In a later book they hope to deal with historic persons, names of places, and canonical and literary works. Only Chinese and Japanese sources are represented, though Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, and the works of European orientalists are consulted for clearing up difficulties in the two principal sources. The work is admirably illustrated with reproductions, all from Japanese originals. The Japanese dictionaries of Buddhism of 1716, 1911, 1914–22, and 1927–28 "ont été dépouillés de façon méthodique"; the compilers have not necessarily accepted the interpretation of those works, but have made careful and original research in the canonical scriptures. Thus they have produced "une œuvre véritablement nouvelle, où la parole de la Bonne Loi et les interprétations des docteurs hindous, chinois et japonais de tous les âges, fussent mises à la portée de l'esprit occidental".

The Chinese characters are transcribed according to the Japanese pronunciation and the entries are arranged accordingly. This was no doubt necessary, but it somewhat

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limits the use of the dictionary to readers with a knowledge of that language, until such time as the work is completed—as is promised—with an index of the characters themselves, either according to their radicals, or the number of strokes. Take, for instance, the difficulty of finding such a word as *patâka* under *Ban*. Of course, it would be equally difficult for a Japanese to find it under its Chinese equivalent *Fan*. A list of abbreviations is wisely supplied in a Supplement to the present fascicule. Its necessity will be observed from the following brief entry: "*Abishido* 阿 毘 私 度 sk. abhijit; Mvy. 3207 tib. byi bźiṅ, ch. nyo 女. Nom d'une maison lunaire. T 1300 II Quand on naît au temps où la lune quitte la maison nyo, on a beaucoup d'honneurs. La tc. n'est donnée que par Sgsk. II. Cf.* Shuku." It would not have been difficult to add that the nyo mansion is the 10th of the 28 zodiacal signs. Under *Ahadana*, "faire sortir la lumière" seems somewhat laboured for 出 曜. It is perhaps unfortunate that the usual small character type, so dear to the Japanese, has been used throughout. For its size it is remarkably clear, but an exception might have been made for the opening characters of each entry.

There are entries of length and value, such as those on the Sanskrit *a*, which occupies ten closely printed columns; Amida has 12 columns, Ashura 6, Baramon (brâhmaṇa) 7, Bishamon (Vaiśravaṇa) 10, Bodai (bodhi) 15, and Bombai (chant) unfinished 8. Other shorter entries are of equal value to these, an instance of which is the one on Araya (Sk. *âlaya*), in which the hīnayāna and mahāyāna views are contrasted. The Supplement gives ten pages of a provisional list of "termes techniques" French–Chinese–Sanskrit.

To give a cordial welcome to this first instalment of so valuable a work is as easy as it is difficult sufficiently to congratulate all who have, with such industry and learning, conferred this favour on us. The dictionary, when finished, should add to the number of occidental students of Mahāyāna Buddhism who are at present deterred from venturing on

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page after page of text, peppered beyond the power of absorption with Sanskrit transliterations and terms used in an abnormal sense.

W. E. SOOTHILL.

SIR EDMUND HORNBY: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. With an Introduction by D. L. MURRAY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 396. London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1928.

Edmund Grimani Hornby, after learning German and French so that he spoke both languages as well as he did English, left England in 1841 for Lisbon, where his Uncle Southern was Secretary of Legation and married to a Spanish lady. After a year and a half in Lisbon, Hornby accompanied his aunt to Madrid, where he seems to have become a sort of Don Juan *malgré lui*, and to have acquired Spanish unusually well. Later, again he accompanied his invalid aunt to England, where having entered his father's Law Office he was called to the Bar in 1848. Some two years after, he rescued a young Italian lady from drowning, and married her in 1850. After some four years of difficult finances chance befriended him and planted his feet in the direction that led to his future very useful and successful career. This chance turned on the true meaning of a Spanish word in a certain contract in which Hornby, when consulted, contested the accuracy of an official translation. Hornby was sent for by Lord Clarendon, then Foreign Secretary, who, himself a fine Spanish scholar, approved Hornby's view. From that date, he writes, "I got bundles of papers shied at my head from the F.O." And in due course he was sent out to Constantinople to manage with a French colleague a loan granted by France and England to the Turks to carry on the Crimean War. This naturally brought him into contact with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador. And Hornby records that this first contact was sharp and unpleasant, indeed it deserves to be described as a violent

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bump. However, thanks to the Ambassadress, it ended well, and Hornby became the Great Elchee's hard-working and trusted adviser in connection with the Consular Courts of the Levant. Indeed, it was high time. At Lord Stratford's suggestion, Hornby drew up a regular judicial scheme for these Consular Courts which was adopted to the very great advantage of all concerned. After serving for some twelve years in Turkey, Hornby was asked by the Foreign Office if he would undertake to go out to China, and organize the British judicial service in that country and Japan, with the status of Chief Judge. He accepted the position, and having, while in London, drawn an Order in Council defining the jurisdiction of the new Court, proceeded in 1865 to Shanghai, where he established the Supreme Court, and incidentally issued extremely valuable Instructions to Consular Officers in their judicial capacity. He remained as Chief Judge in China till 1876, when his official career terminated.

Such is the skeletal outline of Sir Edmund Hornby's public life.

The book is an autobiography, and as such appears to be the self-expression of an honest, frank, energetic, and very able man of the world. It is the record of one who had seen men and cities, and who weighed both with a cool and keen judgment, but was not without sympathy in most cases. There are few dull pages, for Hornby had a strong sense of humour. Indeed his account of an interview he and his brother, then mere boys, had with the then head of the Rothschild firm at Frankfort, is really entertaining. The brothers had a Bill of Exchange for £33, for travelling expenses. Not being satisfied with their reception in the bank's outer office, they formed the impression that probably the bank could not find " so large an amount at a moment's notice ". Rothschild, who was evidently enjoying the situation, on seeing the Bill seemed " struck with the amount ", and appeared to be " intensely relieved " at Hornby's suggestion of ten pounds down and the balance later ! The sequel and

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the kindness shown to these two raw youths is delightfully told.

Hornby held very decided opinions, and often expresses them trenchantly, and certain passages, pages, and even chapters, are likely to meet with disagreement, suggest doubts, or excite exasperation in various quarters.

What will probably prove the most interesting part of the whole narrative to a majority of readers is the account of Hornby's service in Turkey as the special adviser in judicial matters of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, whose trusted friend he soon became, and always remained, until the Ambassador left Constantinople. Yet the first interview between these two was a sort of official hurricane, and that the same evening saw peace with honour restored on each side was a tribute to the high character of Lord Stratford, the right feeling and good sense of Hornby, and, above all, to the signal illustration afforded by the Ambassadress of the pregnant words *quid femina possit.*

L. C. HOPKINS.

IN GEHEIMEM AUFTRAG. By S. R. MINZLOFF. Mit 31 Abbildungen und drei Karten. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 226. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1929. Translated from Russian into German by R. Frhr. v. Campenhausen.

This book gives considerable information about a little known part of Central Asia formerly called Uryankhai and forming since the War the Soviet Republic of Tana Tuva.

A kind of No Man's Land in pre-War days, the Russian Government had serious thoughts of annexing it by that quiet process of imperceptible advance so characteristic of Russain colonization in the past. To have done so would have been a breach of the treaty by which Russia had parted with this territory to China in exchange for that of Usuri (the strip of Pacific coastal territory stretching from Korea to the Arctic Ocean, and including the peninsula of Kamchatka, together with Sakhalin and other islands along the coast).

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Chinese indifference to its possession had stimulated Russian interest in it. The first step towards annexation was taken when the Government took the inhabitants under its "protection", a measure against which Sasonov strongly protested on the ground that the Powers would regard it as a first attempt at the partition of China.

Early in 1914 Minzloff was sent by the Russian Foreign Office on a secret mission to explore the country. Travelling ostensibly as archaeologist, he was at the same time to gather information as to its soil, population, mineral wealth, and general fitness for colonial settlement.

Owing to the outbreak of the War, fourteen years were to pass before it was possible to publish the material obtained.

His book is a pleasant and readable account of his travels, of the country and its inhabitants. The last chapter is devoted to the results of his researches. The soil of Uryankhai teems with vestiges of the past. Graves and implements of the Bronze Age abound, and the information Minzloff gives about such specimens of these as he found and examined is valuable material for the study of comparative archaeology.

Minzloff makes no claim to have studied the country exhaustively. At the same time, his book probably contains the most general information about it, other travellers, amongst these the English explorer Douglas Carruthers, being more interested in particular aspects of it.

C. Mabel Rickmers.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April–June, 1930)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

10th April, 1930

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Kutbudin Sultan, Sahib Bahadur.
Professor Choeth Ram.
Mr. Md. Abul Hasan Siddiqi.
Mr. Jogendranath Dutta.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Lieut.-Colonel Stephenson, I.M.S. (ret.), read a paper on "The Natural History of Mediaeval Islamic Authors".

Dr. Gaster spoke and the President offered the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer for his interesting paper.

An abstract of the paper follows :—

Colonel Stephenson said :—

In the Islamic East writers on zoology were in the past not, as in the West, physicians, but literary men. The earliest zoological writings consisted of collections of the names and epithets given by the Arabs to the animals of the desert, illustrated by quotations from the ancient Arabic poets; there were also a number of works devoted each to a special animal, e.g. the horse, enumerating its names, the names of the parts of its body, its desirable and undesirable qualities, describing its colours, etc.

Passing on to Jāḥiẓ (d. A.D. 869) we find zoology still a branch of literature; his *Kitāb al-Ḥayāwān* gives the grammatical structure and meanings of the names of animals, with anecdotes, reflections, and literary recollections, rather than their descriptions.

The *Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt* ("Collections of Stories") of

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Muḥammad 'Awfī (fl. thirteenth century A.D.) is a huge gathering of anecdotes, on all kinds of subjects, which contains four short chapters on animals. There is no logical division of the subject, and the whole zoological portion is hardly more than a collection of stories, with some account of the supposed useful properties of the animals. A number of fabulous beasts are also described.

The *'Aja'ib al-Makhlūqāt* ("Wonders of Creation") of Zakarīyā al-Qazwīnī was written in Arabic in A.D. 1263, and subsequently translated into Persian. This is a cosmography, and hence somewhat more seriously scientific in purpose than the *Jawāmi'*; the zoological section, however, does not form a large part of the work One hundred and thirty animals are described, among them again a number which are entirely mythical.

The *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* ("Hearts' Delight") of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī, completed A.D. 1340, was apparently meant to be a popular educator in science, from astronomy to psychology and ethics. Its author, as usual, was a literary man, a poet and historian, and had no practical acquaintance with science. The zoological part follows the method of previous writers; 228 animals are briefly described (thirty-seven kinds of fish, however, being counted as only one animal). Mythical animals again appear, and there are a number of crude mistakes, such as that the elephant has no joints in its legs (this is found in many ancient and mediaeval works, western as well as eastern), and that the porcupine shoots out its quills. As in previous works, but more systematically, the medical, and also what may be called the magical, uses of the various parts of the animals are given.

The last mediaeval zoological work is the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayāwān* of Damīrī, a lawyer, which was completed in A.D. 1371. It is a large work, of 1,383 Arabic pages; but though it is so bulky, the amount of zoological information is scarcely more than that contained in the zoological part of the *Nuzhat*, perhaps one-twentieth of its size. It is really,

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like the earlier works, philological and literary in its objects, and is composed mainly of anecdotes, grammatical disquisitions, citations of proverbs, traditions, legal decisions, the interpretations of dreams of animals, etc.

Compared with Aristotle, all these works show a great decline; none of the authors were observers, but only compilers without critical faculty. The condition of zoological science was, however, much the same in the west also; the period was one in which independent investigation was at a low ebb.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

15th May, 1930

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Bibhu Pada Banerjee.	Mr. Kailash Nath Bhatnagar.
Mr. Md. Adbul Hamid Khan.	Dr. A. L. Dutta.
Mr. Md. Azizulla Khan.	Mr. Md. Jamaluddin Roomi.

Nine nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

The President: I have to ask you to pass a vote of sympathy with the relatives of two very distinguished Orientalists who recently died, and who were honorary members of this Society. I refer to Dr. von Le Coq, who was elected an honorary member in 1923, in recognition of his services to Oriental research both as an archaeologist and explorer; and by a somewhat pathetic coincidence the death took place within a few days of another distinguished honorary member of our Society, who was a colleague of Dr. von Le Coq, worked in the same field and in the same museum, Professor F. W. K. Müller.

May I remind the members of this Society of the great debt that we as English people owe to Dr. von Le Coq not only for his great scholarship, but for an act of great gallantry

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by which, a good many years ago now, he saved the life of an English traveller. When he and Captain Shearer, as he was then, were travelling from Kashgar to Ladak, Captain Shearer fell ill and was unable to proceed further on the journey. Professor von Le Coq, who was only a travelling acquaintance of Captain Shearer, left with him all the valuable stores, taking the lightest possible equipment himself, and although he had himself been suffering quite recently from debility and dysentery, he made a journey involving the crossing of some of the highest passes in the Himalayan mountains on no less than three occasions in fourteen days, in order that he might secure succour for his sick fellow traveller. He was successful in his mission, and succeeded in getting Captain Shearer to safety. For that distinguished service he was awarded by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem the medal for saving life on land under circumstances of great personal danger, and for the first time in the history of that medal it was ordered to be struck in gold.

Report of the Council for 1929–1930

The Society has lost by death a distinguished Honorary Member, Sir Ernest Satow, and the following ordinary members :—

Mr. A. R. Duraswami Aiyengar.
Mr. George Bell.
Mr. Tara Chand (Delhi).
Mr. A. S. Cochran.
Mr. W. Coldstream.
Dr. Raghabar Dayal.
Rev. Dr. O. Hanson.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.
H.H. The Maharaja of Jhalawar.
Khan Bahadur T. Malak.
Mr. B. Prokash Del Mitter.
Rai Bahadur Sardar Hotu Singh.
Sir Ramesvara Singh, Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga.
Rev. John Tuckwell.

The following members have resigned :—

Mr. C. E. Ball.
Mr. J. T. O. Barnard.
Professor C. Raymond Beazley.
Dr. Karanjaksha Bonnerjee.
Mr. Charanjiva.
Mr. B. A. Fernandez.

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Mr. M. Jinavijaya.
Sir George Maxwell.
Miss Murray.
Rai Bahadur Sheo Narain.
Mr. E. J. Pilcher.
Munshi Mahesh Prasad.
Mr. Hem Chandra Rai.
Pandit B. Nath Sharma.
Rev. W. Sharrett.
Mr. T. I. Tambyah.
Rev. E. J. Thompson.
Sir Lionel Tomkins.

Under Rule 25*d* the following have ceased to be members of the Society :—

Mr. N. S. Adhikari.
Mr. Syed Azhar Ali.
Mr. C. D. H. Ball.
Mr. Sasadhar Banerji.
Professor L. Ganga Bishen.
Mr. H. S. Bonsor.
Mr. Pierre Cardeillac.
Professor Tara Chand.
Babu Nutbihari Chatarji.
Mr. Sanat K. Chatterjie.
Mr. Rai Bahadur Munshi B. Sen Darbari.
Maulvi A. R. Dard.
Mr. Nibaranchandra Das-Gupta.
Mr. J. Mohan Datta.
The Rev. Thos. Fish.
Mr. Maung Maung Gyi.
Mr. Majid-ul Hasan.
Sir Lionel B. H. Hawarth.
Mr. Md. Latifuddin Idrisi.
Mr. Chandra Bhal Johri.
Mr. Shima Chandra Kapoor.
Mr. M. P. Kharey.
Mr. Har Pratap Singh Kunwar.
Mr. Riaz Ahmad Kureishy.
Mr. N. X. Majumdar.
Mr. A. K. M. Mohideen Maricair.
Pandit S. Nath Misra.
Mr. W. R. Samiappa Mudaliar.
Mr. Rai Bahadur C. Naidu.
Mr. Nar Narain Prasad.
Mr. R. Prosad.
Professor M. Md. Rahimuddin.
Mr. Syed Mobinur Rahman.
Mr. Lala Sant Ram.
Mr. Bagalakanta Roy.
Mr. Brajendranath Sarkar.
Professor S. C. Sarkar.
Mr. Lalit Kumar Shah.
Mr. Nand Lal Shah.
Mr. Samuel Singh.
Sirdar Harbans Singh.
Mr. Har Swarup Singhal.
Mr. V. N. Singh.
Mr. P. I. D. Sinha.
Mr. Kumar Gangananda Sinha.
Mr. Akshay Kumar Sircar.
Mr. Nirunjun Sircar.
Mr. J. G. Thompson.

To fill the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Ernest Satow, the Council selected the eminent scholar of Chinese, Dr. Bernhard Karlgren, of Göteborg, Sweden.

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The following have taken up their election as Resident Members :—

Mr. D. D. Dickson.
Lieut.-Col. E. R. Rost.
Mrs. W. Sedgwick.
Mr. H. W. Sheppard.
Col. J. Stephenson.

The following as Non-Resident Members :—

Mr. A. E. Affifi.
Mr. S. Mohiuddin Ahmad.
Mr. S. Sivarama Krishna Aiyar.
Mr. Sajunlal Kasim Ali.
Mr. Asa Ram Kaushic Asar.
Pandit Shri Vishvambhar. Nath Bajpai.
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.
Mr. Waman Sheodas Barlingay.
Mr. Purna Gopal Basu.
Mr. Balkishen Batra.
Mr. Bishen Das Batra.
Munshi Md. Ansaruddin Sahib Bekhud, " Afsar-ush-Shuara."
Miss Elsie Benkard.
Mr. Nand Lal Singh Bhalla.
Dr. Mathumal Kallaty Bhaskaran.
Mr. F. C. Bugga.
Mr. D. A. J. Cardozo.
Mr. Hakam Chand.
Mr. Veerasimha C. V. Chetty.
Miss Susan Lowell Clarke.
Mr. Lalbhai Dholakeya.
Mr. Radharaman Ganguli.
Mr. C. H. Abdul Ghani.
Mr. Hazari Lall Gupta.
Mr. Ramchhodlal Gyani.
Pandit Viyoji Hari.
Mr. Jagunnath Hoare.
Mr. Syed Sabir Husain.
Miss Hameed Husain.
Mr. Sheo Charan Lal Jain.
Mr. K. P. Jha.
Mr. Kishore Chand Joshi.
Babu Sitaram Kanaujia.
Mr. Gopi Krishna.
Mr. Kumariah Gopal Krishnan.
Rai Sahib Asharfi Lal.
Syed Abdul Majid.
Mr. Lal Chhanganlal K. Mathur.
Rev. Father C. Mattam.
Mr. Seth G. M. Modi.
Mr. Fazl Abdul Moheet.
Mr. Ashutosh Mukkerjee.
Munshi Rashid Ahmed.
Dr. S. Mangapatti Naidu.
Mr. Chand Narain.
Mr. O. J. Sundaram Nayadu.
Mr. K. Palanniappan.
Mr. Amarnath Pargal.
Pandit T. A. K. Pathy.
Mr. H. C. V. Philpot.
Rao Sahib C. Y. Doraswami Pillai.
Mr. Parashu Ram.
Mr. P. K. Ramaswami.
Mr. V. L. Narayana Rao.
Mr. L. Latta Prasad Rathore.
Saiyed Masum Ali Rizwi.
Major G. Rooke.

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Mr. F. B. Rosenthal.
Mr. Kunwar Chand Karan Sarda.
Mr. T. E. V. Sarma.
Mr. Mata Prasad Saxena.
Mr. Amar Sen.
Mr. G. M. Sewell.
Mr. K. Shanmukham.
Mr. S. N. Shehabuddin.
Mr. Kunwar Prem P. Singh.
Thakur Rama Palat Singh.
Mrs. de Beauvoir Stocks.
Mr. M. L. Varma.
Professor Khwaja Abdul Wajid.
Mr. M. Zainulabidin.

The following as Non-resident Compounders :—

Mr. F. H. Beswick.
The Raja of Kalsia.
Mr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah.
Khan Ahmad Sahib Ali Soofee.

Lectures.—The following lectures have been delivered :—

"My Central Asian Expedition," by Dr. W. Filchner (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"Travels in the Alai-Pamirs," by Mr. W. Rickmer Rickmers (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"The Arabians," by Mr. Eldon Rutter.

"The Dynasty of the Al Bu Said in Arabia and East Africa," by Mr. Rudolph Said-Ruete (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"The Aqsa Mosque and the Church of Justinian," by Mr. K. A. C. Creswell.

"Alexander's Campaigns on the North-west Frontier of India," by Sir Aurel Stein (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"Results of the Excavations at Kish, Season 1928–9, by the Herbert Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum Expedition," by Professor S. Langdon.

"The Chittagong Hill Tracts," by Mr. J. P. Mills.

"The Origins of Arabic Poetry," by Mr. H. A. R. Gibb.

"The Drama in Ancient Egypt," by Dr. A. M. Blackman.

"The People of Sinkiang," by Mr. R. F. A. Schomberg.

"The Natural History of Mediæval Islamic Authors," by Lt.-Colonel J. Stephenson.

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The Finance report for 1929 shows again an unusually heavy expenditure on the house, as a report from the builders showed the necessity of many sanitary improvements. Even with this the sum of £75 is still shown as a receipt over expenditure and £125 representing compounders' subscriptions has been treated as Capital and invested according to the Rules.

The Oriental Translation Fund has just undertaken the publication of the text and translation of a Newari MS. in the Cambridge University Library. The MS. contains the Newari translation of the shorter form of the Vicitrakarṇi-kāvādana, and the work of editing and translating it is being done by Dr. Hans Jørgensen, a Danish scholar.

During the year a much needed reprint of the *Harṣa-Carita*, vol. viii, of the Oriental Translation Fund by the late Professor Cowell and Professor F. W. Thomas, was brought out.

The Prize Publication Fund has published, as promised last year, the volume by Sir George Grierson entitled *Torwali*, and in addition an important work, *The Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, by Mr. Stuart N. Wolfenden. The expenses of this latter volume are entirely borne by Mr. Wolfenden.

The Forlong Fund has published the volumes announced last year: *Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, by Professor Siddheshwar Varma; The *Elements of Japanese Writing*, by Commander Isemonger; and two volumes by Mr. Hadi Hasan, *Falaki-i-Shirwani, His Life and Time*, and *Falaki-i-Shirwani, His Diwan*. The *Dictionary of the Nepali Language, with Etymological Notes*, edited by Professor R. L. Turner, to which the Fund has contributed £200, is now in the press, and is expected to be published this year.

The Public School Gold Medal has been won by Mr. C. L. Rosenheim, of Bromsgrove School, Worcestershire, for his essay on "The Relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan". The Medal is being presented to-day.

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The task of revising the entries in the Catalogue is proceeding, but owing to the pressure of other work on both Dr. Barnett and Mr. Ellis, the Council fears that the printing will not be started this year.

The catalogue of the Chinese Library has been revised, and should later on be reprinted.

The Chinese books have been put in order and placed in a room by themselves. No additions have been made to the Chinese Library for many years, and your Council have in view the desirability of steps being taken to bring it up to date.

The Carnegie grant of £400 a year for three years is now in its third year. Owing to the liberality of the Trustees, much very necessary binding has been done, and valuable additions have been made to the Library.

The recommendation of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1930–31 are as follows :—

Under Rules 29, 30, 32, Professor Margoliouth retires from the office of Director, Dr. Barnett from the office of Vice-President, and Mr. Driver, Sir Denison Ross, and Mr. Yetts from the Council.

The Council recommend that Sir Edward Maclagan be elected Director, Professor Margoliouth and Sir Denison Ross Vice-Presidents, and Dr. Barnett, Mr. Clauson, and Professor Turner ordinary members of the Council.

Under Rule 31, Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart, Mr. Perowne, and Mr. Ellis retire from the office of Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, and Honorary Librarian respectively. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend Mr. Hopkins and Sir Richard Burn as Honorary Auditors and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co. as Auditors for the ensuing year.

It is with very real regret that the Council have to record the impending retirement of their Secretary from the office which she has filled with so much advantage to the Society

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ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	287	5	0			
Non-Resident Members	1,010	19	3			
Student Members		10	6			
Non-Resident Compounders	57	0	0			
				1,355	14	9
RENTS RECEIVED				645	0	0
GRANTS FROM INDIA AND COLONIAL OFFICES—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
„ Hong-Kong	25	0	0			
„ Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
„ Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
				400	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS				67	5	0
GRANT FOR LIBRARY FROM CARNEGIE TRUST				400	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	484	8	4			
Additional Copies sold	232	16	0			
Pamphlets sold	2	16	6			
				720	0	10
DIVIDENDS				76	0	11
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				2	6	0
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES				1	2	10
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				2	18	3
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT				21	13	9
PUBLICATION FEE				20	0	0
SALE OF LIBRARY BOOKS				45	17	0
BALANCE IN HAND 31ST DECEMBER, 1928—						
Current Account	162	14	0			
Deposit Account	300	0	0			
				462	14	0
				£4,220	13	4

INVESTMENTS.

£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929–47.
£1,426 1*s.* 10*d.* Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£132 16*s.* 3*d.* 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds, 1932–34.
£777 1*s.* 1*d.* 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

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PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1929

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax	503	4	6			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	27	3	7			
Gas and Light, do.	81	7	9			
Coal and Coke, do.	30	4	11			
Telephone	16	8	10			
Cleaning	18	4	4			
Insurance	28	12	6			
Repairs, Renewals, etc.	136	15	1			
				842	1	6
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				20	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES				765	12	6
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				58	3	11½
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	1,018	16	5			
Postage	80	0	0			
				1,098	16	5
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE				588	1	4
Of which the following is allocated to the Grant from the Carnegie Trust—						
Cataloguing	68	9	3			
Books	174	7	8			
Binding Books	96	13	1			
Binding MSS.	110	10	0			
	*450	0	0			
GENERAL POSTAGE				61	6	1½
AUDIT FEES				9	9	0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas	17	12	1			
Lectures	33	18	4			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	12	3	5			
Other General Expenditure	52	8	6			
				116	2	4
PURCHASE OF £141 18s. 6d. 4% INSCRIBED FUNDING STOCK				125	10	0
BALANCE IN HAND, 31ST DECEMBER, 1929—						
Current Account	234	19	8			
Deposit Account	300	0	0			
				534	19	8
				£4,220	13	4

* NOTE: Of this sum £50 is covered by the unexpended balance of the Grant of £400 for 1928.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

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SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1929.			1929.		
Jan. 1. Balance		396 11 6	Printing and Binding Vol. XXX	196 10 0	
Sales		124 6 7	Reproducing Vol. XXIX	57 14 0	
Interest on Deposit Account		9 2 3	Sundries	3 18 5	
					258 2 5
			Dec. 31. Balance Carried to Summary		271 17 11
		£530 0 4			£530 0 4

Asiatic Monograph Fund

Jan. 1. Balance		145 0 11	Printing and Binding Vol. XX	127 6 8	
Sales		26 4 9	Sundries	1 1 0	
					128 7 8
			Dec. 31. Balance Carried to Summary		42 18 0
		£171 5 8			£171 5 8

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

Oriental Translation Fund	271 17 11	Cash at Bank—	
Asiatic Monograph Fund	42 18 0	On Current Account	114 15 11
		„ Deposit Account	200 0 0
	£314 15 11		£314 15 11

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Leasehold Redemption Fund

1929.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1929.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance		174 1 10	Dec. 31.	Balance—		
	Transfer from General Account		20 10 6		Represented by £189 16*s.* 7*d.* 5 per cent War Loan, 1929/47	194 12 4	
	Dividends Received to be Invested		9 9 8		Cash at Bank	9 9 8	
							204 2 0
			£204 2 0				£204 2 0

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publications Fund

Jan. 1.	Balance		26 12 0		Printing and Binding Vol. XI	131 7 9	
	Sales	35 7 1			Sundries	4 6	
	Dividends	18 0 0					131 12 3
			53 7 1	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary		48 6 10
	Grant from High Commissioner of India		100 0 0				
			£179 19 1				£179 19 1

Gold Medal Fund

Jan. 1.	Balance		46 6 5	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	56 1 5
	Dividends		9 15 0			
			£56 1 5			£56 1 5

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Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund

1929.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1929.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance		82 1 2		Cost of Medal	6 5 0	
	Dividends		20 15 4		Expenses of Presentation	3 0 0	
					Advertising	2 10 0	
							11 15 0
				Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary		91 1 6
			£102 16 6				£102 16 6

Summary of Trust Fund Balances

Prize Publication Fund		48 6 10	Cash at Bank—		
Gold Medal Fund		56 1 5	On Current Account		195 9 9
Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund		91 1 6			
		£195 9 9			£195 9 9

Trust Funds

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11*s.* 2*d.* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).
£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1930.

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BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

1929.	Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance		1 8 10
	Dividends		1 9 4
			£2 18 2

Investment.
£49 0*s.* 10*d.* 3% Local Loans.

1929	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Dec. 31.	Cash at Bank on Current Account		2 18 2
			£2 18 2

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.	Balance		369 5 11
	Dividends		210 4 6
	Sale of Books		58 12 6
	Refunded by School of Oriental Studies		93 4 7
			£731 7 6

	Printing and Binding Vol. VI	102 14 6	
	Photographing Plates, Vol. VI	3 3 3	
	Reproducing Vol. V	65 1 0	
	Printing and Binding Vol. VII	127 8 7	
	Printing and Binding Vol. VIII	344 8 3	
	Binding Vol. II	1 6 0	
			644 1 7
	School of Oriental Studies Bursary		50 0 0
	10% Commission on 1928 Sales		2 18 3
	Sundries		1 4 6
Dec. 31.	Cash at Bank— On Current Account		33 3 2
			£731 7 6

Investments.

£1,005 14*s.* 7*d.* New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s.* 3*d.* South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6*s.* 3*d.* India 3 per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B"
£253 18*s.* 4*d.* 5 per cent War Loan, 1929–47.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1930.

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for so long. For a period of thirteen years Mrs. Frazer served the Society as Assistant Secretary under the late Professor Rhys Davids, and from 1904 with a break of ten years between 1917 and 1927, up to the present time, she has placed her wide knowledge and experience at the Society's disposal. The Council desire to take this opportunity of placing on record an expression of their gratitude to Mrs. Frazer for her services and a sense of the loss which the Society is sustaining by her retirement.

The Hon. Treasurer: I am glad to tell you that our financial position this year has decidedly improved and is considerably better than it was this time last year. Our membership has increased, and it is membership that really counts. The donations include the £25 from the Duke of Westminster to which reference was made last year, but which only came into this year's accounts. The *Journal* account is the one which is perhaps the most satisfactory as regards its increase. It is about £130 more than last year, and includes £232 for additional copies sold, a rather large amount, but we hope to have a surprise of the same sort this year. For the rest, dividends are slightly increased, and we hope this will continue, because it means an addition to our invested capital funds. The *Journal* is maintained at a high level, not only in quality but also in quantity, and this gets reflected in the receipts. We wind up the year with an increase in our credit balance of £72 over last year. The sum of £300 appearing on the accounts as on deposit at the end of last year includes £200 earmarked to assist in the printing of the catalogue when ready. Of special funds there is nothing particular to say. They speak for themselves, and you see what we have expended there. I will conclude by saying once more how grateful I am to the Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Davis, for all her help and assistance and the work she has given to the accounts during the year.

Sir Edward Gait: The Society has to deplore the loss of one of its most distinguished honorary members, Sir Ernest

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Satow, who was famous both as a great diplomatist and as a scholar, possessing quite an exceptional knowledge of the language, literature, and history of Japan. The Society has also to deplore the loss of a distinguished Indian ordinary member, Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwara Singh, of Darbhanga. He was held in the highest esteem by orthodox Hindus throughout India, and did a great deal to promote the study of Sanskrit in Bihar.

The Society has had a successful year. The *Journal* has maintained its usual high standard. Seven volumes have been published, including a much-needed reprint of the *Harṣa-Carita*, by the late Professor Cowell and Professor F. W. Thomas. Thanks to the generous Carnegie grant, great improvements have been made in the library; over 100 new volumes have been purchased; 300 books and manuscripts have been bound, and a great number of pamphlets have been arranged according to subjects, and placed in 300 pamphlet cases. Twelve lectures have been delivered under the auspices of the Society, four of them in conjunction with the Central Asian Society. The number of libraries subscribing to the *Journal* has risen from 195 to 234 in the last five years. When we come to the question of membership the position is not so satisfactory. The Society seems no longer to be attracting members from the great Indian Services who formed such a large proportion of the active workers of the Society in the past. In the last three years we have only had two new recruits from the Indian Civil Service and not a single one from the Indian Educational Service. The articles in the *Journal* cover such a wide range that only a comparatively small proportion of them can appeal to any ordinary individual, but the *Journal* also contains reviews by experts on all-important Oriental publications which are most useful to any one wishing to keep himself abreast of the progress of knowledge in this sphere. The lectures also deal with subjects of general interest. Then there is the library. Apart from these personal considerations,

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the mere fact that our Society is the mainstay of Oriental research in this country should be sufficient to attract a considerable number of members of the Indian Services. Possibly a special effort might be made in order to bring the advantages of membership to the notice of members of the Services in India, and also to those who have retired.

Since the conclusion of the year, Mrs. Frazer, our Secretary, has tendered her resignation. Mrs. Frazer has only been Secretary for three years on the present occasion, but she was Secretary previously for thirteen years, and before that served for thirteen years as Assistant Secretary. She possesses a wonderful experience of the work of the Society in all its branches, and it will be very difficult to find an equally competent successor. The Council, in the paragraph in the Report which Mrs. Frazer did not read, have placed on record an expression of their gratitude to Mrs. Frazer for her services and the sense of the loss which the Society is sustaining by her retirement.

In conclusion, the Society is very greatly indebted to its President for his wise guidance on their work, and for the constant supervision which he exercises over all branches of the Society's activities.

Dr. Grahame Bailey: In seconding the adoption of the Report, my mind is led to think of the advantages of a society such as ours, and one that I should specially like to mention now is that of fellowship with distinguished scholars. Those who can attend the monthly meetings have the opportunity—a very valuable opportunity—of getting to know men whose names are known all over the world. I think that is a matter of considerable importance. A second direction in which this fellowship may be experienced is in our list of honorary members. It is a very important thing that men who are distinguished in other countries feel that they have a special bond with us, and naturally if they meet any of our members abroad or have an opportunity of visiting this country, those bonds are strengthened, and that means the strengthening

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of the bonds between the countries. The third attraction that occurs to me is the encouragement of young scholars. I think that is part of the fellowship of our Society. As regards the work that we do in publication, we ought to take note of the authors we are enabled to assist. Several works of importance are being published, and perhaps without being invidious, one might say the most important of all just now is that on which Professor Turner is engaged. The Forlong Fund has contributed £200 towards its publication. Though it has the title of a dictionary its range is very much wider than that word suggests. It is really a comparative dictionary of many of the languages of India, and will be of the very greatest value. It is unique in its own sphere, and nearly unique in other spheres, and will be invaluable to many.

The President: Before putting the motion which has been moved and seconded, may I just in a few words express my gratitude to Sir Edward Gait for the very kind remarks which he made with regard to myself as President of this Society, and may I also associate myself with him most heartily in all that he said with regard to our Secretary, Mrs. Frazer. During the past two years as your President, I have had ample opportunity of gauging the value of the services which are being rendered, and for many years past have been rendered, to this Society by Mrs. Frazer, and I can state it as my deliberate opinion that in her retirement the Society is sustaining a loss which it will indeed be very difficult to make good. And now may I just say one word about the *Journal* of the Society, which under the capable editorship of Mrs. Frazer has attained a very high standard of scholarship. Indeed, the very fact that the *Journal* has become such a mine of erudition has given rise to some criticisms. It has been said that it is far too heavy reading for the ordinary reader, or for anybody who is not a specialist. It has been said that many of the articles are so technical that they are intelligible only to specialists in that particular branch of learning and research with which they deal. I do admit that

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the articles which find a place in our *Journal* are often of a standard which is above the taste of the general reader, and I go further than that and I say that if they were not, the *Journal* would not be fulfilling the purpose for which it exists. After all, our *Journal* does not exist to provide light literature for the general reader. It exists in order that it may make accessible to those who require it the latest result of the research work of scholars in their different branches of learning. Let me mention as a proof of the value which scholars place upon our *Journal* that only a short time ago two Oriental Universities applied to this Society for complete sets of it. We found some little difficulty in bringing together complete sets; indeed, we were not wholly successful in doing so, but in spite of that, each of those two Universities has paid a large sum for the volumes we are able to supply. And then our Library—that serves a somewhat similar purpose. We have a valuable collection of something like 40,000 volumes which are at the disposal of students in Oriental subjects. And we are engaged at the present time on a heavy task—that of providing an adequate catalogue of the many valuable books our library contains. In this connection may I take the opportunity of placing on record the debt of gratitude which this Society owes to the Carnegie Trust? Without their aid the completion of such a catalogue would have been altogether beyond our powers.

May I put the motion to the meeting that this Report, which has been proposed and seconded, be adopted.

The Report was adopted, and the recommendations for the re-election of officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council, and the appointment of auditors were accepted.

Public School Gold Medal Presentation

After an interval for tea, the meeting reassembled, and the President presented the Public School Gold Medal for 1929 to Mr. C. L. Rosenheim, of Bromsgrove School.

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The President: It falls to my lot as President of the Royal Asiatic Society, to present this afternoon the prizes and the gold medal which have been won by the successful writers of essays upon "The Relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan". But since we have reached something in the nature of a crisis in the history of this gold medal, may I just remind you very briefly of the original intentions of those patriotic Indian gentlemen who founded it. It was founded nearly a quarter of a century ago to encourage amongst the boys of our public schools in this country interest in the affairs of India. The Royal Asiatic Society was invited by these gentlemen to administer the fund which they had created, and to see that their wishes were given effect to. Under the rules which were drawn up under the terms of the original trust in 1907, some seven schools were listed as being eligible to take part in competitions for the prizes and the gold medal. The intention of the founders was that in each of those seven schools a separate competition should take place between scholars of the schools; that these examinations should be held by, and under the management and control of, the school authorities, and that the winning essays should be determined by those authorities in each case. When that had been done, the winner in each of the different school competitions was eligible for one of the prizes, and it was laid down that those who had won prizes should then have their essays submitted to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society in order that they might determine which amongst all the prize-winners was the most meritorious, and so award to him the gold medal. It was also laid down as a condition of any school becoming eligible for this competition that they should undertake to give a course of instruction to the boys in their school on Indian history and geography. But I am sorry to say that experience has shown that it has not been possible to carry out exactly the intentions of the founders. The pressure upon the curriculum of the public schools of the present day is so great that it is practically

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impossible for them to arrange for separate courses for their boys on Indian history and geography; and then again as a result no doubt of this pressure, it was found by degrees that the seven schools originally listed as eligible for taking part in the competition were quite incapable of providing enough candidates to make a really satisfactory competition. The Royal Asiatic Society therefore added very largely to the number of schools which were eligible, and I think this year that no less than eighty schools could, if they had wished, have arranged for boys to enter for the competition. Out of those eighty schools four competitors only have been produced. I have mentioned these facts this afternoon because the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have now been driven to the conclusion that some alteration will probably have to be made in the conditions of the Trust, and it is possible that during the coming year, therefore, no competition will be arranged for, since we are in negotiation at the present time with the Board of Education with regard to making certain rather important changes.

Having disposed of the history of the Trust, let me come to the particular essay which we have been asked to consider this afternoon. The winning prize, which carries with it the gold medal, has been awarded to Mr. Charles Leslie Rosenheim, of Bromsgrove School, Worcestershire. The second prize winner is Mr. Arthur Harold Bowman, of Nottingham High School; the third prize-winner is Sir Archibald Philip Hope, of Eton, and the fourth candidate to whom a prize has been awarded is Mr. Dennis Alan Routh, of Winchester College. I am told by the examiners that these prizes have been well and worthily won. Let us just consider for a moment what are the essentials of a good essay on a subject of this kind. They are, of course, in the first place a picture of events of unchallengeable historical accuracy; but a mere recital of events in their correct chronological order is not in itself history. History is something more than that. The mere events recited in their chronological order are of importance as constituting the

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dry bones of history, but before it becomes a living thing, those dry bones must be clothed with flesh and blood. That is to say the causes of the different events which are strung together must be examined and so far as possible explained by the essayist, and that in its turn involves a consideration of the personalities of, and the motives actuating, the chief figures in the drama which is being described; and then there must be an adequate description of the stage on which, so to speak, the drama takes place. The winning essay shows that its author has realized the influence which geographical conditions so often have upon the evolution of human history. He has pointed out very rightly that the physical character of Afghanistan has been very largely responsible for the history of that country. He has pointed out that it is a rugged land of mountains difficult to be traversed, inhabited by a congeries of wild tribes, possessed with the love of freedom and independence, which one so often finds associated with mountain peoples; and I think it is probably true to say that if Afghanistan, instead of being a land of rugged mountains such as the author of this essay has described, had been a fertile plain, then the frontiers of Great Britain and Russia in Asia would long before now have been coterminous. Then the writer of the winning essay has realized the importance of considering the personalities of the chief figures engaged in the story of the relations between Afghanistan and Great Britain. It must be quite obvious to everybody, I think, that the exuberant personality of a Viceroy like Lord Lytton, the dominating personality of a Viceroy like Lord Curzon, the reserved and restrained personality of a Viceroy like Lord Northbrook, the personality of a Viceroy with the liberal sympathies and traditions of a man like Lord Ripon—all these personalities will react very differently when they are brought into contact with difficult and delicate problems such as those which have arisen in the course of the relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan. I am interested, for example, in his description of the policy of

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Lord Auckland when he was Viceroy. He rather naturally, perhaps, condemns it somewhat severely, but he goes on to say of Lord Auckland: "yet the Governor-General was an honest man. He had done excellent work in the past, and was a man of peace." And he explains that Lord Auckland's policy could not be attributed solely to Lord Auckland, but that it was largely influenced by the fear amongst the Directors in this country, of the ambitious policy of the Russian Empire.

Ladies and gentlemen, I must not weary you longer with observations of this kind, but I will conclude by offering the prize-winners my warm congratulations on their industry and their success. I have very much pleasure in handing to Mr. Rosenheim both the prize to which he is entitled—the specially bound copy of Lord Roberts' *Forty-one Years in India*—and also the gold medal to which he is entitled as the winner among the competitors. And I now have the pleasure of handing to the other prize-winner who has been able to come here this afternoon, Sir Archibald Hope, the prize which has been awarded to him.

Dr. Routh, Headmaster of Bromsgrove School: I am sure that almost every headmaster places this competition of the Royal Asiatic Society on a totally different footing from any other. It is not that merely it is the oldest. That is a small thing, but it is that it most wisely requires that every school competing shall have as part of its normal teaching Indian history. In other words that there shall be in every school competing a proper contribution made to the teaching of almost the most important subject in our curriculum. But there is something else. There is one thing of which the public schools of England have, I believe, a rare right to be proud, and it is the contribution they have made through a long period of years to the government of India. I am not referring simply to whose who have attained a very high place in that magnificent service, but to those who very often in remote districts and under difficult

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circumstances, bear the burden and heat of the day and do in their time a very great work. It is notorious that it is not so easy at the present day to find men of the same calibre to fill their places. A competition of this kind by stimulating knowledge and interest in a public school may very easily awaken here and there an enthusiasm amongst some upon whom this burden in the future should properly fall. I desire to thank the Society for this competition.

19th June, 1930

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Mumtaz Hasan Ahsan.
Mr. William Edward David Allen.
Syed Iltifat Husain.
Mr. Mohammad Mir Khan.
Lt. Dewan Rameshwar Nath Puri.
Mr. Chimanlal J. Shah.
Madame B. P. Wadia.
Major Arthur Deane Molony.
Mr. S. S. Basawanal, M.A.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Professor D. S. Margoliouth read a paper entitled "Side-lights on Islamic History and Customs in the Fourth Century A.H.".

An abstract of the lecture follows :—

When the Royal Asiatic Society published the first volume of Muḥassin Tanūkhī's *Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, no other of the eleven volumes was known to be in existence ; since then a copy of the eighth volume has been identified in an anonymous MS. of the British Museum, and is being published in the *Revue de l'Académie Arabe* of Damascus, with English translation in *Islamic Culture*. Of another volume, the second, a copy has been obtained by Aḥmad Pasha Tīmūr of Cairo, who has generously permitted the lecturer to have rotographs made of it. In this paper selected anecdotes are

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translated, illustrating the contributions which this volume furnishes to our knowledge of the history and customs of the Caliphate during or near the author's time.

The first anecdote gives a complete account of a political intrigue connected with Mu'taḍid's vizier al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaidallāh, of which Ṭabari's Chronicle contains little more than a hint; the second puts Mu'taḍid's character in a favourable light. The third illustrates the espionage exercised by the Caliph on his vizier, and the mode whereby it was frustrated. The fourth is a case wherein a master claims the right to put a slave to death on a frivolous ground, and the fifth one wherein a father claims the same right with regard to his daughters. The sixth explains the modes whereby intelligence was obtained, and illustrates the commercial morality of the time. The seventh is an account given by the celebrated Saif al-daulah of the incident which led to his becoming an independent ruler. The eighth elucidates the relations between the first Buwaihid sovereign in Baghdad and the Caliph whose rights he had usurped.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

21*st May*, 1930

At a joint meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society, held at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Sir Percy Cox in the Chair, Mr. C. Leonard Woolley gave a lecture on "The Excavations at Ur, 1929–30", with lantern illustrations. A précis of the lecture will appear in the October *Journal*.

Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to both parts and the index which were issued in a supplement.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need.

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Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

Bibliotheca Indica, Sanskrit, etc.: No. 4: Nīti-Sāra, fasc. 1, 1849. No. 9: Sahitya-darpana, text and transl., 1850–75. No. 11: Paittirīya, etc., Upaniṣads, 1851–5. No. 27: Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya, 1854–6. No. 32: Sūrya-siddhānta, etc., 1860–2. No. 41: Sāṃkhya-pravacana-sūtra, 1862–5. No. 59: Kaccāyana's Prakaraṇa, 1867–8. No. 75: Paittirīya-prātiśakhya, 1871–2. No. 102: Nārada-smṛti, 1885–6.

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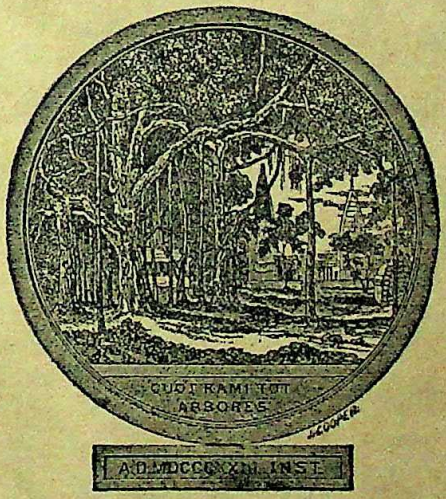

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Following upon the great winter exhibitions of Flemish, Dutch and Italian Art, an International Exhibition of Persian Art from the earliest times to the present day is to be held at the Royal Academy for about two months from January 7th next, under the patronage of His Majesty the King and His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi.

The art of Persia is important not only for its intrinsic beauty but because during the course of many centuries it has influenced and stimulated the arts of design in many other countries, both Asiatic and European. That Persia has been a great creative centre in the history of art is constantly confirmed by fresh discoveries.

Yet the importance of Persian art has never been realised by the world at large. This is chiefly because its treasures are so widely scattered that no just or comprehensive picture of its rich achievement has hitherto been obtainable. To assemble and co-ordinate these treasures is the object of the forthcoming Exhibition.

The art of Persia extends over a period of time and comprises a variety of styles and materials not generally appreciated. Persia has produced the most brilliant architectural ornament in stucco and faience; splendid sculpture in stone and metals; ceramics that are rivalled only by those of Greece and China; silver, gold, glass and enamel that have set a world standard; exquisite miniatures and other paintings; rich brocades, velvets, tapestry and carpets; beautiful book-bindings, woodwork, arms and armour. All these will be represented by the finest examples, selected from the libraries and royal and private collections of twenty countries. His Majesty the Shah is sending many treasures from the Palace collection, the National Museum, and the

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jealously guarded mosques. By the desire of His Majesty King Fuad the Egyptian Government is lending works from the Cairo Museum and Khedivial Library. From Russia will come a valuable contribution including famous silver, gold and bronze Sasanian vessels ; France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Poland, Scandinavia, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, America and other countries are sending examples of Persian art of various descriptions. The British contribution will include extensive loans from His Majesty, the Victoria and Albert Museum, museums and libraries at Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Dublin, Manchester, Sheffield and Canterbury, and the Royal Asiatic Society. Many of the exhibits, including some recently discovered, will be shown publicly for the first time.

The Committee have decided to offer season tickets, *if applied for before the opening of the Exhibition on 7th January*, at the reduced price of 10s. 6d. each, or in books of three for thirty shillings. After this date the price of season tickets will be £1 1s.

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JOURNAL OF THE
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1930

PART IV.—OCTOBER

The Decipherment of the Moscho-Hittite Inscriptions.

BY A. H. SAYCE

THE number of Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions known to us has increased considerably of late years. Unfortunately a large proportion of the texts is either broken or illegible, not infrequently just where a complete text is most needed. Thanks, however, to our increased knowledge, it is now possible to correct former copies and supply in many cases missing characters or words. The result is that I can now improve to a large extent upon my old attempts at translation as well as correct mistakes and misreadings. Another result is to show that the fundamental elements in my decipherment are correct; it is true that I have made many mistakes, as is inevitable in pioneering work of the kind, but on the whole it was based on sound principles and a considerable proportion of the phonetic values or ideographic meanings I have attached to the characters turn out to be right. Those who wish to see the evidence for these will find it given in detail in my articles in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*. In my present notes I shall give it only where the identifications are either new or corrections of those I formerly proposed.

At the outset it is now clear that the hieroglyphic script must be classified under several different types. First (1) we have the script as it is found at Boghaz Keui; only a few

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specimens of it are known and these offer neither grammatical suffixes nor examples of a phonetic use of the characters, except in the case of proper names. (2) Secondly we find the Hamathite or rather North Syrian group. Here the grammatical suffixes appear as well as phonetic characters; the characters themselves have become more conventionalized, and some of those which are found in the later inscriptions are not employed. Moreover, the "word-divider" is only just coming into use; indeed, in the earlier texts it does not appear at all except for phonetic purposes. (3) Thirdly comes the Carchemish or North Syrian group. Here the texts are usually well and correctly written—C i. A 1. *b*, being an exception to the general rule—the "word-divider" has come into use, the employment of ideographs is restricted and in many instances their phonetic reading is attached to them. (4) Fourthly we have the Mer'ash group, which includes Aleppo and the province called Tarkhundas[1] in the Boghaz Keui tablets. Here, again, the "word-divider" is prominent, but the forms of the characters vary from those of the Carchemish group. (5) Attached to (4) is (5), where, however, the script is of a much more archaic character and the "word-divider" is rarely employed. (6) Sixthly there is the Early Asianic group, represented at Emir Ghazi, Karabel, etc. Here, again, the "word-divider" is absent, and characters are still distinct which are confused together in the later texts. (7) Lastly we find the Tyanian group in which the script is tending to become alphabetic. The words in the later texts are carefully divided

[1] It is worth notice that the Lycians called themselves Trkhmi-li, Greek Termilæ, where *-li* is the ethnic suffix, as in Hittite, corresponding to the Moscho-Hittite *-ni*. Trkhmi-*li* would thus be the exact equivalent of the Moschian Tarqami-a-nis of the Hamath texts and Tarqami-kamissis "(people) of the Tarqamos-city," of the Mer'ash texts. We know that the Lycians (or Luqqa as they are called in the Hittite texts) came from south-eastern Asia Minor; were they originally the inhabitants of the district of Tarkhundas of which Kuruntas was king? *Kamis*, Greek Kamisa, "fortified city," appears under the Hellenized form of *-κώμη* in local names in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor. The Tell Ahmar inscription shows that it was represented in the hieroglyphic texts by the bowl .

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from one another and the ideographic use of the characters is the exception rather than the rule.

In all these forms of script by the side of the monumental writing we have a cursive script, distinguished by incised lines of little depth and frequently presenting reduced forms of the characters. It is difficult to read, the slightly incised lines being frequently illegible.

The Tyanian is the latest form of Moscho-Hittite writing, and belongs to a period when the Phrygian alphabet was in use, and Mita or Midas, the opponent of Sargon, had already created his empire. In fact, I believe that the use of the "word-divider" in the later texts was modelled on its use in the Phrygian inscriptions, though the Asianic alphabets themselves, like the Aramaic and Phœnician, had probably derived the idea of separating words from one another from the Cappadocian cuneiform texts, where a wedge was commonly employed for this purpose. In the Karaburna inscription which belongs to the Tyanian group the "word-divider" is still unknown.

The characters were employed to represent more than one language. At Boghaz Keui, the language would have been either Official Hittite or Proto-Hittite, and the fact that on the Tarkondemos seal the goat's head represents *Tarku* (Greek τράγος) instead of the Moscho-Hittite *is* while the Indo-European *dime(s)* takes the place of the Moscho-Hittite *kuana-mi* indicates that in Cilicia it was employed to express a language allied to Greek. In the case of the Moscho-Hittite language itself there were local and temporal differences. The vocalization differed, for example, at Carchemish and at Mer'ash, and the fact that the same character could denote *ya* and *i*, *yi* and *wa*, *wi*, while another (as in cuneiform) is at once *m*, *w*, and *b*, points to the existence of local varieties. But the determination of the vowels is still in an initial stage, and it is only in a few instances that we can indicate with certainty the precise vowel that accompanies a particular consonant. The Assyrians, however, in

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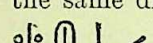
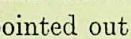
their transcription of Hittite and Moschian names experienced the same difficulty. All that we can say at present is that  roughly denote *a*, *i*, *u*, and *e*. *R*, again, was pronounced as in English, and consequently could be represented by a vowel, while final *s*, at all events in the later texts and more especially before a consonant (as was first pointed out by Professor Jensen), tended to be dropped.

The numeral was *u*, or perhaps *ua* in its full form, and is accordingly used to represent the vowel *u*. But at an early date it was confused with the oblique line , which denoted that the character to which it was attached had a phonetic value that was not its ordinary one. On the Tarkondemos seal, for example, it represents the Assyrian *e*, the suffixed *-me-e* "am I" being represented by  that is *mi* pronounced *mê*. In C i. A 6. 6, the bull's head, *mi*, is given as the phonetic equivalent of . On the other hand, the vocalic *r* after a vowel could be represented by the oblique line as in the name of Carchemish, where the first syllable is sometimes written *ka* + oblique line, though it is possible that the quiver (*ka*) was really in its full phonetic form *kar* and not *ka*, and all that is intended is to draw attention to the fact that here the character is used with its rarer phonetic value. In contrast with this, the numeral 3, *kas* (or, rather, *kes* according to C i. A 6. 6, where its pronunciation is given as *kê-is*) with the oblique line attached is *ku* (Greek κο) and more rarely *kê*.

Excluding the authors of the inscriptions of Western Asia Minor as well as those of Hamath and perhaps Mer'ash, the common title of those who inscribed them was "Moschian" or "Miskian" (Meshech). In the earliest of the Carchemish inscriptions, that of Yakhas or Yakhans (C i. A 1. 1), it is written *Mi-is*-KAN-*ka-a-ni*(-*n*)-DET,[1] and again (in l. 6)

[1] The photograph as well as my own copy of the text have *mi* and not *ki* as in the published text. If *ki* were correct we should have the name of the Kaskians.

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Mi-is-KAN-*ka-a-ni* (?)-DET. MISNAS "the Moschian Sun-god". In a text of Kanâs (C i. A 11. *b* 3) we have MIS-*Mi-i-s(i)-ka-a-ya-n*-DET. "land of the Moschians", while one of Imêis (C ii. A 15. *d* 4) gives us *Mis-i-kan-n(a)*-MI-*mi*-DET. A monument now at Kaisariyeh[1] has on side *d* (l. 5) *Tua-na-mis*-DET. D.[2] *Me-is-kan-is a-mi-is* "swordsman of Tyana (and) Meshech", and again (in l. 6) *Mi-is-qa*-KAN-*ni-is*. In the Bulgarmaden inscription (M. xxxii, 3, 4) we read *a-[tu]-is is-s-uana-s-mi(a) á-mi-s-miya-na-is Mis*-KE-*ka-s-n-is* "(I) the king of the realm, master of the territory, the Moschian, (have poured out wine, *wi-ni-n*, have set up (?) an inscribed stone)", corresponding to the Tyana text on the leaden rolls found at Kalah Shergat (ASS. f. *Rev.* 2) *u-mis is-uana-mi a-tu-is Mis*-KÊ-*kas-n-s ku-yê* "(I) sole king of the realm, the Moschian, have built (the fortress, etc.)." At the end of the Karaburna inscription (M. xlvi, 3) a re-examination of the squeeze shows that the reading is: NAWIS *Tua-uana-n-is* DET. MISNA-*si-[s] Wan(a)-na-tu-ni-is*-MI *atu-s* S (?)-*mi a-tu-wis Mi-is-kan-a-mi(a) kuan-ná* "Tyanian king, son of the Sun-god, king of the Venetians I, king of the Moschians, have erected the sanctuary". It is probable that Mazaka the name of Kaisariyeh in classical times signified "the Moschian city".[3]

From the name "Moschian" we have to distinguish the title *amiskas* and *amiskus*, which interchanges with the ideographic "Chief dirkman" or "swordsman" (see, for example, C i. A 7. *b* 2; C ii. A 15. *d* 3, 4: *á-mi-s-ká-a-s, a-mis-ku-s*.[4] The discovery that , cursive , represents *ká* is due to Dr. Cowley, and has cleared up many

[1] Lewy in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, iii, 1, p. 8.

[2] "Word-divider."

[3] The name of the Moschians penetrated as far as Lydia and in the Græco-Lydian inscriptions, accordingly, we find the proper names Moskhianos, Moskhiôn, Moskhios, and Moskhos.

[4] So on the Nigdeh column (M. liii) *yi-is-a* AGU-*n es Ka-a-n(a)-s i-is-i-ta a-mi-s-ku-ś* "This stone Kanas has erected in the temple (*literally* high place) (being) chief swordsman", i.e. high priest.

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difficulties.) Since *amis* means "swordsman" (more strictly "dirk-man"), the suffix *-skas* or *-skus* will have a superlative sense; cf. the Hittite *mili-skus* "an eunuch". *A-mis* is literally "man of the dirk". Whether its initial vowel, however, is really a word signifying "man" is questionable. At all events, the simple vowel *a* frequently takes the place of the determinative of "man". The latter in the earlier texts is usually depicted with a "word" issuing from the mouth, and there seems to have been a verb *ayê* which meant "to speak" (see M. 1, 5. AGU-*n es-mi a-n x*-MIA-*mi á-i-wi* "The stone I have erected, this gate-way I have dedicated"; on the leaden plates of Assur the verb is the Hittite *memi* and appears in the variant forms *á-mí-mi(a)-ye-mi* (*e* 1), *á-mi(a)-mi-i-mi* (*f* 1), *á-mí-mi(a)-ye-mi* (*c* 1), *á-mi(a)-ye-mi-i*, that is *mimiye-mi*, the initial ideograph being merely a determinative).

Polyphony was naturally a characteristic of the script, which was employed to represent more than one language and the characters of which were pictographic. Efforts were made to counteract the ambiguity which arose from this by coupling characters which happened to have the same phonetic values, and sometimes by adding ideographs which denoted the word intended to be expressed. But in some instances the polyphony was due to the confusion of two characters originally distinct. Thus the two pictures of the boot and leg , were originally separate as in the Emir Ghazi texts; the first (MI) represented "the earth" or "land", and accordingly had the phonetic values of *aya*, *mi*, *wi*, and probably others as well, while the second was *wi*, *pi*, *bi*. In all the later texts MI has the values of both signs. The cursive forms of the characters representing the arm and hand have caused extraordinary confusion. The upright arm, for example, was *atta*, (*ta*), "father," "lord," but it came to be confused with another character which had a wholly different origin. This depicted the double-edged axe *ka*, *ga*, which assumed various forms in the cursive script,

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and finally became indistinguishable from *atta*. We find it, for example, in the name of "the River-land" of *Ti-mi(a)-u-s-ka-si-ya-mi-a*, i.e. Timuskas, which I believe must represent Damascus (C ii. A 12. *c* 3). At Palanga (M. xx, 2) in the name of Ga-me-i-ir (Gimirri) it has become , and it is possible that the same character is meant in ASS. e *Rev.* i, 27. It can be written not only horizontally, but also vertically and semi-vertically, like the hand holding a dirk (NA + MI "king" (*namis* or *nawis*), generally alternating with *ana* and *atu*, but also used in the Carchemish texts with the phonetic value of *mi*). The dirk had the phonetic value of *mis* and consequently came to be superseded by the knife, the determinative of "cutting", which accordingly assumed the value of *mi*, *mis* being reserved for the picture of the dirk.[1] The original value of the knife was *ti*, possibly also *miti*; hence it interchanges with *ti* in M. lii, 1 and 4. There were two forms of the knife, one with a straight and the other with a curved handle; in the later texts the latter was confused with the scimetar, which also had a curved handle, but the phonetic value of it is unknown to me. The determination of the value of the double axe, which interchanges with , is due to Dr. Cowley's discovery of the value of the latter.

The dirk is frequently used to express the first syllable of Misnas "the Sun-god" (Greek Masnês, Manês, written Masanês on a Lydian coin). But the name is written in various fashions, sometimes with and sometimes without the picture of the Sun. Thus we have *Mis-ni-s me-i-is* "my Sun-god", as in the Hittite texts (C i. A 6. 1), *Mis-n-is Kas-i-is* "Kasian Sun-god" (C i. A 2. 1), MISN-*n-i-ś* (C i. A 1. 1), *Mis-n(a)-kuana-si-in Mis-n(a)-si-i-in* AME "city of the sons of the solar priests (and) sons of the Sun-god" (C ii. A 15.*d* 4), *MIS(NA)-ś-ni*-MI-*i* "in the land of the Sun-god" (M. ii, 6). At Emir Ghazi (M. l, 4) under the wings of the solar disk is on either side the ideograph of "king"

[1] See, for example, M. xxxiii, 1, *á*-MIS-*mi-i-s* (AME-*mia*) compared with M. vi, 2, *á*-MIS-*me-nin*.

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surmounted by *isi* "high", "heaven". *Isi* also appears under the centre of the disk and above the solar column in the middle of which is a picture of the sun, the column itself standing upon MI "the earth". Between the ideographs of "king" and the column we have MIS-*ni*, the first syllable being represented by the dirk standing upon a quiver or cut stone (*ni*). The whole reads "of (*or* to) the Sun of heaven and earth, even the Sun(god) the supreme king". The same "edicule" is found at Yasili Kaya near Boghaz Keui, where it is sculptured behind the head of the god Attys. Another similar "edicule" at Yasili Kaya is put in the hand of the priest-king, but here the place of the central column with solar orb is taken by the figure of the priest-king himself who grasps the handle of the dirk in one hand while the place of *isi* "heaven" above his head is taken by the ringlets of hair of the Sun-goddess. (For the picture of the latter, which is used in writing the latter part of the name of Milid or Malatia, and which therefore seems to be the borrowed Assyrian *ilitti* "goddess", see M. xxxii, 1. The character also appears in an unpublished fragment from Carchemish which reads: . . . *mis-s*[*a-*]*ná* [*Mi* ?-] ILITTI-*s* . . . , perhaps "king of Milid".)

Polyphony was assisted not only by the confusion of different characters with one another, but also by the use of parts of a picture in order to express the whole. The head of an animal, for example, takes the place of the animal itself. The first syllable in the name of Tyana is sometimes denoted by a chariot, or rather two-wheeled car (e.g. C ii. A 12. *b* 2), sometimes by the body of the car, sometimes by a wheel, sometimes by the driving board (e.g. M. xxxii, 1). The head of the heifer (*ná*) is generally carefully distinguished from that of the ox (*ami*, *mi*), but in carelessly written inscriptions we find it occasionally confused with the latter.

Ná occurs from time to time in a common title of the Moscho-Hittite kings. This is "great", "lord", which in

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C ii. A 15 b * * 3 is accompanied by its phonetic equivalent, *á-ku-ni-ya*, the exact reading, by the way, which I had assigned to the ideograph in the *Proc. SBA.* long before the discovery of the inscription in question. Sometimes the title is written *AKUNI-n-ná-a-yi-s* (M. xxxiii, 2), where I formerly supposed the *ná* to mark merely what I have called the agglomerative usage of the Moschian scribes who endeavoured to avoid the ambiguities of polyphony by doubling or even trebling characters which happened to have the same pronunciation. But in view of the fact that the Moschian word corresponds so closely to the Phrygian *akenano-lavos*, which has the same signification, I am inclined to think that *ná* here has the value of *l*, the compound possibly meaning "lord of the people" (Greek λαός). In M. xxi, 3, however, we have AKUN-*uan*(*a*)-*a*-(*a*)*n*(*a*)*n*-*a*-*ś*, i.e. *akunananaś*.

Separate from *akuna*- is *agu*(*s*) "a stone", more especially "a sacred stone". It is always employed in the inscriptions in the sense of a *bœtylos*. The name Agusis (C i. A 11. *b* 1, etc., C ii. A 14. 1; cf. *Annals of Archæology*, ii, 4, p. 173) would signify "son of the bætyl". The Assyro-Babylonian epic of Agusâya, the North Syrian Istar, discovered and translated by Professor Scheil, would have been that of "the child of the sacred stone".[1] Her consort was Agusimis (Agusi-wis), whose image seated on a throne, borne by two lions and an eagle-headed man, was discovered by Hogarth at Carchemish (C ii. B 25). The inscription on the skirt of the deity reads: "This god's place (*uana-mia*) of the divine *A-gu*-AGUSI-*mi* I (*y-a-mis-s*) have made for the people of Nina (Ninus vetus) . . . May Agusimis bless the land" (MI-*a-na*) (C i. A 4. *d*). In C i. A 11. *b* 3 and elsewhere mention is made of "the sacred ox-horned column" or *mazzêbah* "of (*Agu*-GUS-*is-si-mi*) Agusimis", which was made of "hewn stone" (KAT-*ka-ti*-TI-*yas-mi*(*a*)), and the name of the god occurs again in M. xi, 4 (*Agu-si*-MI). In the Tell Ahmar inscription (*Annals of*

[1] The name of "the goddess Agusea" is also found in an inscription of Esarhaddon (K 2801).

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Archæology, ii, 4, pl. xxxviii, 2) Agusimis is called "the Tyanian (god) (*Tu-uan-a-ni-i-s-mia*-DET.), and is associated with Tarkus, "king of the gods" (UAN-*i-is-s* NAWIS-*wi-i-ś*) and the deities KUANNA-*Khal*-KUAN-*kan*-KUANIS, as well as with *Kam-mi-ti-s*, who is depicted at Yasili Kaya (No. 16), while "the Moschian god" (*Mis*-[*kas-wi*-]*s*) who is also depicted at Yasili Kaya (No. 14), follows next. The name of Agusimis is represented by a serpent (ἔχις, Lat. anguis), followed by the bætyl (*agus*) and *mi-s*. At Kizil Dagh the full name is expressed by the figure of a serpent with ⊓ *ma* or *mi* attached to it (Ramsay and Bell, *Thousand and One Churches*, p. 515, l. 1). Since the deity here forms part of a triad, the two other members of which are Attys and Tarkus (Sandes-Hadad), Agusimis must have been regarded as a goddess corresponding to Mama at Emir Ghazi. Elsewhere, however, as at Fraktin, the name is applied to a god whose name is written *Agu-u-mi* for Agu(s)mi. The bætyl, it must be remembered, denoted both the male and the female deity. In C ii. 2 the initial vowel is written after, instead of before *gu* in accordance with a practice, first noted by Professor Jensen, of sometimes affixing a prefixed vowel, more especially if it is *a*, to the character which represents the syllable of which it is actually the prefix. In C i. A 11. *a* 5, we have DET. À-*ku*-AGUSI-*mi-in* as on the statue, but a few lines further (*b* 3) the name is written *Agu*-GUS-*is-mi*(-*si*). A common phrase in the inscriptions is *a-kuan-yi a-gu-kuan-yi* (C ii. A 14. 6, C i. A 6. 9, etc.) "I am priest, I am priest of the bætyl". Cf. the name of the North Syrian city Bit-Akukania (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria*, ii, 24). It was in the neighbourhood of the Tabalâ.

The king was also usually the high-priest, the city being a Hierapolis or Holy City, and consequently could have the determinative of "god" as well as of "city" or "district" attached to it. Thus we have (U)ANA *Karkamis* "the divine Carchemish", as well as MIA or NA "the city" or "district of Carchemish". "The Holy City" was denoted by the

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compound a compound of *kuanis* "priest" (represented by the priestly robe) and *miya* "city" (C ii. A 15. *d* 2, A 14. *a* 3: KUANIMIYA-*kuan(a)-mi(a)*, M. v, 2, vi, 5, 6, where the reading seems to be *miya-kua-ni-s*, cf. *mi(a) kuanis ka-a-wi*, M. l, 5, and ASS. g. *Rev.* 2, *ka*-KAMI-*a*-KUANIMIYA-*kuan*-MIA. At Fraktin, M. xxx, we find *Ku-ana-uana*-DET. "Holy Country").

In the Tyanian group of texts *kamis* takes the place of MIYA "city". Thus we have *ka*-KAMI-*a-kuan*-MIYA (a. *Rev.* 2), KAMI-*ka-me-a*-MIYA-*kuan* (b. 2), *U-ta-ka*-MI-*ś* "city of Hydê" (g. 1). *Kamis* is related to *kamissa(s)* "fortress" (M. xxxi, C 2, *ka*-KAMI-*mi-is-s-a*, whence the name of the classical Kamisa), and denoted a "fortress-town". It corresponds to the Greek κώμη in Asianic names like Hermokome, Esouakome, Laptokome, Rekokome (Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 412–13).

In the Mer'ash texts the priest-king of Tarkhundassa is described as *Tarku-ka(mi)-mi-ka-mi-i-s*, Tarkami-kamis "of the city of Tarkamos", who must have been the ancestor of the royal line. In one of the Hamath inscriptions (M. iii, B 3) the country is termed "the land of Tarkamos" (*Tarku-ka(mi)-mi-a-na-yis*) for which the name of Name-kamis "Namian" is substituted in another text (M. iv, A). According to Tiglath-pileser I Name was the name of a river near Serissa on the western side of the northern Tigris.

The Moscho-Hittite empire succeeded the older Hittite empire and is that referred to by Solinus (xlix): "Cilicia antea ad Pelusium Ægypti pertinebat, Lydiis, Medis, Armeniis, Pamphylia, Cappadocia sub imperio Cilicum constitutis." The Moschians seem to have been one of the chief of those "peoples of the north" who, about 1200 B.C. destroyed the older Hittite empire and occupied eastern Asia Minor and Northern Syria; in fact, if we may trust Solinus they made their way to the south of Palestine. At any rate, they attacked the Egyptian territory, where Rameses III succeeded in defeating them and so saving

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Egypt from the northern barbarians. Tiglath-pileser found the Moschi in occupation of what had once been Assyrian territory in the upper regions of the Euphrates, and, as will have been seen above, their name appears in most of the Hittite hieroglyphic texts. Their chief centre and capital appears to have been Tyana. At one time their power extended to Malatia, and so comprised the old kingdom of Khani-galbat. Kanas of Carchemish, for example, calls himself "lord of Melid" (C i. A 11). Another priest-king of Carchemish was "a Tyanian of the land of the Cilicians, chief swordsman of Tyana" and "lord of Melid" (*Khal-kan-e-ś-mia Tuana-a-ni-i-s* AMIS-*a-mi-yi-s-ka-a Tua-uan-ni*-NIS-*s-mia . . . akunas Me-lid(i)-si*; C i. A 4. *a* 2). Similarly in M. xi, 3, "the Carchemishian high-priest" is entitled "the Kesian king of Tyana" (*Tuana*[1]*-a-yis-mia Kês-yis*). On the rocks of Gurun Nâiyas Khattu-kuanis ("Priest of Khattu") is "lord of Melid, swordsman of Carchemish", "Moschian king in the land of the Veneti" (*Mis-kas a-na-miya Wana-ti-i*-MI-DET., Olmstead, *Travels in the Nearer East*, p. 33). The Gurun texts must be a record of conquest. The Tyana group of texts belongs to a much later period; the earliest of them (M. xlvi) on the rocks at Karaburna seems to imply a conquest of the district by the "king of Tyana" (ll. 2, 3), as it begins with the words: "This place I have occupied (*ya-a me n(a)*-NA-*wi*) being king of the city of the fortress-town of Kamisa" (*kam-mi-yis kam(ia)*-MIA-*mis-a* MIYA-*a*), Sinas, king of Sinasmia" (cf. Sinis near Kaisariyeh, Ramsay, p. 272).

The Veneti, or Ἐνετοι of Greek writers, who left their name in that of the city of Οὐήνατα or Venasa, play a prominent part in the Carchemish and Tyana inscriptions. Thus in the inscription from Carchemish, now in the Ashmolean Museum,

[1] Here the name of Tyana is expressed by an ideograph denoting "the Double City", as is sometimes the case in the Tyanian texts (e.g. M. xxxi, C 2). *Tua* signified "2" (M. lii, 2), the suffix *-na* being "district" as in *mia-na* "city-district", so that the whole name could be written in rebus-fashion "double-district".

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we have *Wa-uana*-WANA-*atta-a-is* (*Wanattais*), which is written *Wa-n(a)*-WANA-*tu-e-mis-yi*, *Wanatue-misyê*, in a Tyanian text (M. xxxiii, 3). At Carchemish we find expressions like *a-mê Wane-ti-is* "A Venetan by race" (M. xi, 4; cf. C i. A 11. *a* 6); *Tuana-a-n(a)* MI-*i*-DET. WANA-*ti-is*-MI-*i* MIYA-MIS-*kû-a-uana*-MI-*i* *Mis-i-kan-n(a)*-MI-*mi(a)-i* WANA-*ti-is*-MI-*mi(a)-a* "A Venetan of Tyana, a Venetan of Hierapolis (Konia ?), a Venetan of the Moschians" (C ii. A 15. *d* 4). So, too, at Ivriz (M. xxxiv, A 3) Thias, son of Uwinias,[1] is called *Wana-tu(a)-ta atta* "lord in the country of the Veneti" and at Izgin (M. xix, 1, 5) "lord of the country of the Veneti" (*imia Wana-ta-a*-DET. *at-ta*). One of the leaden rolls of Assur has "king of the Midas-city, of the city of the Veneti of the Venetan land here . . . of the Veneti" (*ana* (or *atu*) *Mi-tua*-ME MIYA-*a* WANA-*uana-ati-yas* WANA-*ne-(a)ti-ye-is-yas-mia* . . . WANA-*ati-mis-a*). It follows that in the eighth century B.C. the district of Tyana, the city of Mita or Midas, the opponent of Sargon, was that of the Veneti. At an earlier date their territory would probably have extended to Mazaka.

It will have been noticed that in the Carchemish text (M. xi) the same of Tyana is coupled with that of the Kesians or Kasians, the Kasai or Kases of the Byzantine writers, also termed Kasin. According to C i. A 6. 6. 7, the Moscho-Hittite word for "three", *kas*, was pronounced *kuis* or *kes*. Hence in M. xxxii, 2, we find it written *Kê-yis-mia mi-a*-NA-*na* "the land of Kes". At Carchemish the more usual form was Kasinna(s) "country of Kes" (e.g. C i. A 6. 3, *Kes-in-na aku(ni)-ni* "for the Kasian lord", but we also find Kasis (*misna Kesis*, C i. A 11. *b* 1). In the early Asia Minor inscriptions the form is *Ku-is-i-(mia)*, *Ku-is-i-(mi)* (M. l, 4, 3) "land of Keisi" or "Kuisi". I found the same name on the original stone of the longer Hamath inscription in the Constantinople Museum (l. 1); here the reading is: *akuni-n(a)-[ná]-a-yi-s*

[1] Or Ewinias; the corresponding Greek is *Οὐίας*.

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Ya-khan-nà-DET. NAWIS MIYA-*a Ami-tî-mi-*-s ku-e(?)-is-mia a-na* " master of Yakhan, king of the city of Hamath, king of the land of Kuis ". The King of Hamath, to whom the monuments belong would, therefore, have come from Asia Minor. I see the same title under the form Kusana " Kasian " in the Biblical Chushan Rish'athaim, king of the River-land (Judges iii, 8). The Hamathite king is called *Ar-ati-mi-in-(s)* and since the first character may possibly be used ideographically for the full word *aris* instead of phonetically for the syllable *ar*, he may be the Biblical (Semitized) Rish'athaim.[1] He was " king of the Murrians " or Amorites " in the city of Nanas ", the water-goddess, where he was also priest of " the high-place of the bætyl by the river in this land of the river of the Murrians " (M. vi, 3, 4).

Nana, also written Nina, is represented ideographically by the picture of a well or spring (M. vi, 2, 5. NANA-*nê ku-uan*-UAN-KUAN-*ni-mis-ya-mia-a* " The Hierapolis of Nana "; cf. M. xxi, 4, where it has the determinative of a water-basin). In 1914 I pointed out that in C i. A 11. *b* 6, the name of the goddess is represented by the head of a horse, the water-horse of the Highlands and the Greek hippocampus. Here we read: NANA (or NINA)-*nê-ti-s* DET. *Kar-ka-mi(a)-is* | *Ná-ana-s* NANÀ (horse-head)-*s-mia* DET. *Khal*-KHALMI-*mi* | *mi-ana-s* | NANÀ-*ana-a-s-mia* DET. KU(AN)-KHAL-NANÀ-*a-s* " the Ninatian god of Carchemish: i.e. Nanas (or Ninas) of Ninas, in the land of the Khalmisians: in the land of Nanas Nanas is (termed) KUAN-KHAL ".[2] We learn from Ammianus Marcellinus and the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, that in the classical age Carchemish (Jerablûs) was called Ninus, or, as Ammianus terms it by way of

[1] In M. xxx 'Ati is the name of the goddess who is further symbolized by a bird (like Khalmis), and corresponds to the עתי of the North Syrian Aramaic inscriptions. According to Steph. Byzant. *s.v.* *Λαοδίκεια, ἄθα* signified " god " in North Syria. On the other hand, the knife has the value of *ti* as well as *mi*, so that the royal name could be read Ar'attin.

[2] In C i. A 11. *a* 4, the horse's head, with the wing of Pegasos (the symbol of divinity), is explained by NINA.

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distinction from Nineveh, "the old Ninus" (Ninus vetus).[1] Ninas, Nanas, the "Water-city", will have been its sacred name. Hence the inhabitants of Carchemish are frequently entitled "the Ninatians"; e.g. C i. A 4. *d*: *Kayi* NANA-*nê-in uana-n* "I have made the Ninatian god" (Agusimis); C i. A 11. 6, "king of the Ninatians" (NANÀ-*nê-ti-in*). In C i. A 7. *j* 1, Nêisis is stated to be "priest of Nina". In the Hamath inscriptions (M. vi, 2, 5) the city "of Nana" must be Hamath, and Nanessos was a city of Tyanitis. So, too, in ASS. d 2, Tyanitis is described as "the land of the city of Nina" or the holy Spring, while in g. 1 we have *Tu-uan-ê-s* NINA-MISNA-*tua-n(a)-ka-mê-s* KAMI-ME *Wana-ti-si-mis* "Tyana the twofold city of Nina and the Sun-god, of the Veneti" (whence the alternative explanation of Tyana as "the Chariot-city" and as Tua-na "the twofold town", or possibly "town of the Twins", that is the Water-goddess and the Sun-god). On a Hittite seal (M. xliii, 8) round the figure of Pegasos, the winged horse—the symbol, it must be remembered, of Nana—runs the name of the owner *Nà-ana-si-is*, Nana(s)sis, and on the other side of the seal we have the winged "king of the gods" figured like Assur, with the two divine names attached to him "the goddess Khalmis" (identified in the Carchemish text with Nanas), and the god Aramis, called "king of the gods" in the Carchemishian name Aramis-sar-ilâni published by Professor Pinches, and "lord of earth, supreme over the 9 gods" at Carchemish (M. x, 2), where he is coupled with Khalmis and the king states that he has planted his sacred vine-tree (*isis uan*). Arnobius tells us (*Contra Gentes*, v, 6) that Nana was the daughter of the Phrygian river Sangarius (the name of which is repeated in that of the Sagura, the modern Sajur near Carchemish) and she became the mother of Attys through gathering the pomegranate of Agdistis.

Nis signified "water" in Moscho-Hittite and in the plural

[1] So, too, Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (xix): ἡ ἀρχαία Νῖνος.

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can be used in the sense of "river" (C i. A 11. *c* 3, *nê-is Khul-a-na-i-yis-mia* "the river of the land of Khulana", probably the Khulaya or Pyramus of the Boghaz Keui texts). But we also find *nî-mis* (*niwis*) and *nî-nas*.[1] The special word for "river", however, was *ti-e-ti-s*, as results from a comparison of C ii. A 15. 2, with line 4; see also C ii. A 12, 3.[2] The Greek *Τηθύς*, which has no Indo-European etymology, may perhaps be related: Têthys was a goddess like Nana. The word explains the phonetic complement of in the Hamath texts, where "the River-land" is written DET. TETI-*ti-nas* (M. iv, A, B). Cf. M. xxi, 4, TETI-*ti*(?)-*kan*. A common title of the earlier Moschian princes is that of king of "the 9 Rivers", e.g. M. x, 4, 5, "lord of the 9 Rivers, who loves the 9 sanctuaries" (KA-MES). The title comes down from the period of the first Hittite empire; in KUB. xv, p. 30, 58, 59, we are told that 9 birds and 9 loaves of unleavened bread were offered "to the 9 Rivers", and in a previous passage of the same tablet (28, 8) mention is made of 3 birds being offered "to the 9 (sacred) springs". In M. xlviii, 1, 2, we read of "the 9 (sacred) horses" (*yêamîs* or *yêawîs*), corresponding to "the 9 lands of the Sun-god" at *Egri-Köi* (I do not know the reading of the name of the latter city).

The two characters *ni* "water" and *têtis* "river" came to be confounded together; hence the use of the second with the phonetic value of *nis* and *ni* as well as the signification of "water". The same misuse of "water" for "river" is to be found in English geography. The

[1] *Nas* and *mes* are constantly confounded together in the later texts. They are both derived from the same pictograph and the second ought to be a separate character , the clenched hand throwing a speck off the thumb.

[2] See C ii. A 12. 3, where "the river(s) of the River-town of Nina" are mentioned. The same name appears to be inscribed on one of Schlumberger's seals (M. xl, 17); on another seal (xlv, 3) the place of Nina is taken by that of the Sun-god. How the name was pronounced I do not know. Could it have been the city of Nî which plays so large a part in the Egyptian records?

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ideograph of "water-basin" , , can take the place of TETI, more especially where a "well" or "spring" is meant. Hence its employment phonetically for *nis* (C i. A 4. *a* 2). But a spring was more correctly represented by NINA . "Water-basin" was *asmiyas* in Moschian (M. i, 3; xxxiv, C 1).

The water-bowl could be used in place of the water-basin. But in this case the inscription on the bowl (M. i) seems to indicate that its phonetic value was *kami*. At any rate, where determinatives are attached to it, they are always those of "land" and "place" (MI, MIA). And it is found before the name of a god when elsewhere we should have a word like *kami* "fortress".

But the reading and consequent identification of many of the countries mentioned in the Moschian texts still await discovery. One of the countries, for example, frequently named in the Carchemish and Mer'ash texts is denoted by what appears to be a conventional representation of the sacred tree. In one passage only is a clue given to its phonetic equivalent. In C ii. A 15, *b* 1, a text otherwise distinguished by the numerous instances in which ideographs are accompanied by their phonetic equivalents, we find the phonetic complement *ta* or *ti* attached to it, and in the middle of it what is apparently intended for *qa*, *ka*. If so, we may conclude that the name was Kata-wimi(a). This would certainly be the Kataonia of classical geography, the Qode of the Egyptian monuments.[1]

Imêis or Yamêis[2] (C i. A 6) writes: "I am Priest of Khalmis, my Sun-god (*Misnis-mîs*) . . . chief of the people of Wan(?)-i-mi (*Wan ?-i-mi-kan*-MI-*i*) and the people of . . . kamis" (**-ami*-KAMI-*mis-kan*-MI-*i*). The same two names recur in the Tell Ahmar inscription (*Annals*, ii, 4, 3, 4) and we learn from the Bogcha inscription (M. li, 1) that

[1] According to Strabo (xii, 1) its chief city was Komana, so that it would correspond to the Kizzuwadna of the Boghaz Keui inscriptions.

[2] Cf. the Cilician names *Ἴμας* and *Ἴμην*.

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both countries bordered on the Halys, north of Tyana and a little to the west of Kaisariyeh and Mount Argæus; there was a time, consequently, when this part of the world was under the same ruler as Carchemish. In C ii. A 15. *b*, Imêis is "Priest in the land of the Tarkians, in Carchemish of the Khalmissians", the Khalbaba of the Aramaic inscription of Panammu, of Yâdi (l. 3), and Yadi is named in the inscription of the Mer'ash king (M. lii), who describes himself as "belonging to the city of Tarkamos, priest of the Mer'ash region, son of Mamistis, high-priest of Yâtê" (*I-a-ati-ê*-DET.). In the second line of the text the name is written *I-a-ti-(si-in*-DET.), and at the end of l. 3 *ya-ti*. . . . Yati is the Yaeti of the Assyrian texts.

The name of Kataonia may perhaps be the equivalent of the Greek τραχεῖα (in *Κιλικία τραχεῖα*); at all events, *kata*, *kati*, signified "to cut stone"; C i. A 11. *b* 2, 3, *kuana-mis* GÙ-TA-*ka-ti-nà-yis* "temples of hewn stone", GÙ-TA-*mis*-MÌ-*mia* "cut stone building", GÙ-DET.-*a*-MÌ-*ti-ti-yi* "I cut stone", KA-*ka-ti*-MÌ-*yis-mia* "the hewn stone buildings (of Agusimis)"; M. xxxi, C 2, GÙ-DET.-*a*-TI-*i*(?)-*ti-wi* "I have cut stone".

In one instance we can trace the line of Moscho-Hittite conquest. The earliest of the Carchemish texts is that of Ya-khan-s "the Hittite (*Khat(tu)-tu-mis*), supreme over the land, the Sun-god who is the divinity on earth (lit. here, *yamèyis*) of the Tarkian Moschians in the kingdom of Carchemish" (*Kar-ka*-KA(N)-*mi-is nà-mi-a*-DET.).[1] Yakhans

[1] MÈ, MIYA, may be used ideographically so that instead of *yamèyis* we should read *ya* MIYA-*yis* "belonging to this city". The divinity claimed by the king is reflected in the first word of the inscription where *amei* "I am" is expressed by the winged man with the eagle's head, the symbol of the Sun-god. Similarly in C ii. A 15. *b* 1, the name of Imêis is written with the same symbol, and in C i. A 6. 8, we have *an a*-AMÈ *Wanatî kuis* "This for the Venetan swordsman he has made", where AMÈ is the eagle-headed man. Elsewhere in the same phrase instead of the latter we have the usual *ami(s)*; e.g. C i. A 11. *a* 6, *an ami-i ati*-MIYA *Wanatî kuîs*; M. xi, 4, *ami-i kuwi an amê Wanatis kuis*, "For the swordsman

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gave his name to the kingdom of Ya-khan-na "land of Yakhan", north of Hamath, over which the Hamathite king Ar'atimin claimed rule (M. iii–vi). We first hear of the name in the Assyrian inscriptions of the ninth century B.C., when the capital of the country was Bit-Agusi. In earlier times it seems to have formed part of the territory of Aleppo. Yakhans, therefore, must have lived before the age of Shalmaneser III, and have conquered the country to which he gave his name. Possibly the Agusis of C ii. A 14., C i. A 11. and the Kellekli text (*Annals* ii, 4, p. 173) was his son.

The Kirsh-oglu Inscription (M. vii):—This is the only Moscho-Hittite text yet discovered in the territory of the Khattinâ, who adjoined Yakhan on the north. It reads: (1) A(MEI)-*a-me-i* . . . . . *akun-n-a-yi-ś* MIYA-*a ya-mè-s* (?) *Un-qa-nas* DET. *Mis-n(a)-s Un-qa*-KAN-*i* . . (2) KAMIS MI-*is-mi-mia a-kan-ś* ASMIA-*mi(a)-mis ku*-KUA-*s-mia i-is-i-ti mis*-MÈ-*i isi*(?)-*i yi-mi-a-mi akun-ni-yi*; "I am . . . the mighty one of this city, the Sun-god of the land of Unqi, the foundations (?) of the fortress of Unqi (and) the priest's lustration-basin (in ?) the temple-court of the high-place I have built (and) erected; this place I have made great." The character after *ya-mè* is doubtful and may be *isis*; in this case we should have to read *a*-MÈ-*ya*-DET. *isis*, and translate: "Mighty one of the city, supreme over the land of Unqi, the Sun-god." Unqi is well known from the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. It is the modern Umq, the valley plain of Antioch, the Amiqu of Thothmes III, which Tomkins identifies with the classical Amyces Campus

I have made, making it, (being) a Venetan by origin." "Swordsman" is here represented by the racing legs which elsewhere interchange with *amis*. At Yasili Kaya the twelve racing "Corybants" follow the high-priest (M. xxvii, A.) and the weapon they carry is the Egyptian *khopesh*. In the Ashmolean Carchemish text, on the other hand, the symbol of the armed defenders of the fortress is a dagger and the name of the armed priest, *a-mis*, is literally "dirk-man". In Samothrace it may be noted the Corybantes were nine in number only.—In my copy of the original the character which follows *Khattu* is *tu*, not *mia*.

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and the modern Ameuk Keui near Antioch. In an unpublished Carchemish inscription we find (l. 3) *Ami*-KAN-*ka-is-uan*-MI-*i* "in the land of the Amikasians" or "Lowlands". The name would have been borrowed from the Semites.

For MI-*ismi-mia* see M. lii, 5, where the word is written MI-*mi*-MI-*yis*, and is followed by KAMIS *nas Mis-kê*-DET.-*mia* "foundations (?) of the fortress of the Moschian city". The determinative of *asmia* is here represented with water flowing into it. The *ku* (or *gu*) of *kuasmia* "place of the priest" is also represented by the numeral for 100, as in many other passages, e.g. C i. A 11. *c* 2, *ku-ana*-KUANA-MI-*i* "Hierapolis".

The Bowl Inscriptions:—M. i, 3, *yi-is-a* KU-*ka-mi-in* GU-*gu-me-is ya kamin* DET.-*Tarku*-MI-*i i-yis-i-ti a-tu-is a-i ku-yi Is-Khattu a-na a-mi-mis a-na-mi-a-tu* DET.-*a-s-mi-i-yis khalê-i-mes ka*-KE-*s-mia i-yis-i-mia* DET. *Khal*-KHALMI-*mi-mi-s* DET. *Kar-ka-mi-is*; "This work having cut in stone (even) this bowl, for the high-place of Tarkus I the king have made (even) Is-Khattu the king, the sword-bearer, king of this land, providing water-basins for (?) the high-place of the god of Khalmissian Carchemish."

Gumes has the determinative of a stone-cutter's "squarer".[1] Is-Khattu is the Us-Khitti of the Assyrian texts. In the time of Tiglath-pileser III there was an Us-Khitti, king of Tuna, usually identified with Tyana, but more probably written for Atu-na "Royal land". The name signifies "Supreme is Khattu". Kesmia seems to mean "for", but it may be "of the land of the Kases"; cf. M. xxxii, 2. For *mia-tu* "this land", see M. xxi, 3. With *khalê-mes* "providing", cf.

[1] In M. xlviii, 3, my copy of the original shows that we should read GU .

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M. xxxiii, C. " I the king, furnishing a throne, have made a royal seat, being king of the Tyanians " (*Tu-uan-in att(a)-is-mis*), where *kantumes* must signify " furnishing " or something similar. It is many years since I pointed out that the name of the country governed by the Mer'ash kings must be read Khalê-Khalka (adjectival Khalkâ-mis), " Cilicia of the Halys," i.e. the northern Cilicia of classical geography.

ASS. *Tafel* 8:—*Yi-is-a* MIYA KU-*ka-mi-in Kar-mi-is-s Tarka-kami-mi-n(a)* DET. *Tar(ka)-qa-mì-in a* . . . " Here is the work which Karmis [made] belonging to Tarkamos of the land of Tarkus [the king ?] ". Owing to the loss of the end of the inscription it is impossible to determine what the exact sense of it may have been.

The priestly epigraphs at Carchemish:—C i. A 7. *i*, *j*; B 7, 8.

(*i*): *Is-ka-wi-s-mi-s* | *yi-is-s-a yi-s-a* | *Tarka*-KAMI-*mi-u-s* " The attendant of Iskamis (is) this one ; this (is) Tarkamius " The *ka* of *Iskawis-mis* is written *ni* by mistake as is shown by the epigraphs *g* and *h*, which read *I-isi-kê-wi-s-mi-s* and *Isi-ka-mê-s*.

(*j*): *yi-is-mi-a*-MIYA *Na-ê-is-i-ś* KUAN-*ni-i-s Ninê-yê yi-me-s is-s-mi* DET.-KUANIS *yi-me-i-ś* ISI(?)-*mi-s* " Here is Nêsis (or Nuisis) priest of Nina (or Nana); I am priest, I (am) the chief (priest) ". *Is-mi* " I am " is found again in C i. A 6. 7 : " Swordsman in the land of Tarkus, in the land of Kata, in the Khalmissian country, the place of my Sun-god, the city of the god, am I." Elsewhere we have *is-mi* and *i-is-mi*. Cf. the Hittite *es-mi*, Greek ἐσ-μι. The word goes to prove that the boot had the phonetic value of *mi*, as well as *wi* and *bi* (*pi*), and also, probably, *aya* or *ayi* " land ". *Is-mi* must be distinguished from *es-mi* " I made ", which is usually written *'s-mi*.[1]

[1] C i. denotes Hogarth, *Carchemish*, pt. i (1914); C ii. Woolley and Lawrence, *Carchemish*, pt. ii (1921); M. = Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum* (1900–06); ASS. = Andrae, *Hettitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (1924).

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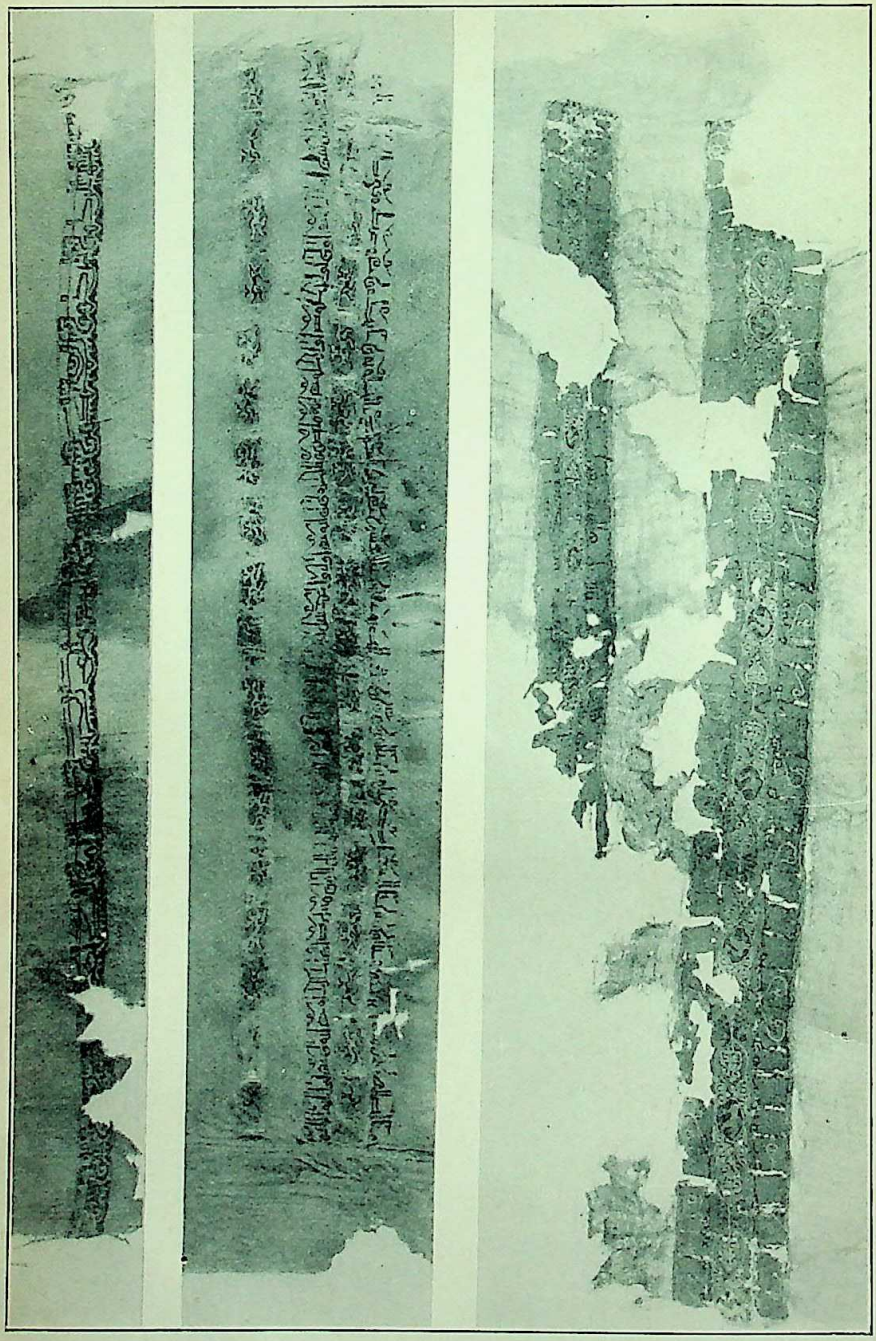

TEXTILES IN MR. ELSBERG'S COLLECTION.

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Nos. 1356 and 1382, $\frac{1}{2}$ size; No. 1383, $\frac{1}{3}$ size.

To face p. 761.]

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Further Arabic Inscriptions on Textiles (III)

By A. R. GUEST

(PLATE XII)

THE preceding article of this series is in the *Journal* for 1923, p. 406. Mr. H. A. Elsberg of New York has kindly supplied photographs and descriptions of the following Fatimid pieces in his collection and authorized their publication, and Mr. S. Flury has been so good as to give assistance in the decipherment of the inscriptions :—

No. 1. Collection No. 1356.

Description.—Fragment of a garment of rather fine linen, counting 56–7 warp threads to the inch, with a band of tapestry woven in dyed and undyed linen thread on the warp threads of the linen, the weft threads having been withdrawn. From the excavations at Fustât. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 13$ inches.

The tapestry band containing the inscription is $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch wide, the height of the letters being the width of the band and the colour of the letters dark green or black linen thread, the ground being of undyed linen thread.

Inscription. . . . الله الرحمن الرحمن الملك من يمن الله
وولّيه عليّ ابو الحسن لامته يمن الظاهر . .

Translation.— . . . God, the Merciful, the Merciful. Power comes by favour of God and his friend ʿAlî. Abû el Ḥasan, on his people be favour, Ez Zâhir . . .

Date.—A.H. 411–427 = A.D. 1021–1036.

Remark.—Abû el Ḥasan ʿAlî Ez Zâhir, Fatimid Khalif, reigned between the years mentioned. The inscription clearly refers to him. The formula is an unusual one. The repetition of er Raḥmân where er Raḥîm would be expected may be a mistake on the part of the weaver. The character of the script and the style of the inscription are peculiar.

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No. 2. Collection No. 1383.

Description.—Fragment of a garment of fine linen, which appears to have been glazed, counting 64–5 warp threads to the inch, with bands of tapestry woven in coloured silks and undyed linen thread on the warp threads of the linen, the weft threads having been withdrawn. From the excavations at Fustât. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The upper band of running dogs or jackal-like animals is $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch wide. On a dark brown ground the animals are alternately in black or very dark blue silk outlined in tan; and tan outlined in black. The central band of animals between the inscriptions is the same as the upper. The letters of the inscription are black or very dark blue on a tan ground, about $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch wide, the height of the letters on the ground is from $\frac{6}{16}$ to $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch.

Inscription. [. . شر]يك له محمد رسول الله عليّ وليّ
الله صلّى الله عليهما نصر من الله ووليّه على ابي الحسن الا [مام
الظاهر لاعزاز دي]ن الله امير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه وعلى
ابائه الا ئمة(line 2) الطاهرين [مما ام]ر بعمله الوزير الاجلّ صفيّ
امير المؤمنين وخالصته ابو القاسم عليّ بن احمد *اجلّه (؟) به وايّده
وعضده في طرا[ز] الـ . .

Translation.— . . . [has no] partner. Muḥammad is the Prophet of God, 'Alî is the friend of God, God's blessing be upon them both. Victory from God and His friend be to Abû el Ḥasan the imâm ez Zâhir li i'zâz Dînallâh, commander of the faithful, blessing of God be on his pure ancestor(line 2)s. Ordered to be made by the most glorious vizier, the sincere and special friend of the commander of the faithful, Abû el Qâsim, 'Alî ibn Aḥmad, may He make him (the Khalif) glorious through him and strengthen him and support him, in the factory of El [Q (?) . . .].

Date.—A.H. 418–427 = A.D. 1027–1036.

Remark.—It will be noticed that the reading of line 1 is

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continued in line 2 without interruption, so that only the right-hand portion of the inscribed band is wanting. To judge from formulæ on other examples, eight or nine words are missing from the beginning of the inscription and about the same number from the corresponding part at the end. The missing words at the beginning were probably—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الملك الحق . . لا شر .

(see *JRAS.*, 1906, pp. 396, 397, Nos. 10 and 11), and those missing at the end, besides supplying the name of the place of manufacture, would doubtless have stated that the work was carried out by a particular subordinate official and have given the date (see the copies of similar inscriptions given in Maqrîzî's *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, vol. iii, pp. 213, 214). It appears thus that between a third and a quarter of the inscribed band is wanting, and its original length when complete may be estimated as between 29 and 26 inches. The reading "make him glorious" (احلّه) is very doubtful, but nothing better suggests itself. The title of the Khalif cannot be made out completely, but there is no doubt as to his identity, for his name is plain. That of his vizier, who is better known by his appellative El Jarjarâ'î, fixes the date within the limits given. This inscription, when compared with the Abbasid ones recorded in the part of Maqrîzî's *Khiṭaṭ* referred to, shows that in certain respects the Fatimids did not depart markedly from the formulæ used by their predecessors. The word *ṭirâz*, which has been translated "factory", has this meaning as a secondary one: a *ṭirâz* was a place in which *ṭirâz* was made, and *ṭirâz* in the primary sense was a particular description of woven material, usually one displaying the sovereign's mark or device in the form of an inscription, like the fabric under consideration. For the various meanings of the word and for the *ṭirâz* as a government institution and in general, reference may be made to a full and excellent article on *ṭirâz* by A. Grohman in a recent number of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and also to Professor

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Wiet's edition of Maqrîzî's *Khiṭaṭ* (vol. iii, p. 214, n. 5; p. 328 and index), which seems to have escaped the attention of Professor Grohman and would have supplied some additions.

With the aid of these authorities, it can be shown positively that *ṭirâz* was produced at the following places in Egypt:—

1. In the Delta: Alexandria, Dabîk, Damietta, Nashâ (apparently thus and not Banshâ), Shaṭâ, Tinnîs, and Tûna.

2. In Upper Egypt: Ânṣina, Ushmûnain, Bahnasâ, and El Qais.

3. Probably at Fusṭâṭ also, under the designation of Miṣr, though this depends upon whether Miṣr is to be taken for the town or for Egypt.

Of the word following *ṭirâz* in the inscription, all that is left is the initial letter, preceded by the definite article and unpointed. This word was probably the name of the place where the stuff was woven. Its initial letter, as can be seen by comparison with examples in the body of the inscription, may be either ع or غ or ف or ق. El Qais is the only name in the list given above that begins with one of these letters. But *ṭirâz* stuff may well have been made at places besides those with which the sources referred to enable its manufacture to be associated, and one of these may have been a second El Qais which was situated to the east of the Delta near the coast and is known to have produced garments. Another may have been El Faramâ, though it dose not seem to have been a very important centre of weaving. The name of this town, also, would fit in with the inscription.

If the word following *ṭirâz* in the inscription was not a place-name, it seems pretty sure that it must have been العامة, as having the required initial and actually occurring on an inscription similar but a good deal earlier.

Shortly, there is ground for supposing that the stuff was made at El Qais in Upper Egypt, but the fact cannot be proved.

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No. 3. COLLECTION No. 1382.

Description.—Fragment of a garment of fine linen gauze, with bands of tapestry woven in coloured silks on the warp threads of the linen gauze, the weft threads having been withdrawn. From the excavations at Fustât. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 16$ inches.

The upper band is $\frac{15}{16}$ of an inch wide, the centre containing birds and palmettes with geometrical scrolls, all in tan on dark purple and green ground. The inscriptions are in black, the height of the letters being from $\frac{3}{16}$ to $\frac{4}{16}$ of an inch.

The lower band repeats the design of the upper somewhat enlarged, as its width is $1\frac{5}{16}$ inches. The purple ground besides the letters contains some scrolls.

Inscription.—Line A. الله صلو[ات] . . . [نصر من] الله
وفتح قريب لعبد الله . . .

Line B. . . بن محمد بن الحسن بن عليّ بن
عبد . . . الله ال . . .

Line C. . . . معد . . [الله] وفتح قريب لعبد
[الا] مام المستنصر بالله امير [المؤ منين] . . . الله عليه
وع[لى] . . .

Line D. المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين صلوات
الله عليه وعلى ابائه الطاهرين وابنائه الاكرمين مما . . .

Translation.—Line A: . . . God, blessing . . . [Aid from] God and victory soon for the servant of God . . .

Line B: . . . ibn Muḥammad ibn El Ḥasan ibn ʻAlî ibn ʻAbd . . . allâh el . . .

Line C: . . . and victory soon for the servant of God . . . Maʻadd . . . el imâm El Mustanṣir billâh Commander of the faithful [blessing] of God be on him and on . . .

Line D: . . . El Mustanṣir billâh Commander of the

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faithful, blessing of God be on him and on his pure ancestors and his most noble sons. Part of that which . . .

Date.—A.H. 427–487 = A.D. 1036–1095.

Remark.—El Mustanṣir, Fatimid Khalif, reigned between the years mentioned. There are in the South Kensington Museum three other fragments inscribed with his name, and a piece of the same sort without name but bearing a date in his reign is known also. (See *JRAS.* for 1906, p. 393, and for 1923, p. 407.) The present inscription calls for blessing on El Mustanṣir's actual sons and one of the other inscriptions calls for them on his expected sons. The limits of date could, therefore, be narrowed, if the dates of the birth of El Mustanṣir's elder sons could be ascertained. One may wonder what the series of names in Line B of the inscription can represent. Allowance being made for spaces, it would seem that eight names must have been included, and as the line is defective at the beginning and end the series may have been much longer. It seems, prima facie, unlikely that so long a genealogy as eight names on such an object can have related to any one but the Khalif himself; and even though the vexed question of the descent of the Fatimids might now be regarded as having been settled, there would be considerable historical value in such first-rate evidence of the lineage they claimed for themselves as an inscription on one of the royal garments would give. Among the various genealogies assigned to the Fatimids, there is one that includes a sequence Muḥammad ibn El Ḥasan ibn 'Alî as in the inscription (see Wustenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, p. 13). In the genealogy, the ancestor before 'Alî is Muḥammad, and in the place of this name the inscription reads 'Abd . . . This, however, is not conclusive proof that the inscription differed from the genealogy, for 'Abd may be the beginning of 'Abdallâh, used in its literal sense of servant of God and followed by the name.

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The Origin of the Arabian Lute and Rebec

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER, Ph.D.

"It is mainly in respect of musical instruments that mediaeval Europe was indebted to the Arabs, as I have pointed out many times in *The Precursors of the Violin Family*,[1] and in various articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.[2] The chief of these instruments were the lute and the rebab, which, however, were only introduced by the Arabs, not invented by them; they themselves indeed acknowledge their indebtedness to Persia in this respect."—Miss Kathleen Schlesinger, *Is European Musical Theory Indebted to the Arabs? Reply to the Arabian Influence on Musical Theory by H. G. Farmer*.[3]

AMONG the instruments of Mediaeval Europe that contributed most to the progress of the art of music the lute and rebec stand pre-eminent. That they were introduced into Western Europe by the Arabs is generally admitted, and for that reason the question of their original adoption by the Arabs themselves is of some importance, especially in view of the statements of Miss Schlesinger; not only in the above extract, but in the works to which she refers us.

The Lute

I did not suggest in my monograph that the Arabs were the "inventors" of the lute and rebec. What I said was this: "That we owe the lute (Arab. *al-'ūd*) . . . and rebec (Arab. *rabāb*) to the Arabs, is generally admitted, and, indeed, their names and construction tell of their origin."[4] By this I meant, as was fairly obvious from what had preceded, that the Arabs were responsible for the introduction of these instruments in Western Europe. The antiquity of the pear-shaped lute-like instrument is generally accepted nowadays, mainly owing to Miss Schlesinger's own researches. Indeed, the Arabs themselves acknowledged the antiquity of the lute, seeing that according to Ibn Khurdādẖbih they refer its

[1] 1910.
[2] 11th edition, 1900–11.
[3] 1925.
[4] See *JRAS*. 1925, p. 62.

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"invention" to Lamak,[1] who is the Lamech of *Genesis*, where we read of his son Jubal as "the father of all such as handle the harp (*kinnōr*) and organ (*'ugāb*)". The same authority also points out that the majority of writers attribute the lute to the Greeks.[2] It is clear, therefore, that the Arabs do not altogether "acknowledge their indebtedness to Persia in this respect" as Miss Schlesinger says. One writer, Abū'l-Fidā' (d. 1331), does certainly suggest that the lute was "invented" (استخرج) in the time of the Persian monarch Shāpūr I (241–72),[3] but it is more likely that the word "introduced" would be preferable in this case, since it is not improbable that the instrument that Shāpūr "introduced" was a wooden-bellied lute (*'ūd* = "wood"), known to the Persians as the *barbaṭ*,[4] which was an improvement on their skin-bellied lute of the *rubāb* type. Sāsānian art of the fourth–seventh century which is still preserved, shows us this *barbaṭ*.[5]

The general statement made in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that the lute "was adopted by the Arabs from Persia" is also not strictly correct. What was adopted from Persia was a particular type of lute as we shall see later. In pre-Islāmic days the Arabs throughout the peninsula possessed the lute or lutes, under the names *mizhar*, *kirān*, and *muwattar*.[6] That the *mizhar* and the *'ūd* were distinct types of lute we know from several authorities.[7] The other names may have been merely regional variations.

[1] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, viii, 88–9.

[2] Ibid., p. 99.

[3] Fleischer's translation runs: "Sapor magno . . . ejusdem aetate instrumentum musicum quod *el-'ud* (barbytos) appellatur, inventum esse dicitur." *Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica*, 82–3.

[4] See my *History of Arabian Music*, 16. *Barbaṭ* is the older form of the word. (See *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*.) *Barbuṭ* is a later word. Miss Schlesinger's *barbud* (*Prxcursors*, p. 488) has no existence so far as the present writer is aware.

[5] Dalton, *Treasures of the Oxus* (2nd ed.), 211.

[6] *Hist. of Arabian Music*, 15.

[7] Madrid MS., 603, fol. 13, v.

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In her *Precursors of the Violin Family*, Miss Schlesinger tells us that the Arabs borrowed the lute from the Persians in this wise [1]:—

> "The Arabs learned to know the lute . . . from the Persians at the end of the sixth century, when one of their musicians named Al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada was sent to Khusrau Parwīz to learn to sing and play the lute; through him the lute was brought to Mecca."

My critic does not give her authority for this statement, although we know it in spite of that. It was derived from Carl Engel,[2] who borrowed it from Kiesewetter.[3] The proper version of the story is to be found in Ibn Khurdādhbih, and it reads as follows [4]:—

> "In the song (*ghinā'*) the Quraish only knew the *naṣb* until Al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada returned from a deputation to Al-'Irāq to the Persian king (*kisrā*) in Al-Ḥīra, where he had learned to play the *'ūd* (lute) and the song (*ghinā'*) that accompanied it. When he returned to Mecca he taught the people [these accomplishments] and they were adopted by the singing-girls (*qaināt*)."

It will be observed that Ibn Khurdādhbih does *not* refer to the Arabs in general, but merely to the Quraish of Mecca adopting this *'ūd* which Al-Naḍr had introduced from Al-Ḥīra. Further, the account does *not* say that it was a Persian lute that was brought to Mecca, nor that Al-Naḍr had learned to play it from the Persians. Al-Ḥīra was the capital of the Arab Lakhmid dynasty, which acknowledged the Persian king as suzerain. One famous Persian king, Bahrām Ghūr (430–8), was actually sent to Al-Ḥīra to be educated by the Arabs, and was taught music also by them.[5]

[1] p. 491.
[2] *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum* (1874), p. 60.
[3] *Musik der Araber*, p. 9.
[4] Al-Mas'ūdī, op. cit., viii, 93–4.
[5] Al-Ṭabarī, i, 185.

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Khusrau Parwīz is *not* mentioned in Ibn Khurdādhbih's account, although it is probable that the visit was made during his reign (590–628). Further, the account does *not* say that he was "sent" to this monarch so as to learn "to sing and play the lute". He went on a political deputation.[1] Al-Naḍr was executed by the order of the Prophet Muḥammad in 624, and it would seem that the deputation to Al-Ḥīra took place prior to the delivery of *Sūra*, xxxi (5–6), which is one of the Mecca *sūrāt* dating from 610–22.[2] Probably Al-Naḍr's visit ought to be placed earlier than 602, i.e. prior to the extinction of the Lakhmid dynasty in Al-Ḥīra, when the relations between the latter city and the Persian court at Ctesiphon were cordial.[3] At this period the fame of the Persian minstrel Bārbad or Bārbud was commanding attention.[4]

The Persian lute was adopted much later according to the chronicles. Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 763) tells us that the first to make a lute (*'ūd*) in Al-Medīna was a musician named Sā'ib Khāthir (d. 683).[5] At Mecca, about the year 684, another musician, Ibn Suraij, was playing on an *'ūd* made after the fashion of Persian lutes (*'īdān al-furs*), and it was said that he was the first in Mecca to play Arabian music on it.[6] This lute, copied from the Persian instrument, was clearly of recent adoption, and would appear to have been introduced by the Persian workmen imported by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair for his building reforms in 684. If the Persian lute of Ibn Suraij was a novelty

[1] Cf. Ibn Hishām (d. 843), *Sīrat al-rasūl* (Wüstenfeld edit.), 191–2, and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1234), *Chron.* (Tornberg edit.), ii, 55.

[2] Al-Naḍr learned other things besides music at Al-Ḥīra. It was the Persian stories of Rustam and Isfandiyar, and similar legends, that he brought back, that Muḥammad condemned as "idle tales".

[3] *Al-Aghānī*, xx, 134.

[4] Known in Arabic as Fālūdh. For other forms of the name see Professor E. G. Browne's *History of Persia*, i, 14, and *JRAS.* 1899, p. 54. The vocalization with *ḍamma* as above is given in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, p. 238.

[5] *Al-Aghānī*, vii, 188.

[6] *Al-Aghānī*, i, 98.

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in Mecca, which it seems to have been, then the lute, introduced by Al-Naḍr eighty years before, was simply an 'Irāqian instrument.

We are distinctly told by the author of the *Kitāb al-aghānī* (d. 967) that the Persian lute continued to be favoured by the Arabs until the time of the famous Baghdād lutanist Zalzal (d. 791), although the old Arabian lute called the *mizhar*, and probably the 'Irāqian lute, also had some vogue. It was Zalzal who introduced a new type of instrument, a "wonderful lute" called the *'ūd al-shabbūṭ*.[1] A little later, another musician of Baghdād named Ziryāb contributed some improvements whilst at the court of Hārūn (786–809) and again at the court of the Andalusian sulṭān 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II (822–52).[2] Since it is highly probable that these improvements found their way into Western Europe, it seems advisable that we should inquire what these improvements were.

The name of the Persian lute, *barbaṭ*, is said by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khuwārizmī (fl. 976–97) to have been given to the instrument because it resembled "the breast of the duck",[3] or, as Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1210) says, "because the player upon it places it against his breast."[4] The pre-Islamic poet 'Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ (sixth century), who spent much of his time at Al-Ḥīra, speaks of an instrument with "strings stretched over a hollow curved sound-chest".[5] This would appear to refer to either the Persian or 'Irāqian lute. Yazīd II (720–4) having asked one day for a description of the *barbaṭ* was told that "it is hunchbacked" and "lean of belly" (i.e. flat-bellied).[6] From these descriptions we can recognize the familiar vaulted back of the lute, but evidently the instrument at this period had no separate neck, because

[1] *Al-Aghānī*, v, 24.
[2] Al-Maqqarī, *Moh. Dyn.*, i, 411; ii, 118–19. *Analectes*, ii, 84, 86–7.
[3] *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 238.
[4] Lane, *Lex.*, s.v.
[5] *The Dīwāns of 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ and 'Āmir b. aṭ-Ṭufail. Edit. Sir Chas. Lyall*, ix, 5.
[6] *'Iqd al-farīd*, iii, 186.

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the whole thing, from the nut downwards, appears to have been made in one graduated piece, probably hollow throughout, similar to the Meccan and Ḥaḍramī *qabūs* which I have described elsewhere.[1] The Persian lute shown in the Sāsānian art work (fourth–seventh centuries), preserved in the British Museum, has an outline which strongly suggests this.[2]

Zalzal's "invention" in the *'ūd al-shabbūṭ* was probably the substitution of a separate and parallel neck, solid throughout, and a separate sound-chest, just as we have them in the modern instrument. There are fairly good reasons for this assumption. The Arabic lexicographers tell us that there was "a species of fish" called the *shabbūṭ*. This fish was "slender in the tail, wide in the middle part, small in the head, resembling a *barbaṭ*", as we are told by Al-Laith ibn Naṣr (eighth century).[3] Further, we read in the *Tāj al-'arūs*, that "the *barbaṭ*, when long, not broad, is likened to this fish, and this fish to the *barbaṭ*". This "slender tail" of the fish called the *shabbūṭ* is evidently the parallel and separate "neck" of the *shabbūṭ* lute (*'ūd al-shabbūṭ*).[4] The lute delineated in the eleventh century (?) silver bowl from Mesopotamia in the Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, shows a parallel neck.[5] Later Saracenic art also bears this out.

The Persian lute of the time of Bārbad or Bārbud (sixth–seventh century) was strung with four strings, as we are informed by Khālid ibn al-Fayyād (d. *ca.* 718).[6] With the Arabs, the lute had four strings in the time of Bishr ibn Marwān (d. 694) and Yazīd II (d. 724).[7] Al-Kindī (d. *ca.* 874) [8]

[1] *JRAS.* 1929, p. 492.

[2] Dalton, *Treasures of the Oxus* (2nd edit.), 211.

[3] Lane, *Lex.*, s.v.

[4] Cf. Land, *Trans. of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists*, 1892, ii, 161. See the Portuguese *machête* in Engel's *Catalogue of Musical Instruments*, p. 254, and pl. facing p. 248, which is made in the form of a fish.

[5] See Lachmann, R., *Musik des Orients*, 136.

[6] *JRAS.* 1899, 59.

[7] *'Iqd al-farīd*, iii, 186.

[8] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 166.

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and Al-Fārābī (d. 950) [1] both speak of a fifth string, which is said to have been introduced by Ziryāb (eighth–ninth century).[2] The Arabs certainly adopted the word for "frets" (*dasātīn*, sing. *dastān*) from the Persians, and apparently altered the old *accordatura* of their lute, which was C-D-G-a, to the Persian one of fourths, A-D-G-c.[3] This latter remained the tuning of the lute up to modern times, save in the Maghrib where the old system is still retained in one form or another. [4]

Ziryāb's "improvements" to the lute date from the late eighth and early ninth century. Whilst at the court of Hārūn (786–809) he had made a heavier lute than the one in general use, and introduced gut for the lower strings instead of the customary silk. At the court of the Andalusian sulṭān 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (822–52) he imported the practice of using a quill *plectrum* instead of the wooden implement hitherto used.[5]

Al-Kindī (d. *ca.* 874) tells us that both the belly and back of the lute were made of thin wood, which was to be of uniform thinness throughout. The dimensions of the instrument appear to have been as follows.[6] The depth of the sound-chest was half of the width, and the widest part was at the beating-place of the *plectrum* or fingers, which was 6·75 cm. (= 3 *aṣābi'*) from the bridge-tailpiece (*mushṯ*). We also get a rough idea of the size of the lute because this beating-place was at the tenth part of the strings. This means that the distance from the nut (*anf*) to the bridge-tailpiece (*mushṯ*) was 75·25 cm. In the four-stringed lute of Al-Kindī, the two lower strings, the *bamm* (A) and *maṯlaṯh* (D), were made of

[1] Leyden MS., Cod. 561, Warn., fol. 59, v.

[2] Al-Maqqarī, op. cit., ii, 118–19. The fifth string appears to have been adopted in the East just prior to the year 850, as would appear from a story in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* (v, 53). See also my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, p. 252.

[3] See my *History of Arabian Music*, p. 70.

[4] See my *Historical Facts*, p. 240 et seq.

[5] Al-Maqqarī, *Moh. Dyn.*, ii, 118–19. Cf. *Analectes*, ii, 86–7.

[6] Berlin MS., No. 5530 (Ahlwardt), fol. 25. There is a hiatus in the MS., which makes the sense doubtful.

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gut, and were of four and three strands (*ṭabaqāt*) respectively, whilst the higher strings, the *maṯnā* (G) and *zīr* (c), were made of silk, and were of two strands and one strand respectively.[1] It was realized, says Al-Kindī, that for the higher strings, which required a greater tension, silk stood the strain better, and also gave a better tone.

The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century) say that the length of the lute should be half as much again as its width, whilst its depth should be half of its width, and the neck one-quarter of the length. Its boards (*alwāḥ*)[2] should be made of thin and light wood only, whilst the belly (*wajh*) should also be of thin, hard, light wood. The "Brethren" say that the four-stringed lute should have all its strings made of silk, and that they should be made of sixty-four, forty-eight, thirty-six, and twenty-seven threads (*ṭāqa*) respectively, from the *bamm* to the *zīr*.

Such was the instrument that became the parent of the European lute, an instrument with a separate neck, which was "invented" at the Baghdād court of the 'Abbāsids. Amongst Persian authors, however, we still find the term *barbaṭ* used for the new lute, and even among Arabic authors of Persian training, such as Ibn Sīnā, but that was due to the fact that the word *barbaṭ* like the word *'ūd* was generic for all types of the lute.

The old pear-shaped *barbaṭ* type of lute, without a definite neck, still continued to be used, and we see it side by side with the *'ūd* in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.[3] Whether it was still known in Spain by the name *barbaṭ* we do not know. Miss Schlesinger says that the name *barbaṭ* was used by the Moors of Spain for one of their instruments in the fourteenth century, but the authority that she quotes (at second or

[1] See *JRAS.* 1928, 515.

[2] The narrow strips of board that compose the back of the lute are referred to here.

[3] Cf. Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, p. 114, for the *'ūd*, and p. 115 for the *barbaṭ* or *mizhar*.

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third hand) is the *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'*, and the author is not dealing only with contemporary musical instruments.[1]

The Rebec

"The Arabs declare," says Miss Schlesinger, "that it was from the Persians they obtained the *rabāb*, and probably the fiddle-bow at the same time, but this is not stated, yet the Arab name for the bow is derived from the Persian."[2] This statement is repeated in her article "Rebab" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, where we are further informed that the word used by the Arabs for "bow" is *kamān*.[3] The authority for these statements is not given in either of these cases, but, again, it would seem that Engel has been the source.[4]

I am not aware that the Arabs declare that they obtained the *rabāb* and bow from the Persians. The earliest authority to mention the instrument in connection with Persia is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khuwārizmī (fl. 976–97), who says: "The *rabāb* is well-known to the people of Persia and Khurāsān."[5] He was writing in the land of the Sāmānids. His contemporaries Al-Fārābī (d. 950)[6] and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century),[7] also show us that the instrument was "well-known" in Syria and Mesopotamia.

Legend among Islāmic peoples says that the *rabāb* was played before Solomon, whilst tradition has it that the instrument was known to the Arabs in pre-Islamic times.[8]

[1] In point of fact, her authority is given as a book entitled, *Enumeration of Arab Musical Instruments*, xiv, c, which so far as the present writer is aware, has no existence under this title. See my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, pp. 336–7.

[2] *Precursors of the Violin Family*, 398.

[3] xxii, 948.

[4] Engel, op. cit., 63. *Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family*, 13.

[5] *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 237. Cf. Clement Huart's article in Lavignac's *Ency. de la Musique*, p. 3071. Ribera, op. cit., 51.

[6] Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 80.

[7] Bombay edit., i, 92, 97.

[8] Evliyā Chelebī, *Travels*, i, ii, 226, 234.

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This is borne out by another authority which cites Al-Khalīl (d. 791) as saying that "the ancient Arabs sang their poems to its [the *rabāb's*] voice".[1] The way in which the instrument is mentioned in the *Risāla fī faḍl 'ilm al-mūsīqī* by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Kanjī (?) would seem to show that the *rabāb* was looked upon as an Arabian instrument.[2] The tradition in the Maghrib is that it was invented by an Arab during his captivity among the Christians.[3]

Some writers favour a Persian origin of the *rabāb* on the ground that the name itself is derived from the Persian word *rawāwa*.[4] What the Persian lexicographers say is that the word *rawāwa* is another form of *rubāb*, a Persian lute.[5] *Rawāwa* is said to be made up of two Persian words, but this etymology looks quite factitious, and is probably quite modern. The term *rawāwa* as the name of a lute does not appear to be used in any Persian work on music. At any rate, a writer like Al-Jawālīqī, who specialized in words of foreign extraction, does not notice *rabāb* as an Arabicized word.

It would seem, however, that the ordinary Arabic root *rabba* (ربّ), which means "to collect, arrange, assemble together", is just as likely to be the parent word, because it was the application of the bow to a stringed instrument that "collected, arranged, assembled together" a number of short notes into one long note, a point which accords with the terminology of the Arab theorists. The *rabāb* was not, therefore, strictly speaking, an instrument of a particular shape or construction, but was essentially an "instrument played with a bow", in much the same way as the Persian *kamāncha* was, except that the latter bore this fact more clearly stamped in its name. It was the application of the bow

[1] Huṭh MS. The author's.
[2] Berlin MS. (Ahlwardt), 5527, fol. 47, v.
[3] Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la poesie et la musique arabe*, 59.
[4] Engel, *Researches, etc.*, 12. Curt Sachs, *Reallexikon*, s.v.
[5] *Baḥār-i 'ajam* and *Burhān-i qāṭi'*.

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that caused the flat-chested guitar, the boat-shaped lute, and the pear-shaped lute to be named the *rabāb*.

The bow evidently came from the East, but the Arabs do not acknowledge that they borrowed it from the Persians, and Miss Schlesinger's reason for making the suggestion (adopted from Engel or his copyists) is of little value because the Persian word for bow which is *kamān*, is not used by the Arabs. The Arabic word *qaus* has always sufficed for their needs in reference to the fiddle-bow. On the other hand, the Persians borrowed *from the Arabs* their terms *zakhma* and *miḍrāb* for the plectrum, and have even used them for the fiddle-bow.

Since the Byzantines had a bowed instrument in the eighth–ninth century,[1] we may conclude that the Arabs had it also, and perhaps even earlier. Fétis informs us in his *Antoine Stradivari* (1856) that a bow with a fixed nut may be seen among the ornaments decorating a collection of poems in an Arabic MS. at Vienna dating from the time of the first khalifs. Since Al-Fārābī mentions the *rabāb* it might be argued that the Arabs possessed the bow in the tenth century,[2] but the late Dr. Land pointed out, this would be a false assumption, because, he said, we have no contemporary evidence of the bow.[3] Miss Schlesinger also says that Al-Fārābī does not mention the bow.[4]

It is quite true that Al-Fārābī does not mention the bow in the chapter on the *rabāb* [5] in his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī*. That is probably due to the fact that he was more concerned with *what* notes were produced on the instrument than with *how* they were produced. For the same reason we are not told about the plectrum among the plucked stringed instruments

[1] *L'Arte* (1896), i, 24. Miss Schlesinger's earlier example from the paintings at Baouît, is doubtful.

[2] Fétis, *Hist. Gén. de la Musique*, ii, 144.

[3] Land, *Recherches*, 55.

[4] *Enc. Brit.*, xxii, 948. See also E. Heron-Allen's *Violin-Making* (1885), p. 41, and Grove's *Dictionary of Music* (2nd ed.), v, 289.

[5] Al-Fārābī does not write *rabāba* as Miss Schlesinger says.

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or the reed in the wood-wind. Yet, in spite of this we have "contemporary evidence of the bow", and it is to be found in Al-Fārābī, although the passage appears to have escaped notice.

After dealing with instruments of the harp (*jank*) family, which, says Al-Fārābī, were furnished with strings "set apart for every note", as well as those instruments of the lute (*'ūd*) and pandore (*ṭunbūr*) group possessing one string or more which gave other notes (by fingering) than those given by the open strings, he then refers to those instruments "*upon whose strings are drawn other strings*" (وَكَذَلِكَ ٱلَّتِي تُجَرُّ عَلَى أَوْتَارِهَا أَوْتَارٌ أُخَرُ).[1] Here the bow is clearly implied, since there can be no doubt about the verb *jarra*.[2]

The testimony of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century) also appears to be worthy of attention. They do not actually mention the bow, but its use is implied nevertheless. In *faṣl* 2 of their *risāla* on music these savants deal with the theory of sound.[3] On the quantitative side, sounds are described under two headings—disjunct (*munfaṣil*) and conjunct (*muttaṣil*). In musical instruments it is shown that *disjunct* sounds are to be found in the short notes produced by stringed instruments, such as the *'ūd*, and by percussion instruments such as the *qaḍīb* (wand). "As for *conjunct* sounds" say the Brethren, "they are like the sounds of *mizmār*, *nāy*, *rabāb*, *dūlāb*, and *nā'ūr*."[4] Needless to say, it

[1] Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 77.

[2] This may also be the parent of the English word "jar" (a tremulous vibration).

[3] See my *Arabic Musical MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 5.

[4] Bombay ed., i, 91–2. All these instruments are written in the plural except the *rabāb*. The Cairo (A.H. 1306) text, and that of Dieterici (*Die Abhand. der Ichwān es-Safā*) as well as the latter's *Propaedeutik der araber*, give *dabdāb* in the place of *rabāb*. The *dabdāb* was a drum, and is clearly a copyist's error. *Rabāb* is given in the Bombay text, and in the two Bodleian MSS.

The terms *dūlāb* and *nā'ūr* are given to a "water wheel", but it is not improbable that they were also the names of musical instruments. The *dūlāb* of Ibn Ghaibī was a "hurdy-gurdy".

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was the bow on the strings of the *rabāb* that produced this *conjunct* sound.

Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) is even more definite on this question. In his great work the *Shifā'*, after dealing with instruments of the lute type such as the *barbaṭ*, of the psaltery type (?) such as the *shahrūdh*, and of the harp type such as the *ṣanj* (= *jank*), he then proceeds to deal with instruments "possessed of strings and frets which are not beaten upon, but are drawn upon like the *rabāb*".[1] Again, the verb *jarra* unmistakably implies the bow.

Ibn Zaila (d. 1048) describes two kinds of sound-producing musical instruments. (1) "Those that are sounded by a beating (*qar'*) . . . and whose notes are cut off with the cessation of the [vibration caused by the] beating like the *'ūd* and the *ṣanj* and what resembles them." (2) "Those from which the sound . . . is prolonged (*mumtadd*) and is conjunct (*muttaṣil*), like the *nāy*, *surnāy*, and *rabāb*."[2] That it was the bow that effected this "prolonged sound" in the *rabāb* we know from a statement of his elsewhere where he says that the *rabāb* is played by being *drawn upon*.[3]

These quotations prove the existence of the bow with the Arabs in the tenth and eleventh centuries, although they must have had it much earlier, and they dispose of Hugo Riemann's contention that the Orientals make no mention of bowed instruments prior to the fourteenth century.

The late Dr. J. P. N. Land regretted that the Leyden copy of the Persian treatise on music entitled the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* did not contain a design of the *rabāb*, although the instrument was fully described.[4] Yet other copies of this work contain a design, and no bow is shown with the instrument, although in the design of the *ghishak*, a kind of *kamāncha*, the bow is delineated side by side with the instrument.[5] The reason

[1] India Office MS., 1811, fol. 173.
[2] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 235, v.
[3] Ibid., fol. 235.
[4] Land, *Recherches* . . . , 55.
[5] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 262.

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for the omission is that the instrument described is the *rubāb*, a species of lute, and not the *rabāb*.[1] It was a lute in the thirteenth century, and such it still remains. Indeed, its structure has scarcely altered during the centuries.[2]

Concerning the history of the *rabāb* in Spain Miss Schlesinger says: "The Arab scholar Al-Shaqundī, who flourished in Spain about A.D. 1200, states that the *rabāb* had been known for centuries in Spain, but was not mentioned on account of its want of artistic merit." [3] No source for this statement is given, but again it would seem to have been derived from Engel, or his copyists, who is misquoted.[4] All that we possess of the writings of Al-Shaqundī (d. 1231) is contained in the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of Al-Maqqarī (d. 1632) and here only the word *rabāb* is mentioned in a list of musical instruments.[5]

Whilst Miss Schlesinger acknowledges the antiquity of both the boat-shaped and the pear-shaped *rabāb*,[6] she says that we have no proof of the antiquity of the flat-chested instrument, known nowadays as the *rabāb al-shā'ir*.[7] "No evidence," she says, "has yet been brought forward that the *rabāb al-shā'ir* was in use among the Arabs who conquered Spain in the eighth century; if the instrument was indeed ever introduced into Spain, it has left no trace." [8]

The evidence of the frescoes of Quṣair 'Amra (eighth century)

[1] Ibid., fol. 262, v.

[2] Advielle, *La Musique chez les Persans en 1885*, p. 13 and plate. Uspensky, *Klassicheskaya Muzyka Uzbekov* ("Sovietsky Uzbekistan", Tashkent, 1927), p. 306. Fitrat, *Uzbīk qilāssiq mūsiqāsī* (Tashkent, 1927), p. 42.

[3] *Ency. Brit.*, xxii, 948.

[4] *Descr. Cat. . . . South Kensington Museum*, 62. Engel says: "Al-Shaqundī, who lived in Spain about A.D. 1200, mentions the *rabāb*, which may have been in use for centuries without having been thought worthy of notice, on account of its rudeness." For other misquotations see E. Heron-Allen's *Violin-Making* (1885), p. 41, and Grove's *Dictionary of Music* (2nd ed.), v, 289.

[5] Al-Maqqarī, *Moh. Dyn.*, i, 365–6.

[6] *Ency. Brit.*, loc. cit.

[7] *Precursors of the Violin Family*, 396.

[8] *Ency. Brit.*, loc. cit.

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is sufficient proof that the Arabs of Umayyad days *knew of* a flat-chested instrument, although it was not bowed in this instance.[1] E. W. Lane was of opinion [2] that the ancient *rabāb* was " probably similar " to the modern *rabāb al-shā'ir* depicted in his *Modern Egyptians*, which is a flat-chested instrument.[3] Wallaschek also took the view that the original shape of the *rabāb* was that of a guitar.[4] We know from Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) that the *badāwī* Arabs used this rectangular flat-chested instrument. It had a sound-chest (*qasa*), he says, like the " mould of a brick ", with a skin belly and back, and one horse-hair string.[5] This *murabba'* (= " square ") was still known to the Arabs in the eighteenth century by this very name, and it was a bowed instrument identical with the *rabāb al-shā'ir*.[6] The *rabāb* with some of the *badāwī* Arabs, as well as with some of the townsmen, was still played guitar-wise, i.e. without a bow, in the nineteenth century.[7] Lastly, the original name for the guitar in Arabic is said to be *murabba'*, and the latter was claimed to be a national instrument. This is stated by M. Soriano-Fuertes in his *Música Árabe-Española* on the authority of Al-Shalāḥī (date, 1301).[8]

Miss Schlesinger says that " Al-Fārābī . . . distinctly states that the *rabāb* was also known as the *lyra* ".[9] I cannot recall that the great Arabic theorist has anywhere used the words

[1] *Ḳuṣejr 'Amra*, Vienna, 1907, pl. xxxiv. (Published by *Kais. Akad. der Wiss.*)

[2] Lane, *Lex.*, s.v. ربب.

[3] Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (5th ed.), 364.

[4] *Primitive Music* (1893), 130.

[5] Bodleian MS., No. 1842, fol. 78, v.

[6] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie* (1776). Laborde, op. cit., i, 381.

[7] Crichton, *History of Arabia*, ii, 380. Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, and *Travels in Arabia*, i, 398. Burton, *Personal Narrative* . . . , iii, 76. Cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i, 41, 98, 263, 264.

[8] Barcelona (1853), p. 54. The MS. of Al-Shalāḥī (= *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'*, Madrid MS., No. 603), does not appear to wholly confirm this, or at least not fol. 15, which deals with the *kaithār*. I might also mention that Al-Shalāḥī does not give any of the forms *rabel, arrabel*, or *arrabil*, as Miss Schlesinger says. (*Ency. Brit.*, xxii, 947.)

[9] *Ency. Brit.*, xxii, 950.

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lyra. Kosegarten, in translating passages from Al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-mūsīqī*, has certainly translated the word *rabāb* by *lyra*.[1] Curiously enough, an interesting passage occurs in Al-Mas'ūdī (d. *ca.* 956), taken from Ibn Khurdādhbih (*d.* 912), which throws a side-light on the point. Speaking of the musical instruments of the Byzantines, he says: "And to them is the *lūrā* [= λύρα], and it is the *rabāb*, and to it are five strings."[2] Having the Carrand casket before us, it might be reasonably assumed that the favoured type of *rabāb* at the time of Ibn Khurdādhbih was the pear-shaped instrument.[3] On the other hand, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khuwārazmī (fl. 976–97) says that in Greek the word for *ṣanj* (harp) is *lūr*.[4]

That the *rabāb* was "mentioned" by writers in Spain before the time of Al-Shaqundī (d. 1231), and that it had "artistic merit", is evident from the poets Abū Bakr Yaḥyā ibn Hudhail (d. 995),[5] Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064),[6] and others.

That the flat-chested *rabāb* left its trace in Spain, we have the testimony of the altar piece from the Cistercian monastery of Nuestra St. de Piedra in Aragon (fourteenth century).[7] Indeed, the *vihuela de arco* of Juan Ruiz (fourteenth century)[8] was probably the oval flat-chested instrument depicted in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (thirteenth century).[9] In the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in Arabico* we have the word *rabāb* equated with *viella*,[10] which leads one to suspect that the author must surely have had the flat-chested instrument in

[1] Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 45, 105.

[2] Al-Mas'ūdī, op. cit., viii.

[3] See my *Historical Facts* . . ., 20. The modern Greeks still call their pear-shaped rebec a *lyra*.

[4] Or *lūrā*. *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 236.

[5] Madrid MS., No. 603, fol. 15.

[6] Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, *Safīnat al-mulk*, 473.

[7] Riaño, op. cit., 128. Ribera, *La Música de las Cantigas*, pl., Angel No. 2.

[8] Juan Ruiz, *Libro de Buen amor* (Edit. Ducamin), verse, 1254.

[9] Riaño, op. cit., 114. Ribera, op. cit., fig. ii.

[10] Edited by Schiaparelli.

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mind. In the earlier *Glossarium Latino Arabicum* (eleventh century), the *rabāb* is called the *lyra dicta*.[1]

From the foregoing evidence that has been adduced, it would appear that we have good reasons for acknowledging the antiquity of the flat-chested instrument with the Arabs, and its existence with them in Spain, which would give it a place in the ancestry of the modern guitar and violin.

[1] Edited by Seybold. What was the Mediaeval *baldosa, baudosa, baudoise, baudoire*? Several conjectures have been made. Could it have been a rectangular flat-chested instrument? In Spanish, "a square brick or tile" is called a *baldosa*. The *murabba'* (rectangular flat-chested instrument of the Arabs) described by Ibn Ghaibī, had a sound-chest like the "mould of a brick".

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The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary

By BERTRAM THOMAS

KUMZĀRI is a dialect spoken exclusively by certain coastal elements of the Shiḥuḥ tribe, the Kumāzara section, who occupy Kumzār at the head of the Musandam Peninsula of Oman, and are found at Dibah, Khasab, the coastal villages of Elphinstone and Malcolm Inlets and at Larek Island.

This strange tongue, inadvisedly suggested by S. Zwemer as likely to possess affinities with the Himyaritic languages, has also given rise to the pardonable, though I think erroneous, belief that those who use it are pre-Semitic and aboriginal to this part of Arabia.

Kumzāri is largely a compound of Arabic and Persian, but is distinct from them both. As spoken it is comprehensible neither to the Arab nor to the Persian visitor of usual illiteracy, though to a student of the two languages, many of its obscurities vanish before a word list reduced to paper. Structurally it is non-Semitic. The claim by a section of the people whose mother tongue it is, all fishermen incidentally, to be descendants of Malik bin Faham the Yemeni conqueror of Oman, probably in the second century A.D., while a claim lacking in proof or probability, seems to argue for it a considerable antiquity. Some of its Persian words, indeed, derive, according to a local Mutawwa, from the old classical "Farsi" of remoter Persia rather than the familiar "Ajmi" or colloquial Persian of the Persian Gulf seaboard.

Kumzāri is not a written language,[1] and the grammatical rules and vocabulary which follow I have collected, with the help of Ali Muhammad my Arab secretary, from the lips of its illiterate exponents. These all speak Arabic as well;

[1] Kumzāri has not before been written up, though Lieut.-Col. Jayakar has left a slight note as an appendix to a paper "The Shihee Dialect of Arabic", *Bombay Journal R.A.S.*, April, 1902.

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not the unique and perplexing Arabic of their fellow Shiḥuḥ tribesmen of the mountains (they have one feature in common, namely the stressing of the *r* as in an Irish brogue,—the Urdu ڑ) but the Omani dialect, a dialect of Arabic that is to say, which, judged by local standards, is free from foreign accent or contamination.

My word list of Kumzāri admits of the following summary :

	Words.	%
(*a*) Words related to Persian roots . .	246	= 44
(*b*) Words related to Arabic roots . . .	186	= 34
(*c*) Words untraced	121	= 22
Total .	553 words.	

A point of interest is that while Kumzāri is non-Arabic in grammatical structure, and its words akin to Persian roots are one-third more numerous than those akin to Arabic ones, the pronunciation of the oft-recurring long alif "ا" is a flat *a* sound, that accords with the Arabic value of that character, and not its Persian value.[1]

Kumzāri has no ع sound. In words of Arabic derivation أ is generally substituted or sometimes ء, e.g. (Ar.) صعب (K.)

[1] The Interior mountain Shiḥuḥ use an Arabic dialect which in this connection is anomalous, for their "alif" has a Persian value (as *aw*); و often becomes *v*, and there are other sound values foreign to local or Badawin standards (see Appendix A). And this despite the facts—

(i) Arabic is their only language (see Appendix A). They know not Kumzāri or Persian and being mountain Badus are less exposed than the Kumāzara to external influences.

(ii) They are in racial appearance distinct from the Kumāzara, who are probably of South Persian origin. (The generic name Shiḥuḥ locally applied to the two elements would thus appear to be ethnologically unsatisfactory.)

(iii) They have a tradition of Sabian origin from the Yemen; and their physiognomy is Semitic. Customs of both elements, some of them unique in the Arabian peninsula, and a description of the habitat are the subject of my communication to the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, vol. xv, 1928, "The Musandam Peninsula and its people, the Shihuh."

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صئبه, (Ar.) اعوج (K.) اوَگ, (Ar.) قلعه (K.) كاَلَه "difficult", "crooked", "fort". The sound values of ط and ذ are rare: ص comparatively rare. د has occasionally the sound value of the Urdu ذ, e.g. *durāz* دراز "long". ز is sometimes a lisped ظ as in زنك "woman". ر has the Urdu value ڑ, e.g. خير. ق of Arabic derived words sometimes changes to ك, e.g. (K.) كافله (Ar.) قافله. ج may become د or گ, e.g. (Ar.) شجره (K.) شدره, (Ar.) جراد (K.) گارد "caravan", "tree", "locust".

Grammatical Rules of Kumzāri

The Personal Pronoun

I	*may'am*	مَيَمْ
Thou	*tōwī*	تَوِي
He or she	*yīheh*	يِيهَهْ
We	*māhim*	مَاهِمْ
You (male or female)	*shumā'eh*	شُمَائه
They (male or female)	*yehin*	يَهِنْ

More commonly:—

I	*meh*	مَه	(*e* as in "met")
Thou	*to*	تَو	(*o* ,, "toll")
He or she	*yeh* or *īyeh*	يَه	(*e* ,, "yet")

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We	*mah*	مَـه	(*a* ,, "malt")
You (male or female)	*shumah'*	شُمَه	(*a* ,, "path")
They (male or female)	*shen*	شَنْ	(*e* ,, "pent")

As suffixes for possessive pronouns, the latter are employed,

e.g. *kāfileh* caravan كَافِلَه

kāfile'meh my caravan كَا فِلَمَه

sōgh	dog	(sing.)		(pl.)	
My dog	(dogs)	*sugh'meh*	سُغْمَهْ	*saghāmeh*	سَغَامَه
Thy dog	,,	*sugh'tō*	سُغْتَو	*saghā'tō*	سَغَاتَو
His or her dog	,,	*sugh'yeh*	سُغْيَهْ	*saghāyeh*	سَغَايَه
Our dog	,,	*sugh'mah*	سُغْمَهْ	*saghāmah*	سَغَامَهْ
Your dog	,,	*sugh'shumah'*	سُغْشُمَهْ	*saghāshumah'*	سَغَاشُمَه
Their dog	,,	*sugh'shen*	شُغْشَنْ	*saghāshen*	سَغَاشَنْ

The Article

The article agrees with the noun in number. It is formed by a suffix as follows:—

Indefinite (sing.) *eh* or *te* ـَه or ـَتَه where noun has vowel or ـَه ending.

Definite (sing.) *o* or *to* او or ـَتو

Indefinite (pl.)

Definite (pl.) إِن *in* or *en* أَن

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Man *murdk* مُرْدك ; woman *zank* زَنْك ; tree *shid'reh* شِدْرَه birds *ṭayren*.

The man	*murd'kō*	مُرْدْكَو
A man	*murd'keh*	مُرْدْكَه
A tree	*shid'reteh*	شِدْرَتَه
The tree	*shid'retō*	شِدْرَتَو
Birds	*ṭayren*	طَيَرَن
The birds	*ṭayren'in*	طَيْرَنِنْ

The Noun

Nouns have no gender.
There is no diminutive form.
The plural is formed by adding *en* or *an* إن أن.

e.g.

Father	*bap*	باپ	Fathers	*bapan*	بَاپَن
Dog	*sōgh*	سوَغ	Dogs	*saghan*	سَاغَن
Bird	*ṭayr*	طَيْرْ	Birds	*ṭayren*	طَيْرَنْ
Caravan	*kāfileh*	كَافِلَهْ	Caravans	*kāfile'en*	كَافِلئن

The final *n* of a plural noun form is elided, when the noun has a prenominal suffix, and the link vowel is usually then stressed, but not invariably so, e.g. :—

Caravans	*kāfile'en*	كَافِلَئَن

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My caravans	*kāfilaimeh*	كَافِلَيْمَهْ
Dogs	*saghen*	سَاغَنْ
Our dogs	*saghāmeh*	سَغَامَهْ
Women	*zanken*	زَنكَنْ
Their women	*zankeshen*	زَنكَشَنْ

Summary :—

An animal	*ḥaiwaneh*	حَيْوَنَهْ
The animal	*ḥaiwanō*	حَيْوَنَو
Animals	*ḥaiwanin*	حَيْوَنِنْ
The animals	*ḥaiwan'enin*	حَيْوَنِنِنْ
Your animal	*ḥaiwan'shumah'*	حَيْوَنْشُمَهْ
Your animals	*ḥaiwan'enshumah'*	حَيْوَنِنْشُمَهْ

There is no dual form.

All numbers from two upwards take the plural, e.g. :—

One sheep	*yek ghōs*	يَكْ غَوسْ
Two sheep	*doh ghōsen*	دوه غَوسَنْ
Three sheep	*soh ghōsen*	سَوه غَوسَنْ
Eleven sheep	*yaz'data ghōsen*	يَازْدَتَا غَوسَنْ
One hundred sheep	*hazaratta ghōsen*	هَزَرَتَا غَوسَنْ

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No distinction would appear to be made between ordinal and cardinal numbers.

A modified set of numbers is in peculiar use for human beings. (For the most part the vowel of the ordinary numbers is then modified and the suffix كَس = "individual" added; and from 7 upwards suffix كَس is substituted for suffix تا.)

Thus :—

1	*yek*	يَك	1 person	*yekkay*	يَكَىْ
2	*doh*	دَوه	2 persons	*dukkas*	دُكَسْ
3	*soh*	سَوه	3 persons	*sukkas*	سُكَسْ
4	*char*	چَارْ	4 persons	*char'kas*	چَارْ كَسْ
5	*panj*	پَنج	5 persons	*pan'jikas*	پانجِكَسْ
6	*shish*	شِشْ	6 persons	*shish'kas*	شِشْكَسْ
7	*haf'ta*	هَفْتَا	7 persons	*haf'kas*	هَفْكَسْ
60	*shas'ta*	شَسْتَا	60 persons	*shas'kas*	شَسْكَسْ

Numbers have no gender, e.g. :—

Two bull camels	*doh jāmilen*	دَوه جَامِلَن
Two cow camels	*doh nāga'en*	دَوه نَاگَئَنْ

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The Adjective

The adjective like the noun has no gender. It agrees with the noun and pronoun in number. The forms are as follows :—

Indefinite (sing.)	*eh*	ه
Definite (sing.)	*o*	او
Indefinite (pl.) Definite (pl.)	*an* or *en*	أَنْ إِنْ

e.g.

A big man	*murd'keh gay'peh*	مُرْدْ كَهْ گَيْپَهْ
The big man	*murd'ko gō'pō*	مُرْدْ كَو گُوْبَوْ
The big men	*murd'ken gāpan*	مُرْدْ كَنْ گَاپَنْ

The following forms occur with pronouns.

Note that 1st person sing. and pl. are the same, also 2nd person sing. and pl.

I am big	*meh gaypa'im*	مَهْ گَيْپَئِمْ
Thou art big	*to gaypa'i*	تَو گَيْپَئِي
He or she is big	*īyeh gaypeh*	إِيَه گَيْپَهْ
We are big	*mah gaypa'im*	مَهْ گَيْپَئِمْ
You (male and female) are big	*shumah' gaypa'i*	شُمَهْ گَيْپَئِي
They (male and female) are big	*shen gaypen*	شَنْ گَيْپَنْ

There is no diminutive.

There is a comparative but no superlative.

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The comparative has two numbers and is formed by suffixes, thus :—

Singular	*te'rah*	تَرَهْ
Plural	*te'rin*	تَرِنْ

e.g.

He is big	*yeh gaypeh*	يَهْ گَيْپَهْ
He is bigger	*yeh gup'tera*	يَهْ گُپْتَرَه
She is small	*yeh chik'eh*	يَهْ چِكَهْ
She is smaller	*yeh chikt'erah*	يَهْ چِكْتَرَه
This is black	*īyeh siy'eh*	إِيَه سِيْئَهْ
This is blacker	*iyeh siyet'erah*	إِيَه سِيَتَرَهْ
I am fat	*meh sakhti'im*	مَهْ سَخْتِئِم
He is fatter	*yeh sakhterah*	يَه سَخْتَرَه
The tall ship	*jehā'zō durā'zō*	جَهَازو دُرَازَوْ
These are tall	*aishin'ena durā'zin*	إِيشنَنَا دُرَازِنْ
Those are taller	*ashin'ena durāz'terin*	أَشنِنَا دُرَازْتَرِنْ

The Verb

There are no gender distinctions.

There is no infinitive form.

Such a phrase as "I wished to go" is expressed "I wish I go", as it would be in colloquial Arabic. Similarly, "He

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agrees to buy" by "He agrees he buys". Taking the 3rd person singular past tense (as in Arabic) as a basis, four different verb forms are then represented in the following examples :—

(I) He asked	*suwāl'gid'ish* or	سُوأل گِدِش
	suwālgur'dish	سُوأل گُرْدِشْ
(II) He struck	*buzur'dish*	بُزُرْدِشْ
(III) He sold	*fōshnid'ish*	فَوشْنِدِشْ
(IV) He ran	*burwad*	بُرْوَدْ

It would appear that the terminations *gidish*, *dish*, and *d* are all parts of the auxiliary verb *gid'ish* گِدِش or *gur'dish* گُرْدِشْ (he took, he made), hence their elimination in certain conjugations. What remains after this process is applied to 3rd person singular past tense may be taken as the root. It is generally triliteral, e.g. *bgr* ب گ ر, *f sh n* ف ش ن, *brw* ب ر و.

Suwālgid'ish would appear to be the most regular verb form. The vocabulary shows the verbs for begun, cut, spoke, played, obeyed, rode, swam, walked, wrote, worked to be all of this form.

The imperative is formed by adding to the root the suffix *kin* (sing.) كِنْ, *kai* (pl.) كَيْ, e.g. *suwalkin* سُوأل كِنْ, *mejemekin* مَجْمَكِنْ, *rukubkai* رُكُبْكَى, *shnaukai* شِنَوْكَيْ.

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The past participle is formed by the suffix *gurseh* (sing.) گُرْسَهْ, *gursin* (pl.) گُرْسِنْ, e.g. *suwāl'gur'sin* سُوأَل گُرْسِنْ, *mejemegur'sin* مَجْمَ گُرسِنْ, *rukubgur'sin* رُكُبْگُرْسِنْ.

The present and past tenses are as follows :—

	Past Tense.		Present Tense.	
meh	*suwālgūdum*	مَهْ سُوأَل گُدُم	*suwāltikum'*	مَهْ سُوأَل تِكُمْ
to	*suwāl'gi'di*	تَو سُوأَل گِدِيْ	*suwāltikī'*	تَوْ سُوأَل تِكِيْ
yeh	*suwāl'gi'dish*	يَه سُوأَل گِدِشْ	*suwāltikeh'*	يَهْ سُوأَل تِكَهْ
mah	*suwālgu'dim*	مَهْ سُوأَل گُدِمْ	*suwāltikum'*	مَهْ سُوأَل تِكُمْ
shuma	*suwālgi'di*	شُمَهْ سُوأَل گِدِيْ	*suwāltiki'*	شُمَهْ سُوأَل تِكِيْ
shen	*suwālgi'din*	شَنْ سُوأَل گِدِنْ	*suwāltikin'*	شَنْ سُوأَل تِكِنْ

A comparison of this regular form (I) and the irregular forms (II), (III), and (IV) is as follows :—

Form.	3rd Person Sing. Past.	3rd Person Sing. Present.	Imperative.	Past Participle.
(I)	*suwālgi'dish*	*suwāltikeh'*	*suwālkin*	*suwālgur'seh*
	سُوأَل گِدِشْ	سُوأَل تِكَهْ	سُوأَل كِنْ	سُوأَل گُرسَهْ
(II)	*buzur'dish*	*bizaina*	*bizen* (s.)	*bizur'seh* (s.)
	بُزُرْدِشْ	بِزَيْنَهْ	بِزَنْ	بِزُرْسَهْ
			bizainah (pl.)	*bizur'sen* (pl.)
			بِزَيْنَهْ	بِزُرْسَنْ

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Form.	3rd Person Sing. Past.	3rd Person Sing. Present.	Imperative.	Past Participle.
(III)	*burwad*	*turwa'eh*	*burwā* (s.)	*burwaseh* (s.)
	بُرُوَدْ	تُرُواءه	بُرُوَا	بُرُوَسَهْ
			burwānah (pl.)	*burwasen* (pl.)
			بُرُوَانَهْ	بُرُوَسَنْ
(IV)	*fōshni'dish*	*tafōshna*	*fōshin* (s.)	*fōshniseh* (s.)
	فَوشْنِدِشْ	تَفَوشْنَهْ	فَوشِنْ	فَوشْنِسَهْ
			fōshinah (pl.)	*fōshnisin* (pl.)
			فَوشْنَهْ	فَوشْنِسِنْ

In (II) the present tense and imperative would appear to belong to another verb *bazan'dish* بَزَنْدِش; or alternatively the ر of the past tense becomes ز in the present tense or vice versa.

In (III) initial ب *b* of root becomes ت *t* in present tense.

In (IV) an initial ت is prefixed in the present tense. The three forms are identical in their mode of forming (*a*) the past participle by the suffix سَهْ (sing.) and سَنْ or سِنْ (pl.), *seh* (sing.), *sen*, *sin* (pl.); (*b*) the imperative plural by the suffix نَه *nah*.

The past tense conjugations of the forms (II), (III), and (IV) are as follows:—

	(II)	(III)	(IV)
meh	*buzur'dum*	*burwādum*	*fōshnidum*
	مَه بُزُرْدُم	مَهْ بُرُوادُم	مَهْ فَوشْنِدِم

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	(II)	(III)	(IV)
to	*buzur'di*	*burwādi*	*fōshnidi*
	تَو بُزُرْدِيْ	تَو بُرْوَادِيْ	تَو فَوشْنِدِيْ
yeh	*burzur'dish*	*burwad*	*fōshnidish*
	يَهْ بُزُرْدِشْ	يَهْ بُرْوَدْ	يَهْ فَوشْنِدِش
mah	*buzur'dim*	*burwādim*	*fōshnidim*
	مَهْ بُزُرْدِمْ	مَهْ بُرْوَادِمْ	مَهْ فَوشْنِدِمْ
shuma	*buzur'deh*	*burwādeh*	*fōshnideh*
	شُمَهْ بُزُرْده	شُمَهْ بُرْوَادَهْ	شُمَهْ فَوشْنِدِه
shen	*buzur'din*	*burwādin*	*fōshnidin*
	شَنْ بُزُرْدِنْ	شَنْ بُرْوَادِنْ	شَنْ فَوشْنِدِن

The present tense of the same forms :—

meh	*bizainum*	مَه بِزَيْنُم	*turwa'um*	تُرْوَأم	*tafōshnum*	تَفَوشْنُم
to	*bizainī*	تو بِزَيْنِيْ	*turwa'i*	تُرْوَاي	*tafōshni*	تَفَوشْنِي
yeh	*bizaina*	يَهْ بِزَيْنَه	*turwa'a*	تُرْواه	*tafōshna*	تَفَوشْنَهْ
mah	*bizainim*	مَه بِزَيْنِم	*turwa'im*	تُرْوَائِم	*tafōshnim*	تَفَوشْنِمْ
shuma	*bizaineh*	شُمَهْ بِزَيْنَهْ	*turwa'eh*	تُرْوَأه	*tafōshneh*	تَفَوشْنَه
shen	*bizainin*	شَن بِزَيْنِنْ	*turwa'in*	تُرْوَأن	*tafōshnin*	تَفَوشْنِنْ

In (III) an aspirate ه is sometimes substituted for the *hamza* ء.

Verbs of form (II) e.g. " he understood ".

Verbs of form (IV) e.g. " he ate ", " he arrived ".

The negative both for verb and adjective is formed by the suffix *na* نا.

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There are no verbs "to be" and "to have", e.g. :—

I shall not ask	*meh suwāltikum' na*	مَه سُوأَل تِكُم نا
He has not struck	*yeh buzur'dish na*	يَه بُزُرْدِشْ نا
This is heavy	*ān sangīya*	أَن سَنْگِيَهْ
This is not heavy	*ān sangīya na*	أَن سَنْگِيَه نا

As in Arabic the equivalent of the verb "to have" takes the form of "with" followed by the prenominal suffix. Thus :—

I have = with me	*wā'meh*	وَامَه
Thou hast = with you	*wā'to*	وَاتَو
He has = with him or her	*wā'yeh*	وَايَه
We have = with us	*wā'mah*	وَامَه
You have = with you	*wā'shumah'*	وَاشُمَه
They have = with them	*wā'shen*	وَاشَنْ

The following are a few simple sentences in Kumzāri :—

"The big ship arrived before morning."

jahā'zō	*gō'pō*	*gubail*	*ṣābaḥ*	*hāmed*
The ship	the big	before	morning	arrived

جَهَازَو گوَ بَو گُبَيلْ صَابَح هَامَدْ

"The small man left yesterday."

murt'kō	*chi'kō*	*dūsh'īn*	*reft*
The man	the small	yesterday	left

مُرْتَكوَ چِكَو دُوشِيْن رَفْت

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"A small man is not fat."

murt'keh	*chi'keh*	*sakhte*	*nā*
A man	a small	fat	not

مُرْتْكَه چِكَهْ سَخْتَهَ نَا

"The big woman left yesterday."

zan'kō	*gō'pō*	*dūsh'īn*	*reft*
The woman	the big	yesterday	left

زنكَو گوپَو دُوشِين رَفْتْ

"The big women left yesterday."

zan'ken	*gā'pan*	*dūsh'īn*	*ref'tin*
The women	the big	yesterday	left

زَنْكَنْ گَاپَن دُوشِيْن رَفْتِن

"A big woman died yesterday."

zan'keh	*gay'peh*	*dūsh'īn*	*murd*
A woman	a big	yesterday	died

زَنْكَه گَيْپَه دُوشين مُرْدْ

"A handsome man fell from the house."

murt'keh	*juwāneh*	*kuft*	*peh*	*khān'ōgō*
A man	a handsome	fell	from	the house

مُرتكه جُوَانَه كُفْتْ پَه خَانَو گو

"A beautiful woman fell from a house."

zan'keh	*juwān'eh*	*kuft*	*peh*	*khān'ugeh*
A woman	a beautiful	fell	from	a house

زَنْكَه جُوانَه كُفْتْ پَه خانْكَهْ

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"The handsome man fell from my house."

murt'kō	*juwā'nō*	*kuft*	*peh*	*khān'meh*
The man	the handsome	fell	from	my house

مُرتکو جُوانَو کُفْتْ پَه خَانْمَهْ

"The beautiful woman fell from her house."

zan'kō	*juwāno*	*kuft*	*peh*	*khāniyeh'*
The woman	the beautiful	fell	from	her house

زَنْکَو جُوانَو کُفْتْ پَه خَانِيَهْ

"If you do not eat you will die."

kā	*tō*	*itkō'rī*	*nā*	*tim'iri*
If	you	eat	not	you will die

کَا تو إِتکورِي نَا تمِيرِيْ

"The Wazir is strong."

wazī'rō	*qū'wet*	*in'dī*
The Wazir	strength	in

وَزِيْرَو قُوَتّ إِندِي

"Falsehood or truth."

dūrogh	*wa'lā*	*rās'ti*
Falsehood	or	truth

دورَوغْ وَلاَ رَاستِيْ

"I asked you."

meh	*suwāl*	*tō*	*gi'dum*
I	ask	you	made to

مَه سُوأل تَو گِدُمْ

"I and he together."

meh	*wa*	*yeh*	*wa'un'gar*
I	and	he	together

مَه وَيَه وَانُگَرْ

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"I want to strike."

tātum	*bazainum*
I want	I strike

تَاتُم بَزَيْنُم

"He struck me."

yeh	*buzur'dish meh*
He	struck me

يَه بُزُردش مَه

"I sold firewood yesterday."

meh	*dūsh'īn*	*hay'magh*	*fōsh'nidum*
I	yesterday	firewood	sold

مَهْ دُوشِين هَيْمَغ فَوشِندُمْ

"I will buy firewood to-morrow morning."

meh	*nuwāz ṣābaḥ*	*hay'magh*	*takhairum*
I	to-morrow morning	firewood	will buy

مَهْ نُوَاز صَابَح هَيْمَغْ تَخَيرُمْ

"Good morning."

chābetna	*ṣabaḥ*	*burī*
How are you (?)	morning	good

چَابَتْنَا صَابَح بُري

"Good evening."

chabetna	*mes'iya*	*buri*
How are you (?)	evening	good

چَابَتْنَا مَسِيَا بُرِي

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KUMZARI VOCABULARY

1. The system of transliteration employed has been that of the Royal Asiatic Society with the following modifications :

ض I have used *dh* not *ḍ*, as the local sound value would thus seem best represented.

ظ I have used *dh* not *ẓ* for the same reason.

ه′ when final has been transliterated "ah" or "eh" according to the sound value of the vowel and because there is a suspicion that the ه is not silent.

اَو I have used *o* when it represented the English value, and *au* when it had the diphthong sound *ow*.

اَي = *ay* as in "hay" or *ai* as in "Kaiser" according to sound value.

The *fatḥa* has been transliterated *a* or *e* in accordance with its sound value.

2. Here and there the definite article *o* has been left appended to the noun. The reason in such cases is that the word is scarcely ever met with except in this form, e.g. (the) moon, (the) heavens, (the) sun.

3. As regards the words themselves, it may be observed that war terms, e.g. castle, dagger, tower, flight, spear, are of Arabic derivation. The word for spear قَين would appear to be derived from the word قَنا, no longer in use in local colloquial Arabic. Oddments of neighbouring Omani tribes still carry the spear, but invariably call it رمح *rumḥ*. The Kumzāri word for sword is an exception to the above rule.

4. In the remarks column K. = Kumzāri.
Ar. = Arabic.
P. = Persian.
P.G.D. = Persian (Persian Gulf Dialect).
(coll.) = colloquial.

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KUMZĀRI DIALECT OF THE SHIḤUḤ TRIBE

OMAN–ARABIA

English. "A"	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
abandoned he	*weshtish*	وَشْتِشْ	P.G.D.	هِشْتِش
able he was	*raidish*	رَيْدِش		
above	*baleh*	بَالَه	P.	بَالا
abuse	*dishmal*	دِشْمَلْ	P.	دُشنَام
afrit	*afrit*	أَفْرِيتْ	Ar.	عِفْرِيت
after	*paiyeh*	پَيَّهْ	P.	پي
afternoon	*pishtu*	پِشْتُو		
air	*kol*	كَول		
always	*dom*	دوم	Ar.	دَائِمًا
anchor	*lungail*	لُنگَيْلْ	possibly Arabo-Portuguese.	
anchored he	*sodish*	سَوْدِشْ		
animal	*haiwan*	حَيْوَنْ	Ar.	حيوان
and	*wa*	و	Ar.	و
anger	*zur*	زُوْر		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
angry he was	*zur gudish*	زُوْرْ گُدِشْ		
arms	*slah*	سـلاَح	Ar.	سِلاح
arrived he	*raisid*	رَيْسِدْ	P.	رَسيد
as	*incheh*	أِنْچَـهْ	P. (?)	چُوْنكِه
ask (imp.)	*suwāl'kin* (s.)	سُـؤآلْ كِنْ	P. and Ar.	سؤال كردن
	suwāl'kai (pl.)	سُـؤآلْ كَيْ		(كردند)
asked he	*suwāl gi'dish*	سُـؤآلْ گِدِش	P. and Ar.	
ate he	*khōr*	خَوْرْ	P.	خُرْد
autumn	*sher'imah*	شَيْرِمَـهْ		
axe	*yurz*	يُرْزْ	P.G.D. palm-frond, P. mace	گُرْز
"B"				
back	*kāmar*	كَـامَرْ	P.	كَمَرَ
bad	*ban'jeh*	بَـنْجَـهْ		
badu	*kōy*	كَوْيْ	P. mountaineer	كوهي
baisari	*baysarī*	بَيْسَرِي	Ar.	بيسر
barber	*ḥissayn*	حِسّيْنْ		محسّن
barley	*jah*	جَـهْ	P.	جو

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
basket	*zumbil*	زُمبِيلْ	Ar.	زمبيل
bastard	*wet ḥārameh*	وَتْ حارَمَهْ	Ar.	ولدحرام
bat	*ṭair harmain*	طَيْر هَرْمايِنْ		
beach	*chāf*	چافْ		
beard	*rīsh*	رِيشْ	P.	ريش
because	*biseb'*	بِسَبْ	Ar.	بسبب
before	*tay'ghur*	تِيغُرْ		
began he	*bidi'yah gi'dish*	بِدِيَهْ گِدِشْ		
belly	*shukum*	شُكُمْ	P.	شكم
below	*zīrin*	زِيرِنْ	P.	زير
big	*gayp*	گَيْبْ	P.G.D.	گبْ
bird	*ṭayr*	طَيْرْ	Ar.	طير
bit he	*kha'adish*	خَأَدِشْ		
black	*siy'eh*	سِيئَهْ	P.	سياه
blanket	*kafays*	كَفَيْسْ	Ar. (swaddling clothes)	كفاس
blind	*kōr*	كَوْرْ	P.	كور

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
blood	*khūwaym*	خُوَيْمْ	P.	خون
			P.G.D.	خين
blue	*ziraq*	زِرَقْ	Ar.	أزرق
bone	*khār*	خَارْ	P.	خار
book	*kitāb*	كِتَابْ	Ar.	كتاب
born	*zāseh*	زَاسَهْ	P. (?)	زائيده
bought he	*khayridish*	خَيْرِدِشْ	P.	خريد
boy	*rōk*	رَوْكْ	P.G.D.	چُوك
brackish	*sōrin*	سَوْرِنْ	P.G.D.	سُور
branch	*shāghat* or *ruk'in*	شَاغَتْ رُكِنْ	P.	شاخه
brass	*shi'beh*	شِبَهْ	Ar.	شبه
brave	*mard*	مَرْدْ	P. manly ?	
brazier	*kuwār*	كُوَارْ	Ar.	كير
breakfast	*nashta*	نَاشْتَا	P.	ناشتا
breast	*sīnō*	سِينَوْ	P.	سينه

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
bring (imp.)	*biyaiy*	بِيَايَى	P.	بياور
			P.G.D.	بيار
brought he	*wādish*	وَادِشْ		
but	*lākin*	لِكَنْ	Ar.	لكن
butter	*zib'deh*	زِبْدَهْ	Ar.	زبد
by (in)	*nakhā*	نَخَا		
"C"				
camel (bull)	*jāmel*	جَامَل	Ar.	جَمَلَ
camel (cow)	*nāgah*	نَاگَهْ	Ar.	ناقه
caravan	*kāfileh*	كَافِلَهْ	Ar.	قافله
castle	*kāleh*	كَالَهْ	Ar.	قلعه
cat	*gurbagh*	گُرْبَغْ	P.	گربه
cave	*gaud*	گَوْدْ		
cheap	*ur'zen*	أُرْزَنْ	P.G.D.	أرزون
			P.	أرزان
cheek	*khish*	خِشّْ		
chicken	*murau*	مُرَوْ	P.	مُرغ

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
child	*rōk* (m.)	رَوْكْ	P.G.D.	چوك
	ditk (f.)	دِتْكْ	P.	دخت
Christian	*naṣrā'nī*	نَصْرِانِي	Ar.	نصراني
clean	*pāk*	پَاكْ	P.	پاك
closed	*hab'niseh*	هَبْنِسَهْ		
cloth	*khaylaq*	خَيْلَقْ	Ar.	خلق
cloud	*nim*	نِمّْ	Ar. (?)	نعمى نِعمه
			"Divine favour," "blessing."	
			P. dew	نم
club (axe)	*yurz* or	يُرْزْ	P.G.D. palm-frond	
	gurz	گُرْزْ	P. mace	گرْزْ
coffin	*na'ish*	نَائِشْ	Ar.	نعش
cold	*sard*	سَرْدْ	P.	سرد
colour	*rang*	رَنْگْ	P.	رنگ
come (imp.)	*bīyō*	بِيَوْ	P.G.D.	بيو
			P.	بيا

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
came	*hāmed*	هَـامَدْ	P.	اومد آمد
confusion	*rab'sheh*	رَبْشَـهْ		
copper	*ṣifr*	صِفْرْ	Ar.	صفر
corpse	*mīyit*	مِيِّتْ	Ar.	ميت
crooked	*aug*	أَوْگْ	Ar.	اعوج
crops	*zer'en*	زَرأَنْ	Ar.	زرع
cultivator (gardener)	*bīdār*	بِيدَارْ	Ar.	بيزار
cup	*finjān* or	فِنْجَانْ	Ar.	فنجان
	finjāl	فِنْجَالْ		
curds	*raybīn*	رَيْبِينْ	Ar.	مُربب
cut (imp.)	*qaṣai'kin* (s.)	قَصَيْـكِنْ	Ar.	قص
	qaṣakai (pl.)	قَصَكَيْ		
cut he	*qaṣai'gu'dish*	قَصَيْـگُدِشْ	Ar.	قص
"D"				
dagger	*khan'jar*	خَـنْجَرْ	Ar.	خنجر

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
date palm	*mugh*	مُغْ	P.	مخ
dates	*hur'meh*	هُرْمَهْ	P.	خُرْمٰا
daughter	*ditk*	دِتْكْ	P.	دُختْ
daylight	*nūr*	نُوْرْ	Ar.	نور
days of week :				
Saturday	*sebt*	سَبْتْ	Ar.	أَلسبت
Sunday	*ḥad*	حَدْ	Ar.	الاحد
Monday	*dusham'bur*	دُشَمْبُرْ	P.	دوشنبه
Tuesday	*shusham'bur*	شُشَمْبُرْ	P.	سه‌شنبه
Wednesday	*charsham'bur*	چَارْشَمْبُرْ	P.	چارشنبه
Thursday	*panshsham'bur*	پَنْشْشَمْبُرْ	P.	پنج شنبه
Friday	*jumāt*	جُمَاتْ	Ar.	الجمعه
daywi (spirit, a)	*daywī*	دَيْوِيْ	P.	ديو
deaf	*iṣali*	إِصلِيْ		
dear	*grān*	گَرَانْ	P.	گران
deep	*ghizir*	غِزِرْ	Ar.	غزر
dhow	*dādro*	دَادْرَوْ		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
died he	*murd*	مُرْدْ	P.	مرد
difficult	*ṣa'beh*	صَعْبَهْ	Ar.	صعب
dirt	*gil*	گِلْ	P.	گل
disease	*bīmar*	بِيْمَرْ	P.	بيماري
doctor	*tay'bib* or	طَيْبِبْ	Ar.	طبيب
	dokh'tur	دُخْتُرْ		
dog	*sōgh*	سوغ	P.	سگ
donkey	*khōr*	خَوْرْ	P.	خَر
door	*dōr*	دَوْرْ	P.	دَرْ
drank he	*khōrdish*	خَوْرْدِشْ	P.G.D.	خورد
drink (imp.)	*khōr*	خَوْرْ	P.G.D.	خُر
drought	*māḥal*	مَحَلْ	Ar.	محل
dry	*hishk*	هِشْكْ	P.	خُشْكْ
dug he	*tikayna*	تِكَيْنَا		
dwelt he	*nisht*	نِشْتْ	P.	نِشَستْ
"E"				
ear	*gōsh*	گوش	P.	گوشْ

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
early	*zāmeh*	زَامَـهْ		
earring	*tambūl*	تَمبُوْلْ		
earth (the)	*zamiyō*	زَمِيْوْ	P.	زمين
east	*iqil*	إِقِلْ		
east wind	*kōshī*	كَوْشِيْ	Ar. (coll.)	گوْسْ
easy	*seheleh*	سَهْلَهْ	Ar.	سهل
eat (imp.)	*khōr*	خَوْرْ		
egg	*khaig*	خَـايَـگْ	P.G.D.	خاگ
empty	*rayzagh*	رَيْزَغْ		
enemy	*khayṣim*	خَيْصِمْ	Ar.	خصم
evil	*sharr*	شَرّ	Ar.	شر
eye	*chōm*	چَوْمْ	P. (?)	چشم
eyebrow	*hayjib*	حَيْجِبْ	Ar.	حاجب
"F"				
face	*rau*	رَوْ	P.	رُو
falsehood	*durūgh*	دُرُوغْ	P.	دروغ
family	*rōren*	رَوْرَنِ		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
far	*dūr*	دُوْرْ	P.	دور
father	*bap*	بَپْ	P.	باب
fear	*turus*	تُرُسْ	P.	تَرْسْ
feared he	*tursidish*	تُرْسِدِشْ	P.	ترسيد
feather	*parr*	پَرّْ	P.	پَرْ
fell he	*keft*	كَفْتْ		
	kuft	كُفْتْ		
female (a.)	*zankeh*	زَنْكَهْ	P. woman	زن
fever	*tau*	تَوّْ	P.	تب
			P.G.D.	تَوْ
fight (imp.)	*jung'kin* (s.)	جُنْگْ كِنْ	P.	جنگ
	jung'kai (pl.)	جُنْكْ كَيْ		
finger	*lin'kit*	لِنْكِتْ		
finished he	*khalaṣ'bur*	خَلَصْ بُورْ	Ar.P.	خلاص
fire	*hātish*	هَاتِشْ	P.	آتش
			P.G.D.	تش
firewood	*haymagh*	هَيْمَغْ	P.G.D.	هيمه

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
fish	*mī*	مِي	P.	ماهي
fished he	*mī wādish*	مِيْ وَادِشْ		
fishing hook	*go'el*	گُوأل		
fishing line	*nish bil* or	نِشْبِلْ		
	barbar	بَرْبَرْ		
fishing net	*lay*	لَئِيْ	Ar. (?)	ليخ
fish spawn	*sōgah*	سَوگَهْ		
fled he	*hajabur*	هَجَّبُرْ	Ar.	الهجهاج
flower	*waṛd*	وَرْدْ	Ar.	ورد
food	*khōrdin*	خَوْرْدِنْ	P.	خورد
foot	*pā*	پَا	P.	پا
forehead	*ṣandoḥ*	صَنْدَوَحْ		
fort	*kāleh*	كَالَهْ	Ar.	قلعة
fought he	*jung gid'ish*	جَنْگ گِدِشْ	P.	جنگ
fox	*rayū*	رَيُوْ		
friend	*ṣāḥib*	صَاحِبْ	Ar.	صاحب
frog	*chifrāq*	چِفْرَاقْ		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
from	*peh*	پَـهْ		
"G"				
garment	*kisweh*	كِسْوَه	Ar.	كسوة
gazelle	*ghāzel*	غَـازَلْ	Ar.	غزال
get up (imp.)	*sakhō* (s.)	سَـخَو		
	sayikhō (pl.)	سَـيِخَو		
girdle	*miḥzam*	مِحْزَمْ	Ar.	مِحزَم
glass	*qalāṣ*	قَلَاصْ		
go (imp.)	*barō*	بَرَو	P.	برو
goat	*gos'nah*	گَوْسْنَهْ		
God	*Allah*	اللّٰه	Ar.	الله
gold	*ukh cheh*	أَخْچَـهْ	K. *ukhcheh* = "money".	
	sarkh	سَرْخْ	P. *surkh* = red; possibly "red metal".	
good	*khair*	خَيْرْ	Ar.	خير
gradually	*īyeh indo īyeh*	إِيَهْ إِنْدوَ إِيَه		
grass	*gīya*	گِيَ	P.	گیاه
grave	*gayr*	گَيْرْ	P.	گور

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
green	*sauz*	سَوْزْ	P.	سبز
			P.G.D.	سوز
"H"				
hair	*mū*	مُو	P.	مُو
hammer	*maṭ'raqeh*	مَطْرَقَهْ	Ar.	مطرقه
hand	*dist*	دِسْتْ	P.	دَست
happened	*bur*	بُر		
happiness	*faraḥ*	فَرَحْ	Ar.	فرح
happy	*faraḥah*	فَرَحَه	Ar.	فِرِح
harbour	*ban'dar*	بَنْدَرْ	Ar.	بندر
he	*yeh* or *īyeh*	يَهْ إِيَهْ		
head	*sōr*	سَوْر	P.	سَر
headache	*sardar*	سَرْدَر	P.	سردرد
heart	*dil*	دِلْ	P.	دِلْ
heat	*gurm*	گُرْمْ	P.	گرما
heavens (the)	*asmayno*	أَسمَيْنَو	P.	آسمان
			P.G.D.	اسمون

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
heavy	*san'gī*	سَنْگِيْ	P.	سنگين
heel	*wagzet*	وَگْزَتْ		
hell	*hatchō*	هَاتْچَوْ		
here	*aywo* or *aiyō*	أَيْوَوه ـ آيوَ		
hole	*khabq* or	خَبْقْ	Ar. (coll.)	خبق
	gambil	گمبِيلْ		
honey	*asal*	أَسَلْ	Ar.	عسل
horn	*qarn*	قَرْنْ	Ar.	قرن
hot	*gurm*	گُرْمْ	P.	گرم
hour	*sa'at*	سَأَتْ	Ar.	ساعه
house	*khanagh*	خَانَغْ	P.	خانه
hunger	*gushnagh*	گشْنَغْ	P.	گرسنگي
hurry	*zāmih*	زَامَهْ		
hut (palm)	*sirkh*	سِرْخْ		
"I"				
I	*meh*	مِهْ		
idle	*ajeza*	أَجَزَ	Ar.	عجز

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
if	*kā*	كَا		
impossible	*tobit'na* or	تَوْبِتْنَا		
	to'it'na	تَوْئِتْنَا		
in	*indī*	إِنْدِي		
infant	*rōki chik* (m.)	رَوكِي چِكْ	P.G.D.	جوك كچيك
	or *ditki chik* (f.)	دِتْكِ چِكْ		دخت كچيك
infidel	*kāfir*	كَافِرْ	Ar.	كافر
ink	*darman kitābit*	دَرْمَنْ كِتَابِتْ		
inside	*indōr*	إِنْدَوْرْ	P.	اندر
instead of	*jāga*	جَاگَا		
intelligent	*āqil*	آقِلْ	Ar.	عاقل
iron	*ḥain*	حَيِنْ	P.	آهن
island	*jayzirū*	خَيْزِرُو	Ar.	جزيرة
"J"				
Jew	*Yahūdi*	يَهُودِي	Ar.	يَهودى
jinn	*jin* or *daywi*	جِنْ	Ar.	جن
		دِيوِيْ		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
journey	*sāfar*	سَافَرْ	Ar.	سفر
judge	*qāḍhī*	قَاضِيْ	Ar.	قاضي
"K"				
key	*kalīl*	كِلِيْل	P.	كليد
			P.G.D.	كليل
kind	*kayrim*	كَيْرِمْ	Ar.	كريم
kindness	*kāram*	كَارَمْ	Ar.	كرم
kiss	*būz*	بُوز	P.	بوسه
khasab	*khaṣab*	خَاصَبْ		
knife	*kard* or	كَارْدْ	P.	كارد
	bay'shak	بَيْشَك		
"L"				
lamb	*rōraghōsin*	رَوْرَغوسِنْ		
lame	*lang*	لَنْگْ	P.	لنگ
last night	*dūshīn shō*	دُشِينْ شو	P.G.D.	دوشين
			P.	ديشب
late	*akhar gi'seh* or	أَخَرْ گِسَهْ	Ar.	أخّر
	akhar buseh	أَخَرْ بُسَهْ		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
laughed he	*khanīdish*	خَنِيدِش	P.	خنديد
laughter	*khaynaghen*	خَيْنَغِن	P.	خنده
lead	*riṣāṣ*	رِصَاصْ	Ar.	رصاص
leg	*pā*	پَا	P.	پا
letter	*khaṭ*	خَطْ	Ar.	خط
light (weight)	*suwōk*	سُوُوكْ	P.	سبك
lightning	*bar'qin*	بَرْقِنْ	Ar.	برق
like	*incheh*	إِنْچَهْ	P.	چونكه
lip	*lō*	لَوْ	P.	لب
little (adj.)	*chik*	چَكْ	P.	كوچك
little (adv.)	*han'duk*	هَنْدُكْ		
lizard	*abrārah*	أَبْرَارَه		
lobster	*shangau*	شَنْگَوْ		
locust	*gārid*	گَارِدْ	Ar.	جراد
loin cloth	*jāmagh*	جَامَغْ	P.	جَامه
"M"				
mad	*gayn*	گَيِنْ	Ar.	جن مجنون

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
made	*gi'dish* (*gur'dish*)	گِدِش	P.	کرد
		گُرْدِشْ	P.G.D.	کردش
magic	*ṣaḥir*	صَحِرْ	Ar.	سحر
male	*murt'keh*	مُرْتْكَهْ	P.G.D.	مردکه
man	*murtk*	مُرْتَكْ	P.	مرد
mankind	*bin ādam*	بِنْ آدَمْ	Ar.	بنوآدم
many	*khaykeh*	خَيْكَهْ	P.	خيلي
married	*rafkhāna*	رَفْخَانَه		
mast	*dōl*	دَوْلْ		
mat	*hayṣir*	هَصِرْ	Ar.	حصير
match	*dārahātsh*	دَارَهَاتِشْ	Word not used in P.G.D.: but made up of "wood" and "fire".	
meat	*gōsht*	گَوشْت	P.	گوشت
medicine	*darman*	دَرْمَنْ		
merchant	*taiyir*	تَايِرْ	Ar.	تاجر
milk	*ṣayraḥ*	صَيْرَحْ	Ar.	صريح
minute	*dīqiqah*	دِيقِقَه	Ar.	دقيقه

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
miserly	*baykhil'eh*	بَيْخِلَهْ	Ar.	بخيل
money	*ukh chah* or	أُخْجَهْ	Persian imaginary coin. 100 = 1 kran.	غاز
	ghāz	غاز		
month	*mai*	مَايْ	P.	ماه
moon (the)	*maytāwo*	مَيْتَاوَوْه	P.	مهتاب ماه
more	*khayktar*	خَيْكْتَرْ		
morning	*ṣābaḥ*	صابح	Ar.	صباح
mosque	*misgid*	مِسْگِدْ	Ar.	مسجد
mother	*mām*	مام	Ar.	ام
mouse	*mushki chik*	مُشْكِ چِكْ	P.	مُشْكك
			P.G.D.	موش
mountain	*kō*	كَو	P.	كوه
moustache	*shayrib*	شَيْرَبْ	Ar.	شارب
mouth	*kār*	كار		
mud	*gil*	گِلْ	P.	گِل

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English. "N"	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
nail	*mismār*	مِسْمَارْ	Ar.	مسمار
nail (finger)	*nikhin*	نِخِنْ	P.	ناخن
naked	*tanpīdarītī*	تَنْپِيدَرِيتِي	P. *tan* = "body". P. *bi* = "without". Presumably *dariti* = "clothes".	
near	*nayzik*	نَيْزِكْ	P.G.D.	نزيك نزديك
necessary	*lāzim*	لَازِمْ	Ar.	لازم
neck	*gurdin*	گُرْدِنْ	P.	گردن
needle	*sūzin*	سُوزِنْ	P.	سوزن
new	*nō*	نَوْ	P.	نو
news	*khabiren*	خَبِرَنْ	Ar.	اخبار
night	*shō*	شَوْ	P.	شو شب
no	*a'a* or *nā*	أَأَ، نَا	*a'a* Ar. (coll.), *na* P.	
noise	*ṣaut*	صَوْت	Ar.	صوت
none	*ichineh*	إِچِنَهْ		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
noon	*pīshin*	پِيشِنْ		
north	*ga'o*	گَا أَو		
north star (the)	*ga'ō*	گَا أَو		
north wind	*gāhiyeh* or	گَا هِيَه		
	yāhī	يَا هِيْ		
nose	*nōkharet*	نَوخْرَتْ	Ar.	نخره منخره
nostril	*khabq*	خَبْقْ	Ar. (coll.)	خبق
not	*nā*	نَا	P.	نَه
nothing	*ichnah*	إِچْنَه		
now	*sa'teh*	سَأْتَهْ	Ar.	الساعه
nut	*gōz*	گَوزْ	Ar.	جوز
Numbers :—				
1	*yek*	يَك	P.	يك
2	*doh*	دَوه	P.	دو
3	*soh*	سَوه	P.	سه
4	*chār*	چَار	P.	چهار
5	*panj*	پَنْچْ	P.	پنج

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
6	*shish*	شِشْ	P.	شش
7	*haf'ta*	هَفْتَا	P.	هَفت
8	*hash'ta*	هَشْتَا	P.	هشت
9	*na'hata*	نَهْتَا	P.	نه
10	*da'hata*	دَهْتَا	P.	ده
11	*yaz'data*	يَازْدَتَا	P.	يازده
12	*duwāz'data*	دُوَازْدَتَا	P.	دوازده
13	*siz'data*	سِزْدَتَا	P.	سزده
14	*chār'data*	چاردتا	P.	چهارده
15	*pandhdata*	بَانْظدَتَا	P.	بانزده
16	*shandhdata*	شَانْظدتَا	P.	شانزده
17	*af'data*	أَفْدَتَا	P.	هفده
18	*aidata*	أَيْدَتَا	P.	هيجده
19	*nōzdata*	نَوْزَدَتَا	P.	نوزده
20	*bīsta*	بِيْسْتَا	P.	بيست
30	*sīta*	سِيْتَا	P.	سى
40	*chel'ta*	چَلْتَا	P.	چهل

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
50	*pan'jata*	پَنْجَتَا	P.	پنجاه
60	*shis'ta*	شِسْتَا	P.	شصت
70	*haf'tata*	هَفْتَاتَا	P.	هفتاد
80	*hash'tata*	هَشْتَاتَا	P.	هشتاد
90	*nōdata*	نَوْدَتَا	P.	نود
100	*ṣu'ṭata*	صَطَتَا	P.	صد
200	*duwais'ta*	دُوِيْسَتَا	P.	دویست
300	*saisatta*	سَيْسَتَا	P.	سیصد
1000	*hāzaratta*	هَازَرْتَا	P.	هزار
"O"				
obeyed he	*ṭayu gu'dish*	طَئُ گُدِش	Ar.	طاعه
offspring	*rōr*	رَوْر		
often	*bārabāra*	بارَبَارَ		
old man	*korkhudā*	كَرْخُدَا	P. leader or chief	كتخدا
onion	*pīmah*	پِيْمَهْ		
open	*wākiseh*	وَاكِسَه		
or	*walā*	وَلَا	Ar. (coll.)	ولا

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
orphan	*laytimah*	لَيْتِمَهْ	Ar.	يتيم
oyster	*maḥār*	مَحَار	Ar.	محار
"P"				
pain	*dur*	دُر	P.	درد
paper	*kāqhurd*	كَاغُرْدْ	Ar.	كاغد
pardon	*ōfu*	أُوفوْ	Ar.	عفو
pass (mountain)	*aqabah*	اَقَبَهْ	Ar.	عقبه
peace	*ṣulḥ*	صُلْحْ	Ar.	صلح
pearl	*jō'r*	جَوْر	Ar.	جوهر
pen	*qālem*	قَالَمْ	Ar.	قلم
penis	*kayr*	كَيْر	P.	كير
people	*ād'emī*	أَدِمي	Ar.	آدمي
perfume	*urf*	أُرْفْ	Ar.	عرف
place	*jāga*	جَاگَا	P.	جا
plain	*bīḥ*	بِيْح	Ar. coll. (Shihuh)	بَيَح
plaster	*nūra*	نُورَى	Ar. (coll.)	نورى

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
played he	*bāz gu'dish*	بَازْ گُدِشْ	P.	بازي كرد
plenty	*khayleh*	خَيْلَهْ	P.	خيلي
plough	*hays*	هَيْسْ	P.	خيش
pool	*burkah*	بُرْكَهْ	Ar.	بركه
poor man	*buzā*	بُزَاّ	P.G.D.	برّه
pot cooking	*qizān*	قِزَانْ	Turkish	قزان
pottery	*jaḥlah*	جَحْلَهْ	Ar. (coll.)	جحله
prawn	*rubiyān*	رُبْيَانْ	Ar. (coll.)	ربيان
pray	*nuwāz*	نُوَازْ	P.	نواز
present	*aywum*	أَيْوَمْ		
present (gift)	*lik*	لِكْ		
pretty	*shīrin*	شِيرِنْ	P.	شيرين
price	*qīmet*	قِيْمَتْ	Ar.	قيمة
prison	*ḥabas*	حَبَسْ	Ar.	حبس
prophet	*nebī*	نَبِيْ	Ar.	نبي
purse	*kīs*	كِيْسْ	Ar.	كيس

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
"Q"				
quarrelled he	*zuwandās*	زوان دَاسْ		
quickly	*zāmeh*	زَامَـهْ		
"R"				
rain	*bāram*	بَـارَمْ	P.G.D.	بارون
			P.	باران
rainbow	*qindhaḥā*	قِنْضَحَـا		
ran he	*burwad* or	بُرْوَدْ		
	burwadish	بُرْوْدِشْ		
rat	*mishk*	مِشْـكْ	P.	مشك
raw	*tāzagh*	تَازَغْ	P. "fresh"	تازه
razor	*setaragh*	سَـتَرَغْ	P.	استره
reaped he	*gedeh gi'dish*	گَدَهْ گِـدِشْ		
red	*sirkh*	سِـرْخْ	P.	سُرخْ
rest	*rayaḥah*	رَيْحَـهْ	Ar.	راحه
rest (imp.)	*hūni* (s.)	هُوْنِيْ		
	hūnīyeh (pl.)	هُوْنِيَـهْ		
ring (jewellery)	*gister*	گِسْتَرْ	P.	انگشتر

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
ripe	*bāligh*	بَالِغْ	Ar.	بالغ
river (valley)	*waidī*	وَيْدِيْ	Ar.	وادي
road	*tayra*	تَيْرَ	Ar.	طريق ؟
rock (sea)	*ayr*	أَيْرَ		
rock (land)	*burd*	بُرْدْ	P.G.D. "stone"	برد
rode he	*rukubu gi'dish*	رُكُبُ گِدِشْ	Ar.	ركب
room	*ghulafah* or	غُلَفَهْ		
	ghurafah	غُرَفَهْ	Ar.	غرفه
root	*irq*	أِرْقْ	Ar.	عرق
rope	*bayn*	بَيْنْ	P.	بند
rowing boat	*mashūwah*	مَاشُوَّه	P.G.D.	ماشوه
rug	*na't*	نَأتْ	Ar.	نطع
"S"				
saddle	*shidād*	شِدَاد	Ar.	شداد
sail	*ōzar*	أَوْزَر		
salt	*khūwah*	خُوَّهْ		
sand	*dīrī*	دِيْرِي		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
sat he	*nishta*	نِشْتَا	P.	نشته
Satan	*Shaytān'*	شَيْطَانْ	Ar.	شيطان
savage	*ko'ī*	كَوْيْ	P. "mountaineer"	كوهي
scarce	*han'duk*	هَنْدُكْ		
sea (the)	*derīyō*	دَرْيَوْ	P.	دريا
seaweed	*khal'en*	خَلَئَنْ		
seal	*mahr*	مَهْرْ	Ar.	مَهْر
seed	*baidar*	بَيْدَرْ	Ar.	بذر
sell (imp.)	*fōshin* (s.)	فَوْشِنْ		
	fōshinah (pl.)	فَوْشِنَهْ		
servant	*bishkār'*	بِشْكَارْ	P.	بيشكار
shaikh	*shaikh*	شَيْخْ	Ar.	شيخ
shallow	*riqq*	رِقّ	Ar.	رق
shark	*kūlī*	كُولِي		
shaved he	*san'dish*	سَانِدْشْ		
she	*yeh* or *īyeh*	يَهْ إِيَهْ		
sheep	*ghōsan*	غَوسَنْ	P. (?)	گوسفند

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
ship	*jehāz*	جَهَازْ	P.G.D.	جهاز
shirt	*khāti*	خَاتِيْ		
shoulder	*kitf*	كِتْفْ	Ar.	كتف
shrine (a)	*ziyāreh*	زِيَارَهْ	Ar.	زيارة
sickle	*dās*	دَاسْ	P.	داس
sickness	*khūsh nā*	خُوشْنَا	P. not well	ناخوش
silver	*ukhchah sipīreh*	أُخِچَهْ سِپِيْرَه	P. white with *ukhcheh* money. Possibly white metal money.	سپيد
sit down	*hūnī* (s.)	هِوُنِي		
	hūnīyeh (pl.)	هُونِيَه		
skin	*pōst*	پَوْستْ	P.	پوست
sky (the)	*asmay'nō*	أَسَمَيْنوَ	P.	آسمان
			P.G.D.	آسمون
slave	*zangair*	زَنَگِيْرْ	Ar. (Zanzibar)	زنجى
sleep (imp.)	*khuwōw* (s.)	خُوْوْ	P. (not imperative)	خواب
	khuwōwai (pl.)	خُوْوِي	P.G.D.	خت
slept he	*khuwas'tah*	خُوَسْتَهْ	P. (?)	خفته

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
slowly	*han'duk*	هَنْدُكْ		
	han'duk	هَنْدُكْ		
small	*chik*	چِكْ	P.	كوچك
smallpox	*gid'irī*	گِدِرِيْ	Ar.	جدري
smoke	*dūr*	دَوْرْ	P. (?)	دود
smoked he	*kayshidish*	كَيْشِيدِشْ	P.	كشيد
snake	*mār*	مَارْ	P.	مار
sold he	*fōshni'dish* or	فَوْشْنِدِشْ		
	fōshnir'dish	فَوْشْنِرْدِشْ		
soldier	*asker*	أَسكَرْ	Ar.	عسكر
solid	*jemed*	جَمَدْ	Ar.	جَامد
son	*pas*	پَسْ	P. (?)	پسر
sorrow	*ḥazen*	حَزَنْ	Ar.	حزن
south	*sayil*	سَيَلْ	Ar., possibly from star *suhail*	سهيل
south wind	*say'lī*	سَيْلي	Ditto	سهيلي
sowed he	*kash'idish*	كَاشِدِشْ	P.	كاشت
sparrow	*ṣafṣūf*	صَفْصُوفَ	Ar. ?	صفصف
spear	*qayn*	قَيْنْ	Ar.	قنا

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
spoke he	*mejeme gi'dish*	مَجَمْ كِدِشْ		
spoon	*quf'sheh*	قُفْشَهْ	Ar. (coll.)	قفشه
spring (season)	*jōweh*	جُوَهْ		
spring (water)	*chōm*	چُوْمْ	P. (?)	چشمه
stand up	*qawumah* or	قَوُمَهْ		
	sakhō	سَخَوْ	Ar.	قيام
star	*starg*	سَتَرَكْ	P.	ستارة
steamer	*jihāz* or *jehāz*	جَهَازْ	P.G.D.	جَهاز
stick	*bākūr*	بَاكُوْرْ		
stone	*raygh*	رَيْغْ	P. (?) "sand"	ريگ
storm	*shartagh*	شَرْتَغْ	Ar. (coll.)	شرته
straight	*aydil*	أَيْدِلْ	Ar.	عَدل
strength	*qūwah*	قُوهّ	Ar.	قوه
strike (imp.)	*bi'zen* (s.)	بِزَنْ	P.	بزن
	bizainah (pl.)	بِزَيِنَهْ		
struck he	*buzūr'dish*	بُزُرْدِشْ		
sugar cane	*qab shākir*	قَبْ شَاكِرْه	P.	قاب شكر

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
Sultan (the)	*sulṭānō*	سُلْطَانو	Ar.	سلطان
summer	*hāmīn*	هَامِينْ		
sun (the)	*intāfō'*	إِنتَافو	P. (?)	افتاب
sunrise	*intafeh taybala*	إِنتَافِتِيبالاَ		
sunset	*bungō*	بُنْكَو	P.	بانگ
			Muadhdhin's call to prayer.	
swam he	*shinau gi'dish*	شِنَاوْ گِدِشْ	P.G.D.	شناو کرد
sweat	*araq*	أَرَقْ	Ar.	عرق
sword	*shamshīr*	شَمْشِيرْ	P.	شمشیر
"T"				
teeth	*dinān*	دِنَانْ	P.	دندان
that	*ān*	أَنْ	P.	آن
them	*shen*	شَنْ		
there	*anso*	أَنْسَوْ	P.	آنجا
			P.G.D. (nasal *n*)	انسو
these	*ya'an*	يَاأَنْ		
they	*shan* or *shen*	شان شَنْ	P.	ایشان

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
thigh	*fakhat*	فَخَتْ	Ar.	فخذ
thing	*chīz*	چِيْزْ	P.	چيز
thirst	*chaynagh*	چَيْنَغ		
this	*īyah*	إِيَه		
thorn	*khār*	خَار	P.	خار
those	*ānanah*	أَنه نَه	P.	آنها
thou	*tō*	تَو	P.	تو
thunder	*ra'ad*	رَأْد	Ar.	رعد
thus	*incheh*	إِنچَهْ		
to	*ḥatta*	حَتّا	Ar.	حتى
to-day	*rōzō*	روَزوَ	P.	امروز
together	*wa'ungur*	وَأُنگُرْ	P.G.D.	واهديگر
to-morrow	*nuwāz ṣabaḥ*	نُواز صَبَحْ	P.G.D. "Morning" used for "to-morrow"	صبا
tongue	*zuwān*	زُوَانْ	P.	زبان
took he	*gi'dish*	گِدِشْ		
tower	*burj*	بُرْجْ	Ar.	برج

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
town	*wilaiyah*	وِلَايَهْ	Ar.	ولايه
tree	*shidreh*	شِدْرَهْ	Ar.	شجره
tribe	*qay'bileh*	قَيْبِلَهْ	Ar.	قبيله
truth	*rāstī*	رَاسْتِي	P.	راستي
"U"				
ugly	*bunj*	بُنْجْ		
umm sabiyan	*umm saby'ah*	أُم صَبِيَهْ	Ar.	ام صبيان
umm zar	*mām zār*	مام زَارْ	Ar.	ام زار
understand	*danadish*	دَانَدِشْ		
"V"				
vessel (craft)	*dādar*	دَادَر		
Venus	*za'harah*	زَهْرَهْ	Ar.	زهرة
village	*walaiyah chik*	وَلَايَةَ چِكْ	A.P.	
virgin	*bi'kreh*	بِكْرَهْ	Ar.	بكر
"W"				
walked he	*maysh gid'ish*	مَيْشْ كِدِشْ	Ar.	مشي
wall	*ḥāwī*	حَاوِيْ	Ar.	حوي
wanted he	*watidish*	وَاتِدِشْ		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
war	*jung*	جُنْگْ	P.	جنگ
war cry	*ne'debch*	نَدَبَهْ	Ar.	ندبه
wash (imp.)	*chōr* (s.)	چَوَرْ	P.	شور
	chōrai (pl.)	چَوَرَيه		
washed he	*chistish*	چِسْتِشْ	P.	شست
water	*hau*	هَاو	P. P.G.D.	اب أَوْ
waves	*bārm*	بَارْم		
we	*mah*	مَهْ	P.	ما
weakness	*ta'if*	طَئِف	Ar.	ضعف
wealth	*pāchā*	پَاچَا		
well a (water)	*chō*	چَو	P.	چَاه
went	*reft*	رَفَتْ	P.	رَفت
west	*ghushben*	غُشْبَنْ		
west wind	*ōferen*	أُوفَرَنْ	Ar. ? possibly associated with "dust".	عفر
whale	*shauḥaṭ*	شَوحَطْ		

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
wheat	*gaynum*	گَيْنُم	P.	گَنْدُم
			P.G.D.	گَنَدُم
when	*kayī*	كَيْ	P.G.D.	كي
where	*gāyā*	گَيَا		
which	*kāram*	كَارَمْ		
whisper	*nej'weh*	نَجوْهَ	Ar.	نجوه
white	*spīr*	سِپِيْر	P. (?)	سفيد
whole	*hamū*	هَمُوْ	P.	همه
why	*chambō*	چَمْبُوْ		
widow	*tarīkeh*	تَرِيكَةْ	Ar.	تريكه
wife	*zank*	زَنْك	P.	زن
			P.G.D.	زنك
window, small	*rōzen*	رَوْزَنْ	P.	روزن
window, large	*darīsh*	دَرِيْشْ	P.	دريچه
winter	*dimestān*	دَمْسْتَانْ	P.	زمستان

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
			P.G.D.	وا
with	*wāh*	وَاه		
			P.	يا
without	*bāghā*	بَاغَـا	Ar. ?	بغير
			P.	رن
woman	*zank*	زَنْكْ		
			P.G.D.	زنك
wood	*dār*	دَار	P.G.D.	دار
work	*kār*	كار	P.	كار
work (imp.)	*kārkin* (s.)	كَارْكِنْ		
	kārkai (pl.)	كَارْكَيْ	P. ditto	
worked he	*kārgi'dish*	كارگِدِشْ	P. ditto	
wound	*awaqah*	أَوقَهْ	Ar. hindrance?	اعاقه
write (imp.)	*katabu'kin* (s.)	كَتَبُكِنْ		
	katabukai (pl.)	كَتَبُكَنْ	Ar.	كتابه
wrote	*katabagi'dish*	كَتَبَكِدِشْ	Ar.	كتب
"Y"				
year	*sāl*	سَال	P.	سال
yellow	*zurd*	زُرْدْ	P.	زَرد

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English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
yes	*hay* or *na'am*	هَيْ نَئَم	Ar.	إِيْ نعم
yesterday	*dūshīn*	دُوْشِيْنْ	P.G.D.	دوشين
you (sing.)	*tō*	تَو	P.	تو
you (pl.)	*shumā'*	شُما	P.	شما
youth	*kōrk*	كَوَرْكْ		
	"Z"			
zar	*zār*	زَارْ	Ar. P.G.D.	زار
zaṭuṭ	*ziṭi* (*zuṭin*)	زِطّى زُطّينْ	Ar. P.G.D.	زطي

Appendix A

Brief note on peculiarities of the Arabic used by the interior mountain Shiḥuḥ of Musandam Peninsula (not the Arabic of the Kumāzara which is the Omani dialect):—

alif. The long *a* is pronounced as in Persian word خان, e.g.

جبال is pronounced *gabawl*, not *jibāl*.

مكان is pronounced *makawn*, not *makān*.

ذ *dhal*, ض *dhad* have a hard *d* sound (د), e.g. هذا is pronounced *haw'da*, not *hadha*. (The Shiḥuḥ value of this character is the same as the corrupt Egyptian or Palestinian value, not as the uncontaminated Badu value which resembles more the English *th* in "that".)

ث *tha* has a hard *t* sound (ت), e.g. ثلاثه is pronounced *tlaw'ta*, not *thalā'tha*, again resembling the Egyptian value and not the Oman or Najdian value which is *th* as in the English word "thanks".

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و *waw* has a slight suspicion of a *v* sound, e.g. والله is pronounced *vallah* rather than *wallah*.

او *au* is pronounced *o* as in the Omani dialect, e.g. فوق *fōq* (not as the English diphthong *ow*).

ر *ray* is pronounced *or* as the Urdu (ڑ), thus صار sounds more like *sor* than *sar*.

ج *jim* is pronounced *g* if the initial radical and generally *y* if the medial, as is common in other Badawin dialects.

To denote the future tense a *b* ب is introduced instead of an *s* س before the verb, as in Oman and Palestine dialects.

e.g. باروح *baruh* } I shall go.
بأمشي *bamshi* }

There are many unusual words or variations of the common word in use, e.g. :—

water	*on'ghah*	اوْنْغَهْ (seldom ماء)
sun	*shamsh*	شمش (س becomes ش)
plain	*bih*	(س becomes ب)
sheep	*ghalam*	(ن becomes ل)
kneebone	*zimmah*	(Oman colloquial سم)
back	*hāqū*	(Oman colloquial ظهر)
hand	*idat*	(Oman colloquial يَد)

In answering a question negatively the Shihi Badu does not merely say *la* but has a curious trick of repeating the verb interrogatively, and adding *la*. Thus :—

Question.		*Answer.*	
Has the man come	هل جاء الرجل	Has he come. No.	لا جَاء
Has the man gone	هل جاء الرجل	Has he gone. No.	لا راح
Will you go to Muscat	هل تروح لمسقط	Will I go. No.	لا بارُوح

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Ibn Batuta recorded a similar if somewhat modified observance of this at Kilhat, a port more than 200 miles south of Musandam, and one never at any time in Shiḥuḥ occupation, but my recent visits would indicate that it is not found there any more. (See *Voyages of Ibn Batuta*, ii, 226.)

Other peculiarities of the Shiḥuḥ Badawi Arabic are set forth in "The Shahee Dialect of Arabic", by Lieut.-Col. Jayakar, *Journal Bombay R.A.S.*, April, 1902, which work would appear to require some revision.

NOTE, FOR WHICH IN SUBSTANCE I AM INDEBTED TO MR. C. J. EDMONDS.—B. T.

1. The grammar and vocabulary show Kumzari to be a quite characteristic Iranian dialect: which leads one to suppose that the people are immigrants from the Persian side of the Gulf. Geographical considerations would lead one to look for their place of origin in south-central or south-eastern Persia, and the philological material seems quite consistent with this.

2. Most Iranian dialects now have an appreciable proportion of Arabic borrowings: the rather high proportion in Kumzari is natural for a people settled on the Arabian shore. As will appear many of my unidentified words are Iranian, increasing the proportion.

3. In the notes that follow the following abbreviations are employed:—

MP. Modern Persian (Cl. = classical, Cq. = colloquial when a distinction is made).
SK. Soran Kurdish (i.e. of Sulaimani, Kirkuk, etc.).
BK. Bahdinan Kurdish (i.e. Zakho, Amadia, etc.).
BI. Bushiri.
LK. Lakki.

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LI. Luri.
CD. Central Dialects (includes G. = Gabri dialect of the Persian Zoroastrians and KN. = Kashan).
KZ. Kumzari.

4. Modern Persian, it would seem, representing as it probably does the development of the written language of the state records of Persia from a remote antiquity, is in many ways the least typical of all the Iranian dialects. The other unwritten dialects have developed along certain established but varying lines of phonetic change. Thus it happens that these dialects frequently resemble each other far more than they resemble MP., though out of contact for centuries. My vocabulary illustrates many of these phonetic rules.

5. The Kumzari verb as recorded by me Mr. Edmonds states does not tally entirely with the Iranian verb, and perhaps some future traveller to Musandam may be curious to look into it. He adds :—

(*a*) The only auxiliary is the verb "to be": the present tense is in some cases only found in the enclytic form; e.g. :—

		MP.	BI.	SK.
Sing.	1st	*-m*	*-m*	*-m*
	2nd	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-i, -t*
	3rd	*-st*	*-e*	*-e*
Plur.	1st	*-īm*	*-īm*	*-īn*
	2nd	*-īd*	*-īn*	*-n*
	3rd	*-nd*	*-n*	*-n*

(Short vowels are to be inserted before the enclytic after consonants.)

(*b*) The pronominal suffixes of the conjugated verb are similar, but do not exactly correspond, e.g. :—

MP.	BI.	SK.	LK.
-m	*-m*	*-m*	*-m*
-ī	*-ī*	*-i, ī, -t*	*-i*

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MP.	BI.	SK.	LK.
-ad (or none)	*e, -sh*	*-a, -ê, -i*	*-e, -u, -i*
-īm	*-īm*	*-īn, mān*	*-īm, -īmu*
-īd	*-īn*	*-n, -tān*	*-īn, -īnu*
-nd	*-n*	*-n, -iān*	*-n, -ūn, -u*, etc.

(*c*) The enclytic possessive adjectives are again slightly different, e.g. :—

	MP.	SK.
1.	*-m*	*-m*
2.	*-t*	*-y, t*
3.	*-sh*	*-i*
4.	*-mān*	*-mān, -in*
5.	*-tān*	*-tān, -n*
6.	*-ishān*	*-iān, n*, etc.

(*d*) There exist also the independent forms of the pronouns :—

	MP.	SK.	LK.
1.	*man*	*myn*	*me*
2.	*to*	*to*	*tu*
3.	*ū, vai*	*ew*	*o*
4.	*mā*	*ême*	*ime*
5.	*shuma*	*êwe*	*hume*
6.	*ishan*	*ewan*	*wen, wene*, etc.

(*e*) The Iranian verb has two stems, the past stem (which is also that of the infinitive) and the present stem, the latter being generally a phonetic modification of the former ; thus the transitive verb *kerdan* (MP.) or *kyrdyn* (SK.), to make, to do :—

	MP.	SK.	LK.
Infinitive	*Kerdan*	*Kyrdyn*	*Kyrdyn*
Past-stem	*Kerd-*	*Kyrd-*	*Kyrd-*
Pres.-stem	*Kun-*	*Ke-*	*K-*
Past tense	*Kerd-am*	*Kyrd-ym*	*Kyrd-yme*
	Kerd-ī	*Kyrd-y(t)*	*Kyrd-it*
	Kerd	*Kyrd-i*	*Kyrd-i*

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	MP.	SK.	LK.
Past tense	*Kerdīm*	*Kyrd-mān*	*Kyrd-īmu*
	Kerdīd	*Kyrd-tān*	*Kyrd-īnu*
	Kerdand	*Kyrd-iān*	*Kyrd-ūne*

Note.—In Bushiri the 3rd singular is *Kerdish* and the 2nd plural *Kerd-īn*.

Pres. tense	*Mī-kun-am*	*De-ke-m*	*Mek-em*
	Mī-kun-ī	*De-ke-i*	*Me-k-i*
	Mī-kun-ad	*De-k-a*	*Me-k-e*
	Mī-kun-īm	*De-ke-īn*	*Me-k-īm*
	Mī-kun-īd	*De-ke-n*	*Me-k-īnu*
	Mī-kun-and	*De-ke-n*	*Me-k-en*

(*f*) There is generally no prefix for the past tense. MP. (Cl.), however, has in the indicative *bi*—which has a slight emphatic meaning or none at all, e.g. *bi-raft* = "he went". SK. has a past subjunctive, e.g. *eger b-kyrd-āye* "if he has done".

(*g*) Nearly all dialects have a prefix in the present tense of the indicative: MP. *mī-*; SK. *de-*, *e-*; LK. *me-*; G. *et-*, *t-*, *d-*; KN. *et-*, *at-*; LI. has none. *Bi* is sometimes found with the indicative with no meaning, or with future meaning, but it is generally the prefix of the subjunctive. In CD. it is sometimes found in front of the other prefixes.

(*h*) The termination *-k* with various vowels is common to most dialects and denotes the definite article (SK.), diminutive, contempt, familiarity (SK., MP.), or, by frequent use, has come to lose these particular implications and is virtually meaningless.

(*i*) The final *-h* in *Persian* words in *-eh* frequently represents an earlier *k* or *g*, cf. *bandeh* (MP.) "servant", plur. *bandegan*.

(*j*) One of the commonest phonetic rules is for the complete dropping of consonants in various circumstances.

(*k*) Kurdish preserves vocalic *r* and *n*. This may perhaps account for the 2nd plural of my conjugation and the

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apparent presence of the parallel forms, with and without *r*, in the past tense of the verb " to make ".

6. Comments on the foregoing paper.

Page 786.

SK. has a " heavy " *r*, which is transliterated *rh*, distinct from the " light " *r*.

My percentage of Iranian roots will have to be increased in the light of the following at the expense of " untraced ".

The absence of the broad MP. value of *alif*, it would seem, has no special significance as that value is not characteristic. In SK., for instance, the *alif* is quite flat.

All Iranian dialects (like Turkish) soften the hard Arabic consonants. SK. also, although it has borrowed the *'ain* sound with some Arabic words, frequently substitutes *h* for it, e.g. *Hewwas* = 'Abbas, *Homer* = 'Umar.

Pages 787 and 788.

The first table, Mr. Edmonds considers, seems to be conjugation of the present of the verb " to be " (see para. 5, rule (*a*)), being the independent personal pronouns followed by the enclytics. For the second table compare rule (*d*). From the third table it would seem that KZ. tends to use as possessive enclytics without the intervention of the *izafet* " *-i* " the forms usually independent. The plural in long *-a* evidently corresponds to *-hā* of MP., where, for instance, " your dogs " is *sag-hā-y shumā*.

SK. has indefinite article in *-ê*, and sometimes inserts a phonetic *-t-* between a vowel ending and a following vowel, but not in front of *-ê* of the article.

Page 789. For the *k* in *murdk*, *zank*, see para 5, rule (*h*).

Page 790.

In MP. it is usual to add *tā* to numeral adjectives qualifying things from one upwards. This appears in many dialects, e.g. G. has *te* and KN. has *to*. The start at seven seems peculiar. In MP. numerical adjectives qualifying names

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of persons (also camels and palm-trees) require to be followed by *nafar*, the *Arabic* equivalent of *kas*.

Pages 792 and 793.

In the table starting "I am big" is another example of the enclytic present of the auxiliary verb "to be", which would appear, Mr. Edmonds believes, to make erroneous my statement on page 798. In the light of the other Iranian dialects the statement that the forms of the 1st and 2nd persons are the same in the singular and plural is odd. See para. 5, rule (*a*); the *i* in the plural should, it would seem, in each case be long. The absence of final *n* in the 2nd person plural is perhaps explained by rule (*k*).

The final *-ah* for the singular and *-in* for the plural of the comparative are again enclytics of the verb "to be" (3rd person), as, indeed, is borne out by the examples on the next page.

Mr. Edmonds has met *gep* in LI.—"old".

Pages 794 *foll.*

Mr. Edmonds considers that there should be an infinitive form, and adds that there is no question of triliteral roots in these purely Iranian words.

Perusal of rules *e*, *f*, *g*, para. 5, will make the conjugations quite clear. My verb *gurdish* is thus probably, in fact, simply the MP. *kerdan*, SK. *kyrdyn* = "to make", "do" (perhaps originally making two distinct verbs corresponding to SK. *gyrtyn* = "to take" and *kyrdyn* = "to make"). This verb *kerdan* can be used with almost any noun or adjective to form a single verbal idea, e.g. in MP. *su'āl kerd* = *pursīd* = "he asked". *Su'āl* is a separate word. and my first conjugation would appear to be the verb *kerdan*, which in KZ. seems to have become *gurdan*. The past root *gurd*—with the pronominal suffixes given in rule (*b*)—gives my conjugation of the past tense. The present root in KZ. is not *kun-* as in MP., but *k-* like the LK., and the *ti-* in KZ. is the present prefix given in rule (*g*). The conjugation thus almost exactly

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corresponds with the SK. (see rule (*e*)). The KZ. imperative, however, corresponds with the MP. and not the LK. root, and must be a late borrowing from MP. For the form of the 2nd plural see rule (*l*).

My second conjugation corresponds to the verb *zadan*: past stem *zad-*, present stem *zan-* in MP. (The presence of an *r* in the past is unexpected, but *r* has strange tricks which it would be laborious to explain, see rule (*l*).) The past tense as given, therefore, consists of the emphatic prefix *bu-*, the past stem *zu(r)d*, and the pronominal suffixes. The present is the prefix *bi-*, the present stem *zain-*, and the pronominal suffixes.

The third conjugation corresponds to the MP. *raften*, past stem *raft-*, present stem *rav-*, and the SK. *rhuwishtyn*, past stem *rhu-*, present stem *rho* = "to go". The KZ. past tense thus consists of prefix *bu-*, past stem *rwad-*, and the pronominal suffixes. The absence of the 3rd person suffix *-ish* is more normal than its presence (Mr. Edmonds encountered it only at Bushire). It is not impossible that transitive verbs take it and intransitive do not. The rearest parallel that occurs to Mr. Edmonds is the LI., which makes *rāt-em* "I went". The present consists of the normal particle *tu-*, the present stem *rwa-*, and the pronominal suffixes. It is very close to the SK., which goes :—

De-rho-m, De-rho-i, De-rhw-ā, Derho-in, De-rho-n, De-rho-n.

The fourth conjugation corresponds to MP. *firukht-an, firūsh-* and SK. *frosht-yn, frosh-* = "to sell". Here the KZ. seems to be *foshnid-an, foshn-*. There is no prefix in the past, but the normal prefix *ta-* in the present.

The past participle in *-seh* might be interesting. None of the Western dialects Mr. Edmonds encountered has it.

Page 798.

Mr. Edmonds considers my statement that there is no auxiliary verb "to be" needs verification. The third and fourth examples of the first table have the 3rd person

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present enclytic of the verb "to be". The *na* at the end is quaint. In SK. the negative goes with the enclytic auxiliary, in BK. it precedes the predicative adjective, e.g. SK. *eme bāsh niye*, "this is not good," but in BK. *ewe nabāshe*.

SK. also has properly no verb "to have", and similar periphrasis is used.

Pages 798–801.

The sentences might belong almost to any Iranian dialect.

Hāmed "he came" = MP. *āmad*. SK. also has aspirates where MP. has none (but has not this word).

Reft "he went" is identical with MP., but it does not correspond with my conjugation given on page 796 of *burwad*.

Pages 798 *to* 800.

Mr. Edmonds observes that none of the verbs on these pages have the emphatic prefix *bi-*; nor have they the suffix *-ish*, but they are all intransitive.

Juwān for "pretty", "handsome," is also the SK.

Page 801.

Tātum "I want" might be interesting. In SK. the verb for "to want", "wish," is anomalous.

7. *Remarks on the Vocabulary.*

Page.	*English.*	*Kumzāri.*	*Remarks.*
803.	Abandoned	*wesht-ish*	SK. has *hishtin* = "to leave". In many dialects *w* and *h* correspond.
	Afternoon	*pishtu*	SK. has *pysht* = "behind", "after".
	And	*wa*	The word is equally Iranian.
	Anger	*zur*	MP. has *zūr* = "violence".
804.	Barley	*jah*	BK. has *jā*.
805.	Bit	*kha'adish*	*Khā'idan* is MP. for "bite", "gnaw," etc.
806.	Born	*zaseh*	Very interesting, see remarks on pages 792 foll.
	Boy	*rok*	Cf. SK. *kurh*, *kurheke*.
807	Brought, he	*wadish*	Seems to be *āwurd-ish*.

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Page.	English.	Kumzāri.	Remarks.
807.	Cave	*gaud*	*Gaud* in MP. = "hollow", "depressed" (place).
	Child, fem.	*ditk*	*Dit* usual in CD. (*kh* having disappeared, see rule (*k*)). For final *k*, see rule *h*.
	Closed	*habniseh*	Peculiar and interesting.
808.	Come	*biyo*	Identical in LI.
811.	Dry	*hishk*	SK. has *wushk*, see "abandoned".
	Dwelt	*nisht*	SK. has *nishtin* "to sit".
	Dug	*tikayna*	Must be the present cf. SK. *de-ken-e* "he digs".
812.	Egg	*khaig*	MP. *khāyeh* = "egg", gen. "testicle".
813.	Eye	*chom*	The disappearance of *sh* is typical.
	Father	*bap*	Common in all Iranian dialects with long *a*.
814.	Fell	*keft*	SK. has *kewt*, BK. *keft*.
816.	Fox	*rayu*	SK. has *rêwi* "fox" = MP. *rūbā*.
817.	He	*yeh*	See remarks above on pronouns.
	Here	*aywo*	SK. *ewê* = "there".
818.	Ink	*darman*	MP., SK. *dermān* = "drug", "medicine."
	Instead of	*jāga*	SK. has *jêga* = "place", "in place of."
819.	Key	*kalīl*	SK. has *kelīl* = "key".
	last night	*dūshīn shō*	MP. *dūsh* = "last night"; SK. has *shō* = "night."
820.	Laughed	*khanīdish*	SK. has *kanī* = "he laughed" (i.e. without the first *d* of the MP. root).
	Light	*suwōk*	SK. has *sūk* "light".

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Page.	*English.*	*Kumzāri.*	*Remarks.*
820.	Lip	*lo*	SK. has *lêw.*
	Little (adv.)	*handuk*	MP. has *andak.*
821.	Medicine	*darman*	Identical in MP. and SK. with second *a* long.
	Milk	*sayrah*	? = MP. *shīr*, dialect *sīr.*
822.	Mouse	*musk*	SK. *mishk* = "mouse."
823.	Near	*naysik*	SK. *nezīk.*
	None	*ichineh*	? *hīch niye.*
	Noon	*pīshīn*	? *pīsh* "in front" (opp. to *pysht*, see "afternoon").
824.	Nothing		See "none".
	Hundred	*sutata*	SK. *sat.*
826.	Often	*bārabāra*	MP., SK. *bāra* = "a time"; *bārabāra* "again and again".
	Open	*wākiseh*	Apparently = *wā kurseh* (see conjugation) = *wā kerdeh* of MP. = "opened".
827.	Place	*jaga*	SK. has *jêga* = "place".
	Pray	*nuwāz*	SK. = *nözh.*
829.	Quarrelled	*zuwandās*	? *zuwan dā-ish* = "he gave tongue," *zwān*, *zabān* = "tongue."
	Ran	*burwad*, etc.	= "he went", see above.
830.	Raw	*tāzagh*	For this and KZ. words in *gh* see rule (*j*).
	Rock	*bard*	SK., LI. *berd.*
831.	Salt	*khūwah*	SK. *khö.*
	Scarce	*handuk*	= MP. *andak.*
	Sell		See above, on pages 794–7.
832.	She		See above, on pronouns.
	Silver	*spireh*	SK., LI., etc., *spī* = "white".
833.	Slowly		See "little", above.
835.	Summer	*hāmīn*	Cf. SK. *hāwīn.*
	Sunrise	*taybala*	? *tê* (SK.) = "comes", *bālā* (MP.) = "up".

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Page.	*English.*	*Kumzāri.*	*Remarks.*
835.	Them These They		Iranian ; see above.
836.	Thirst	*chaynagh*	Cf. MP. *tishnagī* (*tishneh* = "thirsty").
	Tongue	*zuwān*	Also *Kurdish.*
	Took	*gidish*	Prob. *girt-ish.* SK. has *gyrt* = "he took" = MP. *girift.* Not to be confused with *kerd* (MP.), *kyrd* (SK.) = "he made".
	To-morrow	*nuwāz ṣabāḥ*	Prob. "at morning prayer", i.e. to-morrow morning (see "pray", above).
837.	Ugly	*bunj*	See bad : unknown in Western dialects : might be interesting.
	Understand	*danadish*	= MP. *dānad* = "he knows".
838.	Wanted	*watidish*	See remark on p. 801 of article above. Perhaps *wa* is the root of the verb "to want". SK. has *em -ewê* = "I want".
	Water	*hāw*	"Āw" is almost universal in dialect.
	Wheat	*gaynum*	SK. *genym.*
839.	Where	*gāyā*	SK. *kö* ; "where is ?" *kö-ye.*
	Which	*karami*	Cf. MP. *kudām* ; SK. *kam.*
	White	*spīr*	SK., LI. *spī.*
	Whole	*hamū*	SK. *hemū.*
	While	*chambo*	SK. *bō chi.*
	Window	*rōzen*	Cf. MP. *rōshan* = "light."
	Winter	*dimestan*	Very interesting ; all Western dialects, including MP. have a *zemistān, zwistān,* etc. ;

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Page.	*English.*	*Kumzāri.*	*Remarks.*
			dimestān is, I believe, pure Pehlevi, but might well be preserved in eastern dialects; cf. SK. *zānystan*, MP. *dānistan*, "to know."
840.	Wood	*dār*	SK. *dār*.
841.	Youth		See "boy".

8. To recapitulate. Kumzāri is a quite typical Iranian dialect. Both geographical and linguistic considerations point to immigration from the opposite shore of the Persian Gulf. The principal characteristics of Kumzāri not shared with the western dialects known to Mr. Edmonds, and which might, therefore, help to identify the affinities of the people, seem to be :—

(*a*) The past participle in *-seh*.

(*b*) The preservation of *-egh* for MP. *-eh* (e.g. *tāzegh* = *tāzeh*, *chaynegh* = *tishneh*, *gushnegh*; MP. *gurusneh*, MP. (Cq.) *gusneh*; *khaig* = *khāyeh*, etc.).

(*c*) The position of the negative.

The most interesting single word seems to be *dimestān* = "winter."

The author is greatly indebted to Mr. C. J. Edmonds of Baghdad for his contributions to this article.

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Some Sāṁkhya and Yoga Conceptions of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad[1]

By E. H. JOHNSTON

THAT the religious ideas of any epoch tend to flow in the channels dug by the philosophy then prevailing is a commonplace, and it is not surprising, therefore, that in the period between the composition of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* and that of the *SK.* the various religions which are described in more or less detail in the Upaniṣads and the *MBh.* are for the most part strongly impregnated with Sāṁkhya doctrines. Not that they accepted the Sāṁkhya scheme wholesale; they accept only so much as is necessary for their purposes and have no hesitation in making modifications or discordant additions of their own. Nevertheless we can discern through the confused welter of systems that the general outlines of the scheme set out by Īśvarakṛṣṇa with its summing up of existence under twenty-five heads were accepted as the standard throughout the period. But how disturbing it would be to all our convictions of historical development if, as has been held, not merely was the outer façade of the Sāṁkhya philosophy maintained intact for all that time, but also there was no change inside. In a lapse of many centuries, during which philosophical speculation was so active and new schools with new ideas and methods were developing, we should expect some change in nomenclature and a great deal of change in the conceptions underlying the apparently unchanging scheme; but there is no general agreement yet about the nature and extent of such changes, if any. Partly,

[1] I use the following abbreviations: *MBh.*, *Mahābhārata* (Calcutta edition); *BhG.*, *Bhagavadgītā*; *SK.*, *Sāṁkhyakārikā*; *TS.*, *Tattvasamāsa*. References to modern literature will be found in Hauschild's edition of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, Leipzig, 1927, and in Keith's *Sāṁkhya System*, 2nd edition, 1924; since then there has appeared H. Jacobi's important article, "Ueber das ursprüngliche Yogasystem" (*Sitzungsberichten of the Prussian Academy*, 1929, p. 581).

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the quality of the evidence is to blame; for we have no exposition of Sāṁkhya teaching which is both certainly authoritative and certainly older than the *SK.*, so that a way is always left open to the retort, when a view other than that contained in the *SK.* is found to have prevailed earlier, that, just because it is different, therefore it is not genuine Sāṁkhya. Partly also, I venture to think, the method employed has been inadequate; attention has been concentrated too exclusively on a few famous passages in order to see what can be deduced from them instead of collecting all the evidence on any given point and then seeing where it leads us, while sight has also been lost of the fact that the borrowings relate mostly to the analysis of *prakṛti* and its derivatives and far less to the conception of *puruṣa* and its relation to *prakṛti*. Definite results are more likely in the former than the latter direction.[1]

With these considerations in mind I propose, as the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* is the oldest document we have giving an adequate account of Sāṁkhya views, to examine in detail the numerical riddle contained in it in the light of such evidence as is available. The text of this Upaniṣad is so notoriously corrupt as to require careful scrutiny before it is safe to draw deductions from it and in doing so I shall make use mainly of literature later than it up to about the time of the *SK.* For it is the one defect of Hauschild's otherwise excellent edition that, while exploiting admirably Vedic texts and late commentaries, it neglects the intervening literature which is near enough to the Upaniṣad in date to be capable of throwing light on the text and meaning of difficult passages. The passage I refer to is contained in

[1] O. Strauss, *VOJ.* xxvii, p. 257, gave a lead in this direction but did not follow up the implications latent in the points he made and no one else has pursued the line further. The references I give were collected and my views worked out in complete independence of his. I would argue on these lines against Edgerton's thesis, *AJP.* xlv, p. 32 ff., that the term Sāṁkhya has no definite philosophical significance in the Upaniṣads and the epics. I use *puruṣa* for soul without prejudice to the question whether there was a radical difference between the doctrines of early and classical Sāṁkhya on this subject.

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verses 4 and 5 of the first *adhyāya* and runs as follows in the traditional text :—

Tam ekanemiṁ trivṛtaṁ ṣoḍaśāntaṁ
śatārdhāraṁ viṁśatipratyarābhiḥ |
Aṣṭakaiḥ ṣadbhir[1] *viśvarūpaikapāśaṁ*
trimārgabhedaṁ dvinimittaikamoham ||
Pañcasrotombuṁ pañcayonyugravakrāṁ
pañcaprāṇormiṁ pañcabuddhyādimūlām |
Pañcāvartāṁ pañcaduḥkhaughavegāṁ
pañcāśadbhedāṁ pañcaparvām adhīmaḥ ||

That we should look to the Sāṁkhya system for the explanation of these two verses is sufficiently indicated by the word *śatārdhāram* ; for the only known set of fifty is that comprising the various subdivisions of *viparyaya*, *aśakti*, *tuṣṭi* and *siddhi*, given in *SK.* 46 ff. Keith (op. cit., pp. 96–7), it is true, suggests that these verses may be an interpolation because this group covers, as is explicitly stated in the *SK.* as well as by Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati Miśra, the same ground as the group *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, *aiśvarya* and their opposites dealt with in the two preceding verses. But some constituents, at least, of the former group can be shown to be much older than Īśvarakṛṣṇa and the second has a much more modern and sophisticated appearance.[2] The first group alone appears in the *TS.*, a work which, as will be pointed out later, preserves certain archaic features which Īśvarakṛṣṇa modified or declined to admit into his exposition. Instead of postulating interpolation, it is more in accord with what we shall find later of the methods employed in the *SK.* in dealing with older material to explain the juxtaposition as due to the impossibility of omitting an old and well-established category, even when its presence was no longer theoretically necessary. There is nothing in the suggestion which need make us hesitate in

[1] So Roer and Hauschild ; read *ṣaḍbhir*.

[2] The eightfold *buddhi* of *MBh.* iii, 64, a lateish passage, is presumably a reference to the latter group ; but otherwise I know no reference which does not seem to be certainly later than the *SK.*

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accepting the proposed identification of *śatārdhāram*, which has also the advantage of being the one put forward by the commentator.

The understood object of the first verse is evidently correctly explained by the commentator as *brahmacakram*, since that image is expressly used at i, 6, and vi, 1. *Brahman* is given by Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 22 as a synonym of *prakṛti*; its use in passages with Sāṁkhya leanings suggests that it often means the whole universe excluding soul, that is, it covers both *prakṛti* and its derivatives. So we can safely accept *ekanemim* as indicating *prakṛti*, while *trivṛtam* stands for the three guṇas, the verb *vṛ*, as in v, 7, being regularly associated with them. *Ṣoḍaśāntam* refers to the *vikāra* set of sixteen, which I deal with in detail under the second verse and *śatārdhāram* has already been explained.

Viṁśatipratyarābhiḥ is uncertain. It might refer to the ten organs and their objects (cf. *Praśna* iv, 8) or to the five elements with the five objects of the senses and the ten organs (cf. *MBh.* xii, 11238–41) but these categories occur in the second verse and should not be repeated here. Further one would expect from the form of the word a closer connection with *śatārdhāram*. Now in the *TS.* just before the statement of the four groups which make up the fifty there occur four groups of five each, *abhibuddhi*, *karmayoni*, *vāyu* and *karmātman* and it is just possible that this is the set of twenty referred to. *Vāyu* stands for the five breaths, so that acceptance of this conjecture should exclude a reference to them in *pañcaprāṇormim* in the next verse; as a matter of fact we shall find another meaning more suitable and, as we might reasonably expect mention of the breaths, this is a slight corroboration of my surmise. There is unfortunately no certainty about what the other names stand for; the only published commentary on this work is very late and its explanation here too dubious to be worth repeating.

Aṣṭakaiḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ is also difficult and we have to be careful to exclude late groups such as that of *dharma*, etc., already

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mentioned (see p. 857). We should probably include the eight forms of *prakṛti* discussed in detail below and perhaps also of *aiśvarya*, to which Hauschild sees a reference in the word *prāpti* at iii, 12. That this was so understood at an early date appears from the form in which the verse is reproduced at *MBh.* xii, 11229, xiii, 1015, and xiv, 1088, where *aṇimā laghimā prāptir īśāno* is substituted for *sunirmalām imāṁ prāptim īśāno* (a change which can be accounted for by either oral or written tradition). Other possibilities are the categories of *tamas* (*SK.* 48), *moha* (*SK.* 48), *siddhi* (*SK.* 51 and *TS.* 17) and *deva* (*SK.* 53). There are also enumerated at ii, 13, the eight first results of Yoga which may be a primitive form of the *aiśvarya* group, but, as pointed out below, I regard this chapter as a later addition to the Upaniṣad.

Viśvarūpaikapāśam is referred by the commentary to *kāma*, which misses the point. For *viśvarūpa* is practically a technical term for the soul in the toils of transmigration; cf. i, 9, and v, 7, *Maitrī* ii, 5 (*viśvākhya*), v, 2 (*viśva*), and vii, 7 (*viśvarūpa*), and *MBh.* xii, 11233 (*tathaiva bahurūpatvād viśvarūpa iti śrutaḥ*) and xiv, 1096.[1] Though appearing in professedly Sāṁkhya passages, the term is inconsistent with classical Sāṁkhya. Just as Agni is *viśvarūpa* because fire appears simultaneously in many places (*Praśna* v, 7), so the universal *ātman* is *viśvarūpa* because portions (*bhāgo jīvaḥ*, *Śvet.* v, 7) of it appear simultaneously in all the forms of life. The reference can therefore hardly be to *mṛtyupāśa* of iv, 15, but *Maitrī* iii, 2 (*jāleneva khacaraḥ kṛtasyānuphalair abhibhūyamānaḥ*) suggests *karman* as a possibility. But it fits the application to *ātman* better to connect *pāśa* with *jālavān* of iii, 1, explaining the latter with the commentary as referring to *māyā* (as mentioned at i, 10, and iv, 9 and 10).

For *trimārgabhedam* various explanations have been proposed which fail to take account of the technical meaning of *mārga* as "the way of salvation", by which we are able to give

[1] For further references see Jacob's *Concordance*.

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bheda the second meaning of breaking the wheel of *brahman*. *TS.* 23 gives *trividho mokṣaḥ*, the explanation of which is uncertain, but there is adequate evidence in the Upaniṣad itself. One way is certainly *jñāna*, as knowledge is so frequently insisted on in this work as a necessity for salvation, and the second is Yoga. For, even omitting consideration of the second chapter, we have *dhyānayoga* at i, 3, *dhyāna* at i, 14, and *tasyābhidhyānāt* (which seems to foreshadow the *praṇidhāna* [1] of *Yogasūtra*, i, 23) at i, 10–11, as well as the reference to Yoga at vi, 13. For the third path we may safely reject Vedic observance, as this is not prescribed in the Upaniṣad. *Tapas* is mentioned at i, 16, and vi, 21, but I think this is probably identical with Yoga. The two ideas were not strictly distinguished originally and still appear together as late as *MBh.* xiv, 548–9. The other alternative is *bhakti* mentioned at vi, 22, with which should be connected *deva-prasāda* at vi, 21, and *dhātuḥ prasāda* at iii, 20 ; *bhakti* is a natural development of the *abhidhyāna* of the deity. A similar word, *trivartman*, at v, 7, has a different sense ; for there it is applied to the soul in transmigration and can only refer to the three spheres of rebirth as god, man or beast (cf. *Maitrī* vi, 10, *caturdaśavidha mārga*).

In *dvinimittaikamoham* the commentary takes *nimitta* to mean " cause " and explains it by *puṇya* and *pāpa*. These two are certainly the recognized causes of rebirth (e.g. *MBh.* xii, 9912 and 11261) but their connection with *moha* is not clear and it is a little hazardous taking *nimitta* to mean so definitely " cause " at this early date. Further when in the Sāṁkhya range of ideas *moha* is mentioned with the numbers one and two, it is impossible not to suspect a reference to the delusion of *puruṣa*, by which, when in contact with *prakṛti*, it imagines, though it is in reality a separate entity, that it is identical with it. *Nimitta* occurs precisely in association with this idea at vi, 5, in the phrase *saṁyoganimittahetuḥ* where it would be tautology to take *nimitta* as the same as *hetu*. The

[1] Cf. Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 605, on the original meaning of *praṇidhāna*.

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varied meanings of this elusive word are inadequately dealt with in Sanskrit and Pali dictionaries. The original sense seems to be " mark ", " sign," " token," for instance, a mark to aim at, a sign indicating success or disaster, or in Pali a landmark, a boundary-mark or the mark of a face in a looking-glass (i.e. reflection). So it comes to mean the mark by which a thing is recognized, its general characteristic or outward appearance, as in the well-known Buddhist expression *nimittagrāhin* (Pali *nimittaggāhin*), and so technically an object of a special outward aspect calculated to induce meditation of a similar type and then the meditation itself; thus one employs an *aśubhaṁ nimittam* by contemplating a corpse. When at *BhG.* xi, 33, Kṛṣṇa states that in reality the killing will be done by him and Arjuna will be the *nimitta-mātra*, it is best to understand by *nimitta*, not " means " or " cause ", but simply " outward appearance "; Arjuna merely appears to kill.[1] Without going into the further extensions to " cause " and " occasion ", it appears from the parallel phrase at *MBh.* xiii, 819, *saṁyogaliṅgodbhavaṁ trailokyam*, that this series of meanings provides the clue to the interpretation of *saṁyoganimittahetuḥ*, which we should translate " cause which brings about the outward appearance of union ". Accordingly I take *dvinimittaikamoham* to mean that the wheel of *brahman* has the general characteristic of two, i.e. of matter and of the soul in the cycle of transmigration and by delusion presents the two as one.

In the next verse to determine the nature of the river which is the missing object of the sentence we must consider the last epithet, *pañcaparvām*, whose solution, though hitherto not pointed out, is easy. For Vācaspati Miśra on *SK.* 47 explains *pañcaviparyayabhedāḥ* by quoting a saying he attributes to Vārṣagaṇya, *pañcaparvāvidyā*. This is actually the text of

[1] The expression recurs at *MBh.* i, 6881, and vii, 4685; for my interpretation, cf. the similar idea, detailed explicitly, at vii, 9499; should *nimitta* not have the same meaning in the passage from Vācaspati translated by Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 600?

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TS. 14, and is quoted as an ancient saying at *Buddhacarita* xii, 33, which is significant, as Aśvaghoṣa appears to cite *Śvet.* i, 2, at *Saundarananda* xvi, 17. *Pañcaparva* is used in the same connection by Vyāsa on *Yogasūtra* i, 8, and frequently in the Purāṇas (e.g. *Viṣṇu* i, 5, 4, *Bhāg.* iii, 20, 18, *Vāyu* (A.S.S. edn.) vi, 37, and *Mārk.* (ed. B. I.) xlvii, 16). It is remarkable that a phrase so consecrated by antiquity should not appear in the *MBh.*; and I have found only one mention of all the constituents of the group, namely at xiv, 1019, besides a partial one at xii, 11631. The explanation is perhaps to be sought in *Buddhacarita* xii, 34–6, where the five members are equated to the *doṣa* pentad which recurs in various forms in the *MBh.* (cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, p. 181). This latter is replaced in later Yoga speculation by the *kleśa* group (*Yogasūtra* ii, 3), which Vyāsa on ib. i, 8, and Vācaspati on *SK.* 47 equate with the fivefold ignorance. In view of this identification of *pañcaparva* it is natural to suppose that the missing object of the sentence is *avidyānadīm*. This is confirmed by v, 1, where *vidyā* is identified with *akṣara* and *avidyā* with *kṣara* (cf. *MBh.* xii, 8511 and 11419, and xiv, 1455–6); for this verse only deals with what is *kṣara*. We are further reminded of *avidyodadhau jagati magne* in the opening verse of Gauḍapāda's *bhāṣya*.

The solution of the first word of the verse, *pañcasrotombum*, depends on the fact that in the often recurring simile of a river, a few references to which are given below, water usually represents a single entity, so that the translation should run "having for its water that which has five streams". The St. Petersburg dictionary gives references (add *MBh.* xiv, 477 and 1157) for *srotas* in the sense of *indriya*; the precise shade of meaning seems to be the stream of perceptions which each sense receives from the outer world.[1] These

[1] As *srotas* is also used of the secretions of the body, the alternative explanation is possible that the reference is to the idea that from each organ of sense proceeds an imperceptible essence which effects contact with the object of perception and transmits to its organ a corresponding sensation, but this would not affect the point under discussion.

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streams flow from the senses to the common reservoir of the mind, which therefore is here said to have five streams. This suggestion agrees with the occurrence of *pañcasrotas* at *MBh.* xii, 7890–1, where Nīlakaṇṭha glosses it with *manas*. Mind is symbolized by water in the parallel similes at *MBh.* xiv, 1163–4, and *Saundarananda* xvii, 45.

The next word, *pañcayonyugravakrām*, is clearly corrupt; for the other four similar expressions in this verse consist of the number five, a word to indicate a Sāṁkhya category and a word connected with river. The second of the two adjectives should accordingly be a substantive. Now in river similes it is an almost invariable rule that one of the elements of comparison should be crocodiles and their absence here would be remarkable. Out of the countless available instances I need only refer to *MBh.* v, 1554, viii, 3900, ix, 441–2, xii, 8627, 9049 and 11161, *Saundarananda* xvii, 60, and *Saṁyutta Nik.* iv, 157. While the usual word, *grāha*, is barred here by metrical and palaeographical considerations, the rarer word, *nakra*, fits admirably and is sound palaeographically, the confusion between *n* and *v* offering no difficulty. In fact we have another obvious instance of the same mistake in *Muṇḍaka* iii, 2, 4, where the received text runs *na ca pramādāt tapaso vāpy aliṅgāt* and sense and grammar alike require *nāpy*. As the current interpretations of this passage are difficult to accept, I would suggest that *liṅga* here means "the outward badges of an ascetic", his robe, shaven head, etc. The name of the Upaniṣad and the reference to *śirovrata* at iii, 2, 10, support this view, which is made certain by *MBh.* xii, 11898–9, controverting the thesis :—

Kāṣāyadhāraṇaṁ mauṇḍyaṁ triviṣṭabdhaṁ kamaṇḍaluḥ |
liṅgāny utpathabhūtāni na mokṣāyeti me matiḥ ||
Yadi saty api liṅge 'smin jñānam evātra kāraṇam |
nirmokṣāyeha duḥkhasya liṅgamātraṁ nirarthakam ||

The same use of *liṅga* recurs at *Saundarananda* vii, 49, and at *Milinda-Pañha*, p. 133–4 and p. 162. The sense is that there

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is no salvation in austerities except as practised by a regular mendicant (i.e. probably, by a member of the order which followed the teachings of this Upaniṣad) and Śaṁkara in glossing *aliṅga* by *saṁnyāsarahita* seems to have had this meaning in mind.

The commentary explains the word as referring to the five elements and this seems to me unquestionably correct. For *yoni* cannot mean "sphere of rebirth", all the authorities being agreed in recognizing only three such spheres in the Sāṁkhya system and there is no other group of five which could be described as sources. But the use of the term is inconsistent with the place at the bottom of the scale of evolution allotted to the elements in classical Sāṁkhya and we must therefore enquire at some length into the earlier history of the group. That this Upaniṣad treats them as having more important functions may be inferred from the lines at vi, 2 (in the form printed by Hauschild) :—

teneśitaṁ karma vivartate ha
pṛthvyaptejoanilakhāni cintyam ||

and at ii, 12 :—

pṛthvyaptejoanilakhasamutthite
pañcātmake yogaguṇe pravṛtte ||

In the earlier Upaniṣads the elements are looked on as having productive functions, and when we turn to the *MBh.* we always find them mentioned high up in the numerical formulas, usually after *ahaṁkāra* and, when their origin is given, being said to develop from it (e.g. *BhG.* xiii, 5, and *MBh.* xii, 6776–9, 11235–8, 11423, and xiv, 1084 ff.). Certain passages divide *prakṛti* and its twenty-three evolutes into two groups, one of eight called *prakṛti* or *mūlaprakṛti* and consisting of *prakṛti*, *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra* and the five elements and one of sixteen called *vikāra*, consisting of mind, the ten organs and the five objects of the senses; this is found at *MBh.* xii, 7670, 11394–6 and 11552 ff., and *Buddhacarita* xii, 18–19 (reading *budhyasva* with the old MS. for *buddhiṁ tu* of Cowell's

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text in verse 19). *BhG.* vii, 4, diverges by dividing *prakṛti* into eight, *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, *manas* and the five elements; but it is important to note for our purposes that two verses later these constituents are described as *yoni* (so also *MBh.* xiv, 623–4). The elements are clearly named in these passages and it seems to me a thoroughly unsound method of interpretation to try and twist their plain statements into references to the subtile elements, instead of accepting them as they stand and seeing if no reasonable explanation can be found; only in the event of no such explanation being forthcoming are we entitled to read into the texts something other than what they say. Besides if the words, *ākāśa*, etc., refer to the subtile elements, the absurd corollary follows that the gross elements in all texts before the *SK.* are called *śabda*, etc.

The word, *ṣoḍaśāntam*, in the preceding verse shows that this division into eight and sixteen already prevailed at the time the Upaniṣad was composed. It survives partially in *SK.* 3 where the twenty-four are divided into one called *prakṛti*, seven called *prakṛtivikṛti* and sixteen called *vikṛti*. But the place of the elements is taken by the subtile elements (*tanmātra*), which, as I shall show, correspond to the objects of the senses in earlier speculation. Accepting for the moment the latter correspondence, the *ṣoḍaśaka gaṇa* of *SK.* 22 has the same contents as the *vikāra* group; but that Īśvarakṛṣṇa did not accept the division into eight and sixteen is shown clearly by his theory of the *antaḥkaraṇa* which treats *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra* and *manas* as a unity, thus cutting across the division.[1] Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 45 and 48 however in explaining *prakṛtilaya* refers to the *prakṛti* octet and in this passage he is dealing with Yoga practices such as are mentioned in the lines from *Śvet.* ii, 12, already quoted, substituting the subtile elements for the elements proper of the latter. Similarly *Yogasūtra* iv, 2 and 3, also uses *prakṛti* in the plural which Jacobi (loc. cit., p. 612) understands as referring to the subtile

[1] The theory of the *antaḥkaraṇa* was perhaps adopted by Iśvarakṛṣṇa from Yoga sources; cf. Jacobi's discussion of *citta*, loc. cit., p. 587.

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elements. *TS.* 1 and 2 accepts the division into *prakṛti* (8) and *vikāra* (16), as does *Garbha Up.* 4 and *Bhāg. Pur.* vii, 7, 22.

The position can only be made clear by going into the history of the subtile elements. The term *tanmātra*, apart from the *SK.*, first appears in two very late passages of the *MBh.* (Hopkins, op. cit., p. 173) and *Maitrī* iii, 2. The latter work is a curious hotchpotch with a strongly archaizing tendency, material taken from older works being mixed up with modern ideas and phraseology. Deussen and others have drawn attention to its coincidences of language with the *SK.* and Hopkins (op. cit., p. 33–46 and p. 471) has pointed out parallelisms with certain passages of the epic. It is certainly a very late work. The passage in question explains that *bhūta* may mean either *tanmātra* or *mahābhūta* and looks like an insertion by the compiler into an extract from an older work or a gloss that has found its way into the text. The plural form, *tanmātrā*, may be a Vedic neuter plural or come from an otherwise unknown feminine form, *tanmātrā*. For the latter it may be noted that *mātrā* is used for *tanmātra* at *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā* (ed. F. O. Schrader) xii, 23, in a summary of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*.[1] This might be held to confirm the usual view that the term *tanmātra* is a reminiscence of the use of *mātrā* at *Praśna* iv, 8, and *BhG.* ii, 14; but at the former passage the *mātrā* of an element is related to its element as *draṣṭavya* to *cakṣus* or *gantavya* to *pāda*, and at the latter it perhaps has the meaning of *viṣayasiddhi* given by the commentator to *mātrā* at *Maitrī* vi, 6. The association with the idea of a subtile element is far from clear and it is rather passages like *Manu* i, 17 and 19, which show the origin of the term.

[1] The explanation of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* as consisting of the group of fifty already mentioned plus ten *maulikārthas* (authorities discussed by Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 586, n. 4) seems to me grossly improbable. The summary in this Pañcarātra work is apparently older than any of the sources for the other view and is on the face of it quite possible, though proof of its correctness is lacking. See Keith, op. cit., ch. v.

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In literature definitely earlier than the *SK.* all enumerations of the Sāṁkhya topics replace the *tanmātra* group by *śabda*, *rūpa*, *sparśa*, *gandha* and *rasa*. The varying names given to this group are illuminating, *indriyagocara* (*BhG.* xiii, 5, cf. *Kaṭha* iii, 4), *indriyārtha* (*BhG.* five times, *MBh.* xii, 8743, and xiv, 1312), *viṣaya* (*BhG.* four times at least, *MBh.* xii, 7671, 9890, and 10493, xiv. 1401 and *Buddhacarita* xii, 19), *mūrti* (in Pañcaśikha's system, *MBh.* xii, 7942), *viśeṣa* (*MBh.* xii, 11396, 11421–2 and 11580, xiv, 984, 1234, 1329 (reading *viśeṣapratiśākhinaḥ*) and 1401) and *guṇa* (*MBh.* xii, 8513 and 9888, xiv, 1401). *Maitrī*, true to its composite character, has almost all these, *guṇa* ii, 4 (so commentary), *viṣaya* ii, 6, and vi, 31, *indriyārtha* vi, 8 and 10, *tanmātra* iii, 2, and apparently *viśeṣa* vi, 10. The last passage is important and runs *prākṛtam annaṁ triguṇabhedapariṇāmatvān mahadādyaṁ viśeṣāntaṁ liṅgam*, where *liṅgam* means, as in *SK.* 10, and several other passages of that work, "derivative" or "mergent". *Mahadādi viśeṣāntam* recurs at *MBh.* xiv, 1242, and xiii, 1090 (cf. also *avyaktādi viśeṣāntam* at xiv, 1430) and later in the Purāṇas (*Vāyu* iv, 17 = *Mārk.* xlv, 30), while *SK.* 40 has *mahadādisūkṣmaparyantam* and 56, *mahadādiviśeṣabhūtaparyantaḥ*. These variations of name indicate a certain vagueness or instability of ideas regarding the group; the earlier passages use terms emphasizing the purely material aspect, while the two later terms, *viśeṣa* and *guṇa*, imply a more abstract conception. The former, which in the later *MBh.* passages has become the standard term, is derived from each member of the group being the special and sole object of one of the organs of sense (see *MBh.* xiv, 1400–7, and cf. the use of *viśeṣa* and *aviśeṣa* at xiv, 1116–7) and may also include some idea of each being specially associated with one of the elements. With *guṇa* we reach a new conception which was bound to bring further consequences in its train; for none of the twenty-three evolutes of *prakṛti* could properly be considered as a *guṇa* of one of the others. Originally each member of the group was

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considered a *guṇa* of one of the elements only (e.g. *MBh.* xii, 7676 and 9090 ff.)[1] but the later theory (*MBh.* xii, 8517, xiv, 1430–7, and iii, 13922 ff.) gives one element the qualities of all five, the next of four, and so on to the last of one only.

Turning now to the position of classical Sāṁkhya, we find that Īśvarakṛṣṇa rejects entirely the group *śabda*, etc., from among the twenty-three evolutes. They still appear, however, in *SK.* 28 and 34 as the objects perceived by the senses, and Gauḍapāda holds that they are indicated by the epithet *sāvayava* of *vyakta* in *SK.* 10. The vacancy among the evolutes is filled by the so-called subtile elements, *śabda-tanmātra*, etc., which are given the place hitherto held by the elements, and the latter, being said to derive from them, are put at the bottom of the scale. It is relevant to the use of *guṇa* as a name for the objects of the senses that Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 22 and 38 derives each gross element from a single *tanmātra*, while Vācaspati Miśra on *SK.* 22 derives *ākāśa* from *śabdatanmātra* with *śabda* as its *guṇa*, *vāyu* from *śabda-* and *sparśatanmātra* with *śabda* and *sparśa* for its qualities, and so on up to earth from all five with all five qualities. Further, the *tanmātra* group is described as *aviśeṣa* and the elements as *viśeṣa* (*SK.* 38). *Viśeṣa* we have already met, but *aviśeṣa* as applied to either group I can only find previously in the doubtful phrase at *MBh.* xii, 9084, *aviśeṣāṇi bhūtāni guṇāṁś ca jahato muneḥ*, where the correct reading may be *saviśeṣāṇi*[2]; as it stands, the reference is probably to the elements and the objects of the senses. The terms have no organic connection with the rest of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's scheme, and on the basis of the *SK.* alone there is no obvious justification for them. The explanations given by Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati Miśra are decidedly

[1] The wording of *Nyāyasūtra*, i, 15, suggests this, not the later, theory as being laid down there.

[2] See O. Strauss, loc. cit., p. 273, on this passage.

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lame, so much so in fact that Keith (op. cit. p. 93) suggests an alternative but still unconvincing origin.[1]

Such are the facts which we must now set in their historical perspective. The theory of the elements is foreshadowed in the Brāhmaṇa literature at a period when no hard and fast distinction in kind was felt to exist between animate and inanimate, between material and spiritual, or between substance and quality, though the group itself appears as a definite entity under the name *mahābhūta* first in *Ait. Up.* iii, 3, a passage which shows no signs of Sāṁkhya influence and dates possibly from before the earliest formulation of that scheme. The very name, *mahābhūta*, is significant and indicates a conception far other than what we understand by element. To define this in language which does not import later distinctions is difficult, but we shall not be far out in looking on the elements as cosmic forces inhering in the substances from which they took their name. At this stage of thought it seemed natural that mental and spiritual as well as physical functions should evolve from what we should call matter; this point of view prevails in *Chāndogya Up.* vi, and has left definite traces in later Indian philosophy, such as the Jain theory of *karman* or the Yoga practice of absorption into the elements, which is inculcated in this Upaniṣad and which subsequently survives in the *prakṛtilaya* theory described by Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 45 and 48.[2] This was the atmosphere in which the Sāṁkhya scheme was first worked out, with the consequence that the elements could only be introduced as productive forces;

[1] Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra on *Yogasūtra*, ii, 19, call the eleven senses and the gross elements *viśeṣa* as being only *vikāra*, while *ahaṁkāra* and the subtile elements are classed as *aviśeṣa* on the ground of their being a cause of *vikāra*. Earlier literature does not support this use of the word.

[2] For these views see Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brahmaṇa-texte*, 1919, pp. 32–99, and in particular pp. 58–62, and for *Chāndogya Up.*, vi, Jacobi, *Die Entwickelung der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, 1923, pp. 11 ff. Cf. also Jacobi's explanation of the origin of the Mīmāṁsaka doctrine of the eternity of the connection between *śabda* and *artha*, *Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman*, p. 158; similarly O. Strauss, *ZDMG.* 81, p. 150.

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it is a grave anachronism to suppose that any thinker, however original, could at that time have conceived them as gross purely material products at the lower end of the scale of evolution. Now the earliest Sāṁkhya should be held, in my opinion, on the strength of the evidence of the passage under discussion to have divided its twenty-four constituents on the material side into eight creative forces and sixteen products with a symmetry which was pleasing to early thought, and it is only to be expected in view of what has been said that the elements should be found among the creative forces. It seems to follow as a corollary from this division that originally the elements were held to enter into the composition of the eleven senses as well as of the five objects of the senses ; there is little definite evidence on this point, but as late as *MBh.* xii, 11423 *manas* is specifically stated to depend on the elements, this being a passage which accepts the division into eight and sixteen. When, therefore, the Uddyotakara on *Nyāyasūtra* i, 29 remarks that the Yogas held the senses to be *bhautika* and the Sāṁkhyas held them to be *abhautika*, the explanation seems to be that the former still held the old view, while the Sāṁkhyas under the lead of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's school had taken up a more modern view.[1] Again, what I have said above about the lack of distinction between substances and qualities accounts for the material objects of the world being classed by their qualities, according to which sense they were perceptible, namely, *śabda*, etc.

The next stage is dimly shadowed to us in the fluctuations of idea and phraseology of the *MBh.* ; for, while its popular character unfitted it for serious philosophical discussion, yet it does reflect to some extent the developments that were taking place. The division into eight and sixteen seems gradually to fall into disfavour and later passages declare explicitly that mind and the ten organs proceed from

[1] But otherwise Jacobi, *Ueber das ursprüngliche Yogasystem*, p. 608 ff., who holds this to be one of the original points of distinction between the two schools.

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ahaṁkāra alone, while attention has already been drawn to the changes regarding the objects of the senses. In fact, behind the scenes Indian philosophers were being trained to accuracy of thought and the drawing of fine distinctions by the grammarians and in due course this led to the rise of the Vaiśeṣika school with its closer analysis of the nature of substances, qualities and relationships. Traces of Vaiśeṣika influence are clearly discernible in some of the later passages from the epic cited above and it is not without significance that Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 22 and 42 described the *tanmātra* group as *paramāṇu.* On the one hand, the atomic theory inevitably involved a purely material view of the elements and its increasing acceptance necessitated some modification of the Sāṁkhya position to meet the change of ideas. On the other, it was found that the realities underlying the terms *śabda*, etc., could only be adequately expressed by explaining them as qualities, not as material objects looked at from special aspects.[1]

The school of thought whose views are preserved for us in the *SK.* solved these problems in a very ingenious way so as to include the new ideas while making the break with the old as little conspicuous as possible. The purely material view of the elements was frankly accepted and, as they could, therefore, no longer be supposed to have creative powers, they were relegated to the bottom of the scale of evolution, where room was made for them by excluding the *śabda* group altogether from the category of products and treating them as merely qualities of the elements. The number of evolutes had, however, to be maintained in accordance with well-established tradition and something was wanted to account for the appearance of the elements. Hence, the invention of the *tanmātra* group, which not only met these needs but made it possible to explain away the older texts by saying that by *mahābhūta* they meant *tanmātra* and by *śabda*, etc., the elements. The Sāṁkhya school was always very anxious

[1] Cf. *Mahābhāṣya*, i, 246, 2=ii, 198, 5, and ii, 366, 14.

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to insist on its orthodoxy, and it still had to explain away the use of the word *viśeṣa*, especially in the consecrated phrase *mahadādi viśeṣāntam* (see p. 867) for the twenty-three evolutes. It therefore had to describe the elements as *viśeṣa* and find a meaning for the term as best it could, the explanation being given a more plausible appearance by calling the *tanmātra* group *aviśeṣa* ; Īśvarakṛṣṇa could thus hint at his orthodoxy by twice using a similar phrase.

Having thus explained the historical significance of this term, I turn to the next line. While it is natural to take *pañcaprāṇormim* as referring to the five breaths, closer scrutiny reveals difficulties. Apart from the possibility of their having been already referred to among the twenty of the previous verse, it is alien to the spirit of these two verses to name any category directly and it is hardly accurate to signify the group by its first member. *Prāṇa* is that one of the breaths which is responsible for the general activities of the body (e.g. Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 29) and it seems to me decidedly preferable to accept the traditional interpretation of the five organs of action. *Pañcabuddhyādimūlām* probably refers to the five organs of sense, as in *MBh.* xii, 7086 (= 10505) they are called the *adhiṣṭhānāni* of *buddhi*, the ground given in 10505 being that, when the senses cease to act, *buddhi* ceases to act too.

In the next line *pañcāvartām* has no distinguishing word and its significance, like that of *pañcaparva*, was probably well understood. *Pañcaduḥkhaughavegām* is explained in the commentary by the state of existence as an embryo, birth, disease, old age, and death ; but, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence for such a group and the texts agree that to the Sāṁkhyas *duḥkha* is threefold. A solution is preferable which treats *duḥkha* as an enigmatic symbol of some other category and a clue is provided by Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 50, where fivefold *tuṣṭi* is obtained from turning away from the five objects of the senses by seeing that they involve *arjana*, *rakṣaṇa*, *kṣaya*, *saṅga*, and *hiṁsā* ; the two latter

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are described as *doṣa*, but the three former as *duḥkha*, because the acquisition, retention, and loss of the objects lead to suffering. The same triplet is referred to as *duḥkha* with respect to *kāma*, which in Buddhist schemes is fivefold as relating to the five objects of the senses, at *Saundarananda* xv, 7 and 9, in a way that shows the idea to be old. Again at *Maitrī* iii, 2 the individual is described as *guṇaughair uhyamānaḥ*, where *guṇa* probably means only the objects of the senses, though the commentary apparently includes the body and organs in addition. I accordingly take *duḥkhaugha* to refer to the five objects of the senses, as the evidence relates both terms of the compound to them.

The last word for explanation, *pañcāśadbhedām*, is suspicious as breaking the symmetry by introducing the number fifty. Further it can only be explained by the *pañcāśad bhedāḥ* of *SK.* 46, which, as already pointed out above, are mentioned in the previous verse. The commentary explains the compound as referring to the *kleśa* pentad of *Yogasūtra* ii, 3, on the strength of which Hauschild accepts an earlier proposal to read *pañcakleśabhedām*. But this is hopeless metrically, as the line should consist of eleven or twelve syllables, not of thirteen. I doubt too, if the use of *kleśa* as the name of a category can be substantiated earlier than the passage just mentioned.[1] Its use at i, 11 of this Upaniṣad seems to be entirely general and it does not occur in the *Śāntiparvan* in the special sense, the substitute for it being the *doṣa* group with varying constituents (e.g. 8772, 9868, 11047, and 11152). Several members of it have a decidedly modern appearance, and finally Vācaspati Miśra on *SK.* 47 identifies it with the fivefold *avidyā* already included in the verse. The commentator, however, does not give the reading specifically as *pañcakleśabhedām* and may conceivably have had

[1] Cf. Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 593 ff., for the history of the *kleśa* group and my remarks above on *pañcaparvām*. Similarly in the Pali canon no *kilesa* group occurs till the time of the Abhidhamma literature and the word is practically unknown to the Nikāyas.

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pañcabhedām, which is metrically possible and which might have been corrected by a copyist who knew *SK.* 46 into the existing reading. In that case I can only explain *pañcabhedām* by reference to *bhedānām parimāṇāt* of *SK.* 15, glossed by Gauḍapāda with *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, the *tanmātra* group of five (for which we should have here to substitute the five objects of the senses), the *indriya* group of eleven, and the element group of five; this division of the evolutes into five groups occurs again in the *bhāṣya* on *SK.* 59. Remembering that *avidyā* is equated with *kṣara* in this Upaniṣad, this solution giving all the divisions of *kṣara* would fit in very well. A somewhat similar group of five, viz. *adhiṣṭhāna*, *kartṛ*, *karaṇa*, *ceṣṭā*, and *daiva*, is expressly stated at *BhG.* xviii, 14 to be Sāṁkhya, but is not found elsewhere. Though its exact interpretation seems to me far from certain, it might be understood as making the same division.[1] Alternatively, if we look at it palaeographically, the correct reading might be *pañcasadbhedām* or *pañcāsadbhedām*, but I cannot suggest a probable solution for either.

Thus we have found fairly certain explanations for the first four, the sixth, and the eighth compounds of this verse and a possible one for the seventh. Also in the two verses we have found all the twenty-four topics mentioned separately except one, *ahaṁkāra*; yet this was known to the Upaniṣad (v, 8) and the only possible term for it is the unsolved *pañcāvartām*. Was there then a fivefold *ahaṁkāra*? Our only evidence for it is the commentarial explanation of *TS.* 13, *pañca karmātmānaḥ*, said to be five forms of *ahaṁkāra*; but the evidence is late and untrustworthy, and the explanation of the sūtra highly doubtful. It may, however, indicate the persistence to a late epoch of a tradition of a

[1] Cf. W. D. P. Hill's and R. Garbe's translations. I incline to think that *adhiṣṭhāna* stands for *buddhi*, which is often described as the *adhiṣṭhāna* of *puruṣa*, *kartṛ* for *ahaṁkāra* and *karaṇa* for mind and the ten senses. If this is correct, *ceṣṭā* would stand for the objects of the senses and *daiva* for the elements. Otherwise Edgerton, *AJP.* xlv, 18.

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fivefold *ahaṁkāra*. The threefold division in the *SK*. according to the guṇas is more apparent than real, the division being in substance into two only, *vaikṛta* (= *sāttvika* plus *rājasa*), the origin of the eleven senses, and *bhūtādi* (= *tāmasa* plus *rājasa*), the origin of the material world ; and this is probably the older division on which the threefold one has been superimposed.[1] Though the importance of *ahaṁkāra* in the classical scheme has been whittled away by restricting its function to *abhimāna*, originally it seems to have represented the emotional components of the individual which make up his personality. This comes out curiously by converting into Sāṁkhya phraseology the oldest Buddhist formula for the individual, that of the five skandhas ; for *rūpa* = the five elements and the five objects of the senses, *vedanā* = *indriya*, *saṁjñā* = *manas* and *vijñāna* = *buddhi* (so *buddhi* at *Kaṭha*, iii, 3 = *vijñāna* ib. iii, 9), so that *saṁskāra* seems to be parallel to *ahaṁkāra*. It is possible that this aspect of *ahaṁkāra* was expressed by a fivefold formula which is no longer extant. But this is speculation, and we must leave the matter on a note of interrogation.

The foregoing exegesis demonstrates that the author of the Upaniṣad was fully acquainted with the Sāṁkhya conceptions of *prakṛti*, its evolutes and the subordinate categories, but in a form more primitive than that of the *SK*., on whose position in the evolution of Sāṁkhya philosophy some light has been thrown. The case stands differently with the *TS*. ; its very brief nature makes it hard to be certain of the exact meaning of some of its terms and the commentary is late and of doubtful authority. On the other hand, wherever we can compare it with the *Śvet. Up*., the two agree exactly, in two cases (the division into eight evolvents and sixteen evolutes and the threefold *mokṣa*) against the *SK*. One of its sūtras is known

[1] Is the thoroughness with which Iśvarakṛṣṇa applies the guṇa theory throughout the range of evolution an original feature of Sāṁkhya philosophy ? Did not the guṇas at first play a more modest part ? The answer to these questions lies outside the scope of the present paper.

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to Aśvaghoṣa and attributed by Vācaspati Miśra to Vārṣagaṇya. I may note here another point in which it contains older doctrines not admitted by the *SK.*, namely in sūtras 8–10, *adhyātmam*, *adhibhūtam*, *adhidaivam*, which are explained in detail in the *Mbh.* (xii, 11607 ff., and xiv, 1119 ff.) and which belong to a primitive order of thought (cf. the use of *adhyātma* and *adhidaiva* in *Chāndogya* and *Bṛh. Ār. Up.*). These points had escaped Garbe's notice (see *Sāṁkhya-Philosophie*, 2nd edn., 1917, pp. 94–6) and caused him to underrate its value. For the evidence shows that it is either older than the *SK.* or, more probably perhaps, a summary of a treatise older than the *SK.* and belonging to a different branch of the school from Iśvarakṛṣṇa's. It seems to me probable that the closing verse of the *SK.*, which is agreed to be a later addition, means by the word *paravādavivarjita* not only that Īśvarakṛṣṇa avoided polemics with other schools of philosophy, which is the case, but also that his work set out the purest Sāṁkhya doctrine, purged of the contamination of the theories of other schools, implying that the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, here named, was heterodox on certain points. This inference is confirmed by the summary of that work given in *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā* xii, which adds to the classical Sāṁkhya tenets certain conceptions unknown to them. Sāṁkhya has a history of centuries before Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Why should it not have split into a number of schools, all calling themselves Sāṁkhya and accepting the twenty-five topics but differing in minor points? After all, this is what we find in Buddhist Hīnayāna philosophy; the same fundamental formulas are accepted but differing interpretations are given to them.

So far I have only touched incidentally on the Yoga teaching of the Upaniṣad, and I do not propose to go into it at length, but only to discuss the text of a certain passage in the light of what we can learn from other sources. The detailed teaching is to be found in the second *adhyāya*, which is a curious mixture, consisting of seven verses at the beginning

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and two at the end, lifted mainly from Vedic works because of their supposed connection with Yoga, and a set of eight verses in the middle dealing with Yoga practices, whose versification and language show them to be later than the rest of the Upaniṣad. The whole is surely a later addition and a badly contrived one at that, and the Upaniṣad would not suffer by its omission. Verse 10 describing the place to be selected for Yoga runs thus :—

Same śucau śarkarāvahnivālukā-
vivarjite śabdajalāśrayādibhiḥ |
Manonukūle na tu cakṣupīḍane
guhānivātāśrayaṇe prayojayet ||

The difficulty lies in *śabdajalāśrayādibhiḥ*, which Hauschild, following Böhtlingk and Roth, amends to *śabdajalāśayā°*. Deussen and Oldenberg (*Die Lehre der Upanishaden*, p. 262) construe it with the preceding *°vivarjite* and Hauschild ingeniously with the following *manonukūle* despite the harshness of carrying the sense over ; the commentator takes it by itself as an associative instrumental, a construction which occurs at i, 4, and is found from time to time in Sanskrit literature, even in the great *kāvya* writers, where Mallinātha habitually explains it by supplying *upalakṣita*.[1] While this last is the only possible construction, none of the translations take account of the inherent contradiction in the expression as it stands, for it is generally agreed that the presence of water and the absence of sound is essential to Yoga. Thus *Kūrma-Purāṇa* ii, 11 (ed. B. I, p. 505) gives *jantuvyāpta* and *saśabda* as unfitting a place for Yoga and a mountain cave or river-bank as proper. So *Mbh.* xiv, 567, *nirghoṣe nirjane vane*, and xiii, 6473, *nadīpulinaśāyi nadītīraratiś ca*, *Kṣurikā Up.*, 2 (in Deussen's translation) "a noiseless spot" and *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā*, xxxii, 60, *vivikte sajale vane*. *Saundarananda*, xvii, 2–3, the ideal spot is a grove, having grass and soundless running water. In the Pali canon, which is relevant

[1] Cf. Pāṇini, 2, 3, 21.

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owing to the general similarity of Buddhist and Yoga ideas on the subject of these practices, noise is the thorn of trance and fitting places must be *appasadda* and *appanigghosa*.[1] While water is a necessity (cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 342, *chāyūdakasampannāni tapovanāni*), it should preferably be running and a tank is neither necessary nor to be avoided, so that to amend to °*jalāśayā*° is pointless. It is a simple and satisfactory alternative to accept the commentator's meaning of "hut" or "place to live in" for *āśraya*, or else it could have the meaning of "requisite" for Yoga. It follows that *śabda* is the corrupt word, and I see two possible alternatives. Either insert an avagraha, which can be corroborated by *'śabdābhir . . . adbhir upaspṛśya* at *MBh.* i, 3, 115 (new Poona edn.; Calcutta edn., i, 772, has *niḥśabdābhir*), where the object of the action is to become ritually pure, and by the authority for the word given in Böhtlingk's shorter dictionary; cf also *niḥśabdayā . . . nimnagayā*, *Saundarananda*, xvii, 2. It would then be an epithet of *jala*. Or, perhaps preferably, read *śāda*° or *śaṣpa*° for *śabda*°; for grass is one of the chief requisites of a Yogin, cf. *MBh.* xii, 7164, and *BhG.* vi, 11. With either change the text is sound and in accordance with what we learn elsewhere.

[1] Note also the parallelism with these passages of Pali *vijanavāta*, which simply means "solitary and windless".

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Excavation at Ur, 1929-30

ABSTRACT OF LECTURE BY MR. C. LEONARD WOOLLEY

21*st May*, 1930

MR. WOOLLEY said that the eighth season which they had just finished at Ur had been the most interesting historically and in some ways the most exciting season they had yet had : it was also undoubtedly the most varied. They were able to get plans of buildings, antiquities, etc., illustrating practically every phase in the history of the town of Ur from the 6th century B.C. back to a period which we cannot date, but which we call pictorially the Period of the Flood. Their programme when they started consisted of three principal objects—the first to clear up the plan of the city, tracing out its walls and fortifications which they knew to belong for the most part to the period of 2000 B.C., roughly speaking the period of Abraham. Then they had to go on with the great cemetery which in previous seasons had paid them so richly ; and thirdly, they had to enlarge upon the work done in the season before when a trial pit brought to light material evidence of the flood and of a civilization older than the flood and following on after it. Dealing with the town defences he said he could not yet show them a complete plan, but could show a section of the wall and explain the character of what had been found. The whole circuit of the wall is nearly two and a half miles ; they followed it all along. The defences consist for the most part of great ramparts of mud brick, solidly built throughout, to a height of 26 ft. and a width which varied from a minimum of 50 ft. to a maximum of over 90 ft. On top of that was the burnt brick wall ; in most cases not a single wall but a line of houses, public buildings and so on linked up and forming a proper system of defence. The most striking discovery made in connection with these defences was that the great rampart which served primarily as a fortification also held up as a

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retaining wall the high terrace on which the whole interior of the town was built. And in the third place it was the revêtement of a canal. The ruins which to-day lie in the absolutely dry and arid desert in the time of Abraham were a city of waters with the river Euphrates running on the west, with a canal following the walls on the east and on part of the northern side, and with a branch canal cutting right through the town and dividing it into two main parts.

One temple excavated on the canal bank was built by Rim-Sin king of Larsa to the Water God En-ki, in the year 1990 B.C. Decorative brick-work was first found suggesting the existence of a temple; against the wall-face inscribed dedication cones were discovered, and then, only about six inches from the surface, the foundation-box of burnt brick which contained a copper figure of the king bearing upon his head a basket of mortar, and a stone tablet inscribed with the dedication of the building. Some distance further along the wall line another temple came to light built by Nebuchadnezzar. Underneath it were found superimposed remains of five other buildings, all temples, of different dates, and in the lowest, the fifth level, there was discovered a column of mud bricks shaped segmentally four and five courses high. For the history of architecture that is of great importance. There had been an extraordinary prejudice in the minds of archæologists, reflected in the history of architecture in nearly every book, to the effect that the column was not known in Mesopotamia. Any building that had a suspicion of the column was put down to the Classical period. At Tello a brick column had been found, dated to about 2400 B.C., but even so its character was disputed. Then Dr. Hall, and the lecturer at a later date, found at al'Ubaid undoubted columns of wood overlaid either with sheets of copper or mosaic of lapis lazuli and shell, belonging to 3100 B.C. But here we have for the first time an undoubted example of a brick column properly built in the great age of Sumerian architecture; it must date to about 2300 B.C., the time of

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the third dynasty of Ur when the Ziggurat and most important temples were built. It definitely proves that the Sumerian builders at Ur did use the column in their temples. This one stands between two walls and corresponding to it against the wall-faces are square attached pillars or jambs, showing that we have something in the nature of a temple "in antis", as it would have been called in Greek architecture.

Just at the very end of the season another discovery of a temple was made. Towards the north of the city there lay within the fortifications a great harbour which had been traced out and which ran back into the sacred area and must have been connected with the service of the temples. A small mound on the harbour bank was found to conceal a large temple, built by Nebuchadnezzar and restored by Nabonidus. A passage from the entrance runs right through the building and access to the temple itself is by side doors from that passage. The whole structure is in mud brick with a facing of burnt brick on the outside, and stands no less than 20 feet in height. In the inner chamber was found what is undoubtedly a square column, which probably supported the roof; this gives a rather new idea of the later architecture of the country. As the building, if left unprotected, would have been entirely sanded up by the time the working party returned at the end of October, it was decided to put on a temporary roof; it is now the only religious building of the Babylonian age surviving in Mesopotamia into which you can go and almost imagine that the past has come back again.

Speaking of the cemetery, Mr. Woolley said that this year's work is the last that will be required. As in previous seasons, it produced gold treasures, one particularly good tomb had a gold dagger; another—a woman's grave—had a headdress of gold almost as rich as that of Queen Shubad herself, and other tombs were also very rich. One produced a very curious object, a sort of old Staffordshire milk jug in the form of a cow on wheels with a string to pull it along by.

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That is the oldest toy they had got. But the real importance of the cemetery was not in the gold things. In previous seasons more than enough had been found to illustrate the wealth and art of a civilization which had been unsuspected hitherto. What was wanted was to prove the date of that civilization. The dates he had ventured to give had not been universally accepted, and it was most important to get the chronology really fixed. This year by a fortunate chance they were able to do that with, he thought, complete certainty. A photograph was shown of the vertical side of the great pit dug down in the course of clearing graves. About 15 feet down were seen on the smooth face of the wall sloping lines of slightly different colours. All this was rubbish thrown out from the ancient town before the royal tombs were cut. These strata had been found to run practically over the whole cemetery area but nowhere had they been so clear and well-defined as here, and as they went down it had been possible to draw out a section which was an actual representation of what can still be seen to-day if one stands in the pit and looks at the great earth wall. What was got this year and what was quite new was dating material for the different strata. Two white bands formed largely of lime and which are practically contemporary, one being put down not long after the other, contained some tablets and a large number of jar sealings—that is, lumps of clay put on the tops of clay jars and then stamped with a seal. Amongst them were a number dating to the first dynasty of Ur. That stratum runs over the whole cemetery. All the graves were found between the white bands and a darker lower band shown on the section, and as the white strata containing the first dynasty rubbish ran unbroken over the whole area, it could be said with certainty that the whole royal cemetery is earlier than the first dynasty of Ur. In the lower band an enormous number of tablets and jar sealings of a different type and of a different date came to light. These were of a much more primitive character. All are necessarily older

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than the royal cemetery and the writing on them agrees exactly with the stratification. Below this seal-bearing stratum the character of the pottery changes and there came a series of graves different from those in the royal cemetery and very much earlier; the pottery in them was of the Jemdet Nasr type. Finally below those again was found a single grave with what was called al 'Ubaid pottery, the oldest type known in Mesopotamia. Digging was continued to below the sea level and until the bottom was reached and there was nothing more to be found. Of the lower seal impressions some were naturalistic, many had linear designs showing a close parentage with seal impressions found at Susa; in some the decoration is composed of signs about 50 per cent. of which can be identified with the ordinary Sumerian signs, about 50 per cent. are non-Sumerian, so that presumably we have to deal here with imports from a country where a somewhat different script was employed; presumably that was Persia.

In the later periods the Sumerian and after him the Babylonian laid his dead on one side with the hands brought up on the face, body straight and the legs slightly bent at the knee. In the graves of the Jemdet Nasr age for the first time were found closely contracted burials; the arms were brought up on the face, the knees went right up until they were facing the chin and were so closely bent that the heels came close to the pelvis. It was the first time in Mesopotamia that bodies had been found in such a position, and so radical a change meant either a very long lapse of time or a change of religion or perhaps of race.

The work here takes us back far beyond the great royal cemetery towards the Flood period. That actual period was given much better in another excavation. The site chosen was a part of the town area which had suffered very greatly from denudation and it was known from previous excavation that the present modern surface was practically speaking the ground surface of about 3200 B.C. A section running

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right through the pit dug was shown on the screen indicating the commencement at the 3200 B.C. level of building and showing the various strata gone through. No less than eight successive levels of building were reached, marked by very good walls of mud brick and excellent floors of clay. In the top two, any pottery found corresponded more or less to that of the earliest graves of the royal cemetery. At the fourth level a great deal of pottery was found decorated with a light creamy slip spread over the dark clay before baking and then partially wiped off; the dark colour showing through the light formed rough designs. This had not been found in the cemetery. Immediately below this another new type of pottery came up, light with red bands, and with it, and more commonly in the next level, was found the three-coloured Jemdet Nasr ware brilliantly painted in black, red and yellow. Then below the buildings came something of a quite different character—a huge bed almost entirely consisting of grey ashes and broken pottery, the debris from potters' kilns, amongst which were found the kilns themselves.

It was in the level of the potters' kiln that a most important change came in. The upper sherds were wheel-made, and fragments of a large potter's wheel had been found, but in the lower levels the pottery was hand-made. In that stratum the transition was made from the age of the hand-craftsman to the mechanical age. In the kiln strata at a depth of 28½ feet from the 3200 B.C. surface the stone figure of a wild boar was discovered, an amazing piece of work. Other examples of sculpture similar to it in style, and presumably therefore not far from it in date, have turned up in Mesopotamian excavations, but this is the first one to which can be assigned, not of course a definite date in years, but a very distinct and clearly defined position in a historical sequence.

After digging through the mass of broken pottery the excavators suddenly passed to perfectly clean sand, water-laid and about 11 feet deep. This water-laid sand was the

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work of the Flood; nothing was found in it, no remains except graves dug into it from the upper surfaces. Below the sand came an irregular stratum composed of household rubbish, sherds of broken pottery and so on. This stratum was divided very clearly into three sections by mud floors showing the signs of continuous occupation. At one point was a great tumbled mass of lumps of clay burnt red and black. They all had one side smooth, flat or curved, and the other side deeply grooved with parallel lines in which could be traced the imprint of reeds. In other words, they were the remains of a reed hut plastered with clay which had stood and been burnt down before the Flood overwhelmed this part of the country. Close to the reed hut remains there were others of a different sort, real clay bricks showing that before the Flood came the people lived in brick buildings, proof of a much higher state of civilization than would have been expected from the reed huts alone. After going through this stratum showing human occupation, soil was reached which was composed of decayed organic matter, clearly the remains of plants growing in water. Underneath it was hard clay greenish in colour and pierced in every direction by roots. This was the bottom of Mesopotamia, well below sea-level, the bottom of the original marsh that existed before the land dried up. As soon as the organic soil rose above sea-level by inches, man had settled on it coming down from higher land. He lived there for some period of time, then came the great Flood, 11 feet of sand deposited over the top of everything, and after that man's occupation coming once more. But the occupation immediately after the Flood showed a civilization the same as that immediately before, though obviously weaker and feebler and degenerate, and it died out very soon. The graves of the survivors of the Flood are closely akin to those of the people who lived before the Flood came. This can be proved from the pottery. The pre-Flood pots of white or greenish clay were richly decorated with elaborate designs in black on a chocolate ground. In the

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older graves the design is still fairly rich, but when the second strata of graves was reached they were found to contain each of them only one painted vessel and that simply painted with a single band of black running round, the other pots being undecorated. Clearly there was kinship between the pre-Flood and post-Flood people, but the Flood accounted for their very rapid disappearance afterwards. The graves are quite unlike those of the Jemdet Nasr age. The bottom of the pit was often paved with a sort of mosaic of fragments of coloured pottery; the body, instead of being on its side and gently curved as in historic cemeteries, and instead of being tightly flexed as in the succeeding period, was laid on its back, rigidly extended, the feet together, the hands crossed over the pelvis. The offerings were near the head or close to the feet. In a certain number of the graves there were found, with the painted pots, figures of green clay with black painted markings. Several of these were shown on the screen, one of a female figure with a child in its arms, and Mr. Woolley drew attention to the extraordinary shape of the child's head, a great flattened elongated drum, curiously modern. Other figures of white clay were found with headdresses of bitumen on their misshapen heads attached to the clay. The bodies were slender, they might almost be called graceful, and they were reasonably well modelled. The heads are almost inhuman, unlike a woman's head. One felt that the person who modelled the body could have made a good head if he had wanted to. Clearly he did not want to. The figurines represent not human women, but some goddess or demon. Mr. Woolley said that these, in his opinion, are the most remarkable things yet discovered at Ur, because they have an element in them that none of the other finds have got. It has been very striking that in the royal cemetery there have been practically no objects found to which any religious significance could safely be attributed. Here, going back many many centuries beyond the time of the royal cemetery, are found in the graves of the earliest people to

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settle in Mesopotamia figures which must have a religious significance.

"We have come back" Mr. Woolley concluded, "with objects which I think will excite as much interest and attention as any we have found there yet, but we have this year succeeded as we have never succeeded before in straightening out the tangled skeins of history. Now it will be possible for ourselves or any other excavator to dig down into the deeper strata of a site and simply by looking at pottery fragments to assign to each a definite age. We have put in order in one winter's work the whole, I think we may say the whole, history of early Sumeria, and that is an achievement which more than satisfies any demands that could be made upon us."

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE DATE OF OLD URDU COMPOSITION: A CAVEAT

In attempting to assign a date to any given piece of Urdu

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In the early days composition was more natural than in later times, and Dakhani authors were readier to use the Urdu of every day than those who lived in Delhi. The difference between natural and artificial Urdu is almost inconceivably great. A few examples will make this clear.

1. Examples of Urdu striving after literary effect.

(*a*) In 1732 Faẓlī wrote a translation of a Persian work, *Dah Majlis*, imagining it to be the first translation from

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ERRATA

JRAS. July, 1930

p. 626, line 4 : read συνουσιάζων for συνουσιάζων.

,, ,, 24 : ,, [3] ,, [6]

,, ,, 27 : ,, σκαπαρδεῦσαι ,, καπαρδεῦσαι.

,, ,, 36 : ,, τοῖς ,, τοὶς.

To face p. 888.]

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

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In attempting to assign a date to any given piece of Urdu prose or verse we are in danger of being influenced to a great extent by its likeness or unlikeness to the Urdu of to-day, and assuming that if it does not differ much from modern Urdu it cannot be old. But in this we prejudge a question of prime importance, one which, so far as I know, has never been discussed in books on Urdu literature, viz. whether the author was writing more or less as he was in the habit of speaking, or was aiming at literary style. It is not the case, as one might be inclined to think, that all Urdu writers have striven after literary effect, though it is unfortunately true that affectation and artificiality very soon began to eat the life out of their poetry. Over Persianization was perhaps due in the first place to the fact that Muslim religious terms came to India through a Persian medium, and that the oldest writers were earnest propagandists who had to use many Persian theological words, or Arabic words which had reached them through Persian. Further the only poetry the Urdu writers knew was Persian. It was therefore natural that they should fall at first under the sway of the foreign tongue, which had, in fact, been the native tongue of the ancestors of some of them. It was, on the other hand, quite unnatural afterwards that men who spoke good racy Urdu in their homes, should fill their poetry with exotic phrases and sentiments.

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Persian into "Hindī". It is a striking comment on the ignorance of Dakhani literature among the writers of North India that such an idea should have been possible, or that Āzād should have regarded the preface to that translation as the first work in Urdu prose. Actually prose had been written in Urdu for centuries before this. The subjoined quotation is punctuated as in Āzād's *Āb i Ḥayāt*, 1917, p. 23. Faẓlī says :

phir dil mẽ guzrā ki aise kām ko 'aql cāhiye kāmil aur madad kisū ṭaraf kī hoe shāmil kyūki be tāīd i Ṣamadī aur be madad i janāb i Aḥmadī—yih mushkil ṣūrat pizīr na hove—aur gauhar i murād rishta e maidān mẽ na āve—lihāẓā is ṣan'at kā nahī huā—mukhtari'—aur ab tak tarjuma e Fārsī ba 'ibārat i Hindī naṣr nahī huā—mustama'—pas īs andesha e 'amīq mẽ goṭa khāyā—aur bayābān i ta'ammul o tadbīr mẽ sargashta huā—lekin rāh maqṣūd kī na pāī—nāgāh nasīm i 'ināyat i Ilāhī dil i afgār par ihtizāz mẽ a—yih bāt āīna e khāṭir mẽ mūh dikhlāī.

"Then it came into my mind that for such work one needs perfect intelligence and must get help from somewhere ; because without Divine strength and the help of Muḥammad this difficulty will not take form (meaning, rather strangely, 'disappear'), and the jewel aimed at will not come into the relation of expectation ; so no one has invented this art, and a Persian translation in Hindi prose has not been heard of. I was therefore plunged in deep anxiety and wandered in the desert of hesitation and policy unable to find the way I wanted ; suddenly the breath of the grace of God came fluttering on my wounded heart, and this matter showed its face in the mirror of my mind."

Saudā, 1713-80, who is often considered the greatest master of words in Urdu, though not the greatest poet, wrote a prose version of Mīr's *Shu'la e 'Ishq*. The date is not known, but it is some years later than Faẓlī's preface just mentioned. The following is an extract from the preface (say 1755) quoted by Āzād :—

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ẓamīr i munīr par āīnadārān i ma'nī ke mubarhan ho ki maḥẓ 'ināyat Ḥaqq Ta'ālā kī hai jo ṭūṭī e nāṭiqa shīrīn sukhan ho—pas yih cand miṣrē' ki az qabīl i rekhta dur i rekhta khāma e do zabān apnī se ṣafḥ e kāgaẓ par taḥrīr pāe—lāzim hai ki taḥvīl i sukhan [1] *sāmi'a sanjān i rozgār karū̃—tā zabānī in ashkhāṣ kī hamesha maurid i taḥsīn o āfrīn rahū̃—maẓmūn sīna mē besh az murg i asīr nahī̃—ki bīc qafs ke—jis vaqt zabān par āyā faryād i bulbul hai vāste gosh i dādras ke—garaẓ jis ahl i sukhan kā dur i munṣif zīnat i lab hai sarrishta e ḥusn ma'ānī kā is kalām ke is se inṣāf ṭalab hai—agar Ḥaqq Ta'ālā ne ṣubḥ kāgaẓ i safed kī mānind i shām syāh karne ko yih khāksār khalq kiyā hai—to har insān ke fānūs i dimāg mē cirāg i hosh diyā hai—cāhiye ki dekhkar nukta cīnī kare varna gazand i zahr ālūda se be ajal kāhe ko mare.*

"Let it be demonstrated to the enlightened minds of the mirror holders of semantics that it is only through the gift of Almighty God that the parrot of utterance attains sweet speech; so these few lines of poured out pearls in Rekhta style from my bilingual pen have been written on paper. It is fitting that I should commit them to the hearing of the poets of to-day, so that at the mouth of those men I should be the object of praise and commendation. A theme in one's heart is no better than a captive bird in a cage, but when it gets utterance it is the plaint of the bulbul for the appreciative ear. Therefore this composition in the beauty of its thoughts appeals for justice to those whose lips are adorned by the pearls of impartiality. If God Almighty has created this unworthy one for the purpose of blackening white paper just as evening darkens the day, He has also put intelligence in everyone's brain like the candle under the shade; so people should criticize, for why should one die before one's time from envenomed grief?"

Let us quote from Sayyid Inshā, a passage written about 1780:—

[1] Mistake for *sāmi'a e sukhan*.

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ibtidā e sinn i ṣibā tā avāil i rai'ān—aur avāil rai'ān se ilā'l ān ishtiyāq i mā lā yuṭāq i taqbīl i 'atba i 'āliya na baḥadde thā—ki ṣilk taḥrīr o taqrīr mē muntaẓam ho sake—lihāẓā be vāsṭa o vasīla ḥāẓir huā hū̃.

"From the dawn of childhood to my early youth, and from early youth to now there have been no bounds to the incontrollable desire I have felt to kiss your honoured threshold in order that my writing and speaking might be set in order like a necklace of pearls. Accordingly without cause or intermediary I have presented myself."

2. Examples of natural, unartificial Urdu.

To make the contrast more vivid we take first a couple of sentences from the same writer, Sayyid Inshā. The following words, though ostensibly quoted, are his own. See *Daryā e Laṭāfat*, p. 49. How different they are from the un-Urdu nonsense just quoted :—

ajī āo Mīr ṣāḥib tum to 'Īd ke cānd ho gae. Dillī mē āte the do do pahr rāt tak baiṭhte the aur rekhte paṛhte the. Lakhnaū mē tumhē kyā ho gayā ki kabhī tumhārā aṣar āṣār ma'lūm na huā aisā na kījiyo kahī āṭhō mē bhī na calo, tumhē 'Alī kī qasm āṭhō mē muqarrar caliyo.

"Well, my *dear* sir, you've become as hard to find (and as welcome when found) as the new moon before the big feast. There was a time when on your visits to Delhi you used to come and sit in my house till midnight reciting your verses. I don't know what's happened to you in Lucknow, that there's not a trace of you anywhere. Whatever you do don't fail to turn up for the Eighth. I adjure you by 'Alī come without fail for the Eighth."

It is not easy to believe that one man wrote both these extracts, but it is amusing to notice that in the last line of the first quotation he forgets his literary pose and stumbles into sense.

I quote now from Vajhī's *Sab Ras*, one hundred years older than the earliest of the above quotations. Owing to its being in the Dakhanī dialect, it is not quite easy to translate, but it

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is perfectly straightforward; yet from its date it should be unintelligibly archaic. Mr. G. M. Qādrī, on p. 321 of his *Urdū Shahpāre*, from which the passage is taken, states that the author is Shāh Mīrā Jī. This religious writer died in 1496; as I am not aware that he ever wrote anything called *Sab Ras*, I venture to attribute the words to Vajhī, who wrote *Sab Ras* in 1634.

'āshiq tū use bisar nakū, is kī yād sō dil kũ shād kar aur ăpas kũ āpī yād dilātā so ăpas kũ dikhlātā hai, ki yū dekho yū merī ṣūrat hai munje dekh kā kũ be dil hotā hai maĩ ātā tere nazdīk hũ aur tũ to mujhe nahĩ dekhtā.

" O lover of God ! do not forget Him ; by the remembrance of Him make thy heart glad. He reminds people of Himself and reveals Himself, saying 'Look hither, this is My form, look at Me ; why art thou dispirited, I am coming, I am near thee and yet thou seest Me not.' "

In 1668 or a little later Mīrā Ya'qūb translated Khvāja Burhān ud Dīn's *Shamāil ul Atqiā*. A few words may be quoted.

(After some Arabic) *ya'nī ay mominān ṣabr karo hor ustuvār acho tamhīdāt is āyat mẽ tan hor dil hor rūḥ— yū tīno ṣabr karo kar ḥukm huā ya'nī ṣabr karo tan sō Khudā kī ṭā'at par— ya'nī farmā bardārī raho hor ṣabr karo apne dil sō Khudā kī balā par hor ustuvār acho apne rūḥ hor sir sō, Khudā ke dekhne ke shauq hor muḥabbat par.*

(After the Arabic sentence) that means O believers, be patient and firm. The premisses in this verse are body and heart and spirit. To all three comes the command, Be patient ; that is be patient in your body in subjection to God, that is be obedient. And be patient from your heart in the afflictions of God ; and be firm in your spirit and intellect in your desire and love for a sight of God.

The extracts which have been given enable us to see that simple style and modern phraseology are not a proof of recent date ; they are merely the signs of conversational Urdu. I regard the fact as extremely important. It is very significant

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that the passage from *Sab Ras*, though much simpler than the first quotation from Sayyid Inshā, is at least a century and a half earlier; indeed, if Mr. Qadri is right in saying that Shāh Mīrā Jī is the author, it is three centuries earlier.

T. Grahame Bailey.

NAICASAKHA

Professor Jarl Charpentier's interpretation of this word,[1] occurring in *Ṛv.* iii, 53, 14, is of great interest and importance, though he has been very modest in the expression of his views. He seems to have made it very likely that it means a people worshipping the banyan-tree. I would like to make a few supplementary remarks in connection with what he says.

[1] [Professor Charpentier's interpretation of the Vedic word *naicāśākhá* in connection with the interesting extracts which he gives from the Pali *Jātaka* book seems open to objection on several grounds; we may call attention to the following:—

(1) Hillebrandt's ingenious suggestion (the basis of Professor Charpentier's interpretation) that **nīcāśākha* might be a name of the *Nyagrodha*-tree was only a conjecture: nor is it specially plausible, since down-pointing *branches* are seen on other growths.

(2) That the *Nyagrodha*, which "is found in the Sub-Himalayan forests from Peshawar to Assam" (Watts, *Commercial Products*, p. 537), may have been known to the authors of Vedic hymns is quite credible; but it is not *proved* by the *Ṛg-Veda* verse i, 24, 7, which Professor Charpentier quotes (after Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, i, 113, and the *Vedic Index*).

(3) Considering the approving mention of the *Nyagrodha* in the two *Atharva-Veda* passages and the others cited in the *Vedic Index*, and the use of its wood for making vessels used in religious ceremonies, it is not likely that "a Nyagrodha man" could by itself mean "a performer of horrid rites in connection with a Nyagrodha-tree". According to Hillebrandt's citations (I², p. 246, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 31, 2, viii, 16, 2), the *Nyagrodha* was for the Kṣatriyas a symbol of lordship.

(4) If the meaning just stated attached to the word *naicāśākhá* as a synonym for *naiyagrodha*, which latter occurs several times in the Vedic literature (see B. and R.), we should expect to find the same in connection with *naiyagrodha* itself, which is not the case. It is *conceivable* that *naicāśākhá* has some indirect connection with the term *nīcā-vayas*, which in *Ṛv.* i, 32, 9, is applied to the mother of *Vṛtra*, and may here denote *vṛtra* (without the capital letter).—F. W. T.]

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To *Ṛv.* i, 24, 7, I would add ii, 35, 8, as making a very probable reference to the banyan-tree. The verse is :—

Yó apsú á śúcinā dáiviena
ṛtávājasra urviyá vibhâti |
vayá íd anyá bhúvanāni asya
prá jāyante vīrúdhaś ca prajâbhiḥ ||

All creatures and plants are here described as shooting out from Apāṁ Napāt as his branches and multiplying in progeny, and it is very likely that the poet thinks of the banyan whose *quot rami* are *tot arbores*. As regards the *aśvattha* of *Kaṭhopaniṣad* vi, 1, and *Bhagavad-gītā* xv, 1, I believe there is no confusion with, or substitution for, the *nyagrodha*. It is a cosmic tree and, like cosmic trees in the mythologies of other races, of wondrous nature ; its roots are above—in heaven—and the branches below—covering our world. This eternal *aśvattha* has a certain family connection with the evergreen ash Yggdrasil of Scandinavian mythology, " the tree of the universe, of time, or of life, which filled all the world, taking root not only in the remotest depths of Nifl-heim, where bubbled the spring Hvergelmir, but also in Midgard, near Mimir's well (the ocean), and in Asgard, near the Urdar fountain " (Guerber, *Myths of the Norsemen*, pp. 12–13).

That the hymn iii, 53 is rather obscure is quite true. But much of the difficulty disappears when we recognize that we have actually more than one hymn here. Verses 1–8 form a distinct Indra hymn of the ordinary type and 9–24 an *itihāsa* hymn about Viśvāmitra, the Bharatas, and Vasiṣṭha. Professor Charpentier did not want to bother himself about the details of the hymn, since he was concerned with only one word in it, viz. *Naicāśākhá*. But, perhaps, its context may tell us a tale about its exact connotation which differs from the one the Jātaka passages tell us. Some time after the famous Dāśarājña battle, in which Sudās, king of the Bharatas, successfully fought with a league of ten kings on the Rāvī, with a Vasiṣṭha as his priest and adviser, he seems to have turned to Viśvāmitra. This led to a quarrel between the

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Vasiṣṭhas and the Kuśikas. A tradition recorded in the *Bṛhad-devatā* iv, 112–8, asserts that Vasiṣṭha tried to overwhelm Viśvāmitra by magic, but Jamadagni came to the latter's rescue. This seems to be plainly corroborated by verses 15 and 16 of our hymn. It is possible that the jealousy of the former priests, the Vasiṣṭhas, led Viśvāmitra to induce Sudās to leave the land and march to the south or south-east and settle in a new land. That the family priest (*purohita*) of the Vedic age played a prominent part in the leading of colonizing expeditions is made plain by passages like *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* i, 4, 1. The party of Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas seems to have come to the Beas and the Sutlej in the course of their wanderings, and iii, 33 refers to the fording of the two rivers. This seems to be alluded to in iii, 53, 9. In iii, 33, 11 and 12, the Bharatas are described as out on a cattle raid (*gavyan* and *gavyavaḥ*), that is, out for conquest, because the cow was the chief wealth in those days and the chief object of attack; cf. the attack on Virāṭa's cow-stall by the Kauravas in the *Mbh.* *Ṛv.* iii, 53, 17 ff., make reference to the chariots and waggons with their parts and the animals of draught required for the expedition.[1]

In the light of all this it seems plain that verse 14 means that Viśvāmitra wanted to settle with his Bharatas in the land of the Kíkaṭas. Who the Kíkaṭas were we do not know, but they must certainly have been non-Aryans. It is possible that they were the same people as the Magadhas, of course, prior to their settlement in what was later the Magadha country. Tribes migrated from place to place and gave their own names to the lands in which they settled. It is very likely that Naicāśākhá of line *d*, and Prámaganda of *c*, are identical with the Kíkaṭas. Why Viśvāmitra wanted to conquer the Kíkaṭas was not because they were "averse

[1] For some of the views advanced above about Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas see my "Identification of the Ṛgvedic River Sárasvatī and some Connected Problems", pts. iii and iv (*Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, vol. xv).

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to the ritual use of milk", but because he wanted to possess their cows. The Kíkaṭas did not follow the Aryan religion and they could not, therefore, be expected to offer milk to Indra in the Vedic ritual or even to know anything of this ritual. That their cows served no purpose of Indra is cleverly urged before him as a reason why he should transfer the possession of their cows to the Aryan plunderers, who would devoutly allow the god to share in their spoils. There is thus no genuine righteous indignation in *a* and *b* against the Kíkaṭas for what they did or did not do. Similarly, there seems to be no trace of religious abhorrence about the *naicāśākhá* creed in *d*.

The Aryans in that age could not, of course, follow or appreciate worship of trees [1]; but what ground is there for believing that the bloody sacrifices before banyan-trees referred to in the Jātakas were practised by the Kíkaṭas of *Ṛv.* iii, 53, 14, or that they repelled Viśvāmitra? The Ṛgvedic Aryan was not made of the same stuff as the holy Buddha, who could not even see an animal killed for sacrifice.

K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya.

ESA MUNJAM PARIHARE

Considerable learning has been spent upon the interpretation of this simple expression in *Sutta-nipāta* iii, 2, 16, the latest writer on the subject being Dr. Otto Schrader in *JRAS.* 1930, pp. 107–9. Context should always be our best help in text interpretation, and the context in the present case shows that Gautama makes a grim determination to fight Māra till he wins or dies, as befits a Kṣatriya. The simple meaning of *esa muñjaṁ parihare* seems to be, "Here I gird up my loins." It is true that the *muñja* grass is very sacred

[1] That various Indo-European tribes have been known to worship trees or tree-spirits proves nothing for primitive I.-E. times or even for the Indo-Aryans of the Ṛgvedic times. These cults seem to have been borrowed from various non-Aryan peoples in the course of their later wanderings. The Scandinavians even learnt the terrible sacrificing of human beings on trees for Odin (see Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin*, pp. 14–20), which Charpentier thinks repelled the author of *Ṛv.* iii, 53, 14.

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and is used in *vratas*. But Schrader's *vratam badhnāmi* will not do here, because *vrata* has more to do with the restrictions which a performer of some religious rites has to observe than with any vow or oath he has to take. Consequently "I gird up my loins" seems more natural. As an ascetic, Gautama had only the sacred *muñja* belt with him, and he can naturally be expected to say that he would tie this tight round his waist, meaning that he would use utmost vigour in his spiritual fight. That belts were and are used by ascetics in India to symbolize their spiritually strung-up condition seems very likely. And *muñja* was chosen as the material on account of its sanctity. Hindus who do their *japa*, etc., seated on *kuśa* mattresses, or perform religious ceremonies with *kuśa* rings on their fingers know how the material helps them to obtain mental concentration. I would not attach to *muñjam* in our passage the significance of magical property, as Oldenberg does, and I would take the whole expression as meaning simply *eṣo 'ham parikaram badhnāmi*, cf. *Veṇī-saṁhāra*, ed. K. N. Dravid, Act vi: Yudhiṣṭhira- . . . *bāhuyuddhenaiva durātmānam gāḍham āliṅgya jvalanam abhipātayāmi* (*iti parikaram badhnāti*). During *upanayana* the neophyte puts on the *muñja* belt, taking it thrice round his waist, and reads these two *mantras*, according to the *Gobhila-Gṛhya-Sūtra* (ii, 10, 37):—

iyam duruktāt paribādhamānā varṇam pavitram punatī ma āgāt |
prāṇāpānābhyām balam āharantī svasā devī subhagā mekhaleyam ||
ṛtasya goptrī tapasaḥ parasvī gṛhṇatī rakṣaḥ sahamānā arātīḥ |
sā mā samantam abhiparyehi bhadre dhartāras te mekhale mā riṣāma ||

(*Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* i, 6, 27–8)

which praise *mekhalā* as such and make no particular reference to the *muñja*. It should be noted that the second verse speaks of the strength which the *mekhalā* gives to its wearer.

K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya.

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THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

6th Session

BULLETIN No. 1

In accordance with the decision arrived at the fifth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Lahore in November, 1928, the sixth session of the Conference will be held at Patna, from the 17th to the 20th December, 1930. A Reception Committee has been formed under the chairmanship of Sir Sultan Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University.

His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, has kindly consented to be the Patron and to open the Conference on the 17th December.

The objects of the Conference are :—

(*a*) To bring together Orientalists in order to take stock of various activities of Oriental Scholars in and outside India.

(*b*) To facilitate co-operation in Oriental Studies and Research.

(*c*) To afford opportunities to scholars to give expression to their views on their respective subjects and to point out the difficulties experienced in the pursuit of their special branches of study.

(*d*) To promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental scholars.

(*e*) To encourage traditional learning.

The Conference will be divided into the following sections :—

(1) Vedic ; (2) Classical ; (3) Philology ; (4) Arabic and Persian ; (5) Anthropology, Mythology, and Religion ; (6) History and Archæology ; (7) Fine Arts ; (8) Hindi ; (9) Urdu ; (10) Oriya.

Each section will have its own president and secretary. The languages recognized for use at the meetings will ordinarily be English, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hindi,

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Urdu, and Oriya. For the use of any other language permission must be obtained from the President.

A provisional programme is being framed for the Conference. Besides the reading and discussion of papers, there will be a Classical Indian Musical Soirée Mushaira, a performance of the Mudrārākṣasa. Visits to the local Museum, Khudabux Library, and Manuk Collection, and also excursions to Nālanda and Rajgir will be organized.

The fee qualifying for membership is Rs. 5. Members are entitled to a copy of the published proceedings. The fee should be sent to the Treasurer, Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A., Principal, B.N. College, Patna.

The Reception Committee now desires by this Bulletin to offer a cordial invitation to all interested in Oriental learning to join the Conference and to give it their support, and also invite members to contribute papers. It is requested that the papers with short summaries be sent so as to reach the Secretary not later than the 15th October, 1930.

All inquiries and correspondence should be addressed to Professor Hari Chand Śāstri, D.Litt., I.E.S., Secretary, Reception Committee of All-India Oriental Conference, Patna.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE EPIC OF GILGAMISH. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. 15 × 10, pp. 92, 59 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. 50*s*.

As the Gilgamish Epic (to use its modern name) is beyond doubt the most important surviving work of Babylonian literature, so is that version of it by far the most extensive and complete which was written for the great Nineveh library, and now exists as a large number of fragments in the British Museum. Indeed, as a connected work, the Epic depends entirely upon this, for all else put together would give but a few obscure incidents and no notion of the story whatever. The more strange is it that students of this poem have been so long content to leave its text in a very unsatisfactory condition, available at best in the accurate, but confused, and confusing, copies of Haupt's *Babylonische Nimrodepos*. The fact is probably that the Epic has suffered from the very excellencies of Jensen's translation, which seems to have created a general supposition that there was nothing more to do, and this persuasion has been proof against the subsequent discoveries of the remains of older and foreign versions of the story, which might have been expected to redirect attention to the basic text.

The main purpose of the volume here under review is to remove this reproach of many years, and to provide a complete and continuous text of the Assyrian version of the Epic, so far as it has been preserved. Thus it is at last possible to read, in Dr. Campbell Thompson's admirably copied plates, straightforward in the poem without casting about over many scattered fragments. The work of the editor has been severe, for while presenting a composite text, he has quoted all significant variants in footnotes, and has evidently collated every fragment with great care. But even more valuable than the establishment of a continuous and accurate text is

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the result that a new examination of the tablets has led to a considerable re-arrangement of the episodes; in several cases an order which has been hitherto received without question is seen to be impossible. By these changes the poem has undoubtedly gained much in point and logic, as could be seen from the author's translation which appeared separately in 1928. Further, for the purpose of this edition Dr. Thompson has examined all the fragments in the British Museum which seemed to contain mythological texts, and out of these he has been successful in making more than a dozen "joins" and finding several new duplicates. It is probably safe to assume that, until the appearance of fresh evidence, the text is now as complete, accurate, and well-ordered as it can be made.

The plates are preceded by a short introduction and full transcription of the cuneiform; the translation had already appeared, as noted above, and is not repeated here, an arrangement more convenient, indeed, to general readers than to scholars, though there is no need to describe it as a hardship. We can only so much the more admire the liberality of the Clarendon Press which has produced a very handsome and dignified volume without the one element which might have ensured it a wider circulation. The transliteration does not coincide in all respects with the cuneiform texts, since it includes also the Old Babylonian fragments, which the author has not re-edited, just as his translation took account also of the Hittite and Hurrian fragments, which in their turn do not figure in his transliteration. There is thus a progressive diminution from the translation to the actual text presented. So far as this is due to a feeling of inability to deal with the non-Semitic languages the limitation is logical, but it is rather unfortunate that the Old Babylonian originals could not be collated, since their transliteration is included, and particularly since earlier editors have flatly contradicted each other over the readings of the Philadelphia tablet. An independent collation is clearly a necessity here.

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In the introduction is given a short account of the discovery of the Epic, the development of its text, a survey of the actual tablets which constitute it, an enumeration of the principal episodes, and some discussion of the figures of Gilgamish and Enkidu. Here a few comments may be in place. The author nowhere uses the extant Sumerian fragments, but he omits to say that two more are published, and others mentioned, by Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, Nos. 38, 39. Azag-Ai (p. 6) is, of course, incorrect, as is *KI.EL* (p. 9), and such a transcription as *DAN.GA* really ought not to appear now. It seems an excess of caution to write *EN.KI.DU* throughout. The figure of the Babylonian hero wrestling with lions has no authentic claim to be Gilgamish; he is certainly one of the magical contenders against demons, whatever his name.

The notes contain several valuable discussions, especially p. 74 (on the goddess Išḫara), p. 80 (*elmešu*), p. 87 (the baking of provisions for Gilgamish), but Dr. Thompson still can make little of the familiar puzzles of *ŠU.UT.TAK.MEŠ* and *kukku*. His translation of the new fragment 34916, at the beginning of the poem, is not altogether happy. The passage is full of building terms, some of them familiar in the literature; *sametu* is almost certainly not "base" of a wall, it is rather to be sought near the top, the word being associated with *nibiḫu* "frieze", and seeming to denote some kind of projection. *ṣabatma askuppati* should probably be "repaired the dado", and, if *temennu ḫiṭ* cannot here have its usual meaning of "inspected the foundation-tablet", at least there is no reason either in fact or grammar, for making *iddû* in the last line (and in Tablet xi, 305) a noun, "bitumen", which would not in any case form the foundation of a wall. It is much more probably a verb, "they had not laid (its foundation)", as indeed it has been understood hitherto.

C. J. G.

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THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF SUMER AND AKKAD. By GEORGE A. BARTON. (Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions, vol. i.) $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 406. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Milford, 1929. 28*s*.

The new projected Yale series of translations begins fittingly, even if a little unsuitably to its general title, with the earliest (and therefore mainly Sumerian) inscriptions of Mesopotamian rulers. These are here collected, arranged as far as possible in chronological order, transliterated on the left-hand pages and translated on the right, the whole preceded by a short introduction. There are also three appendixes, the first presenting the Sumerian kingdom-lists, the second a quantity of relevant material which first appeared while this book was in the press, the third miscellaneous items accidentally omitted from the main text. Both in its subject and in its arrangement, therefore, this work proclaims itself a new, revised, and expanded version of Thureau-Dangin's invaluable *Königsinschriften*, which has been the stand-by of historians and Sumerian philologists for more than twenty years. Nothing could be more welcome than such a bringing up to date of a standard work, now slightly antiquated by the advance of knowledge, but much more by the accumulation of new material, and for many years a new edition has been sorely needed. It would be a pleasure to report that Professor Barton has supplied this need; and indeed, it is certain that his book will be of use as a guide to many new texts that have appeared in diverse publications. But it is unfortunately marred by so many defects that it can never be seriously adopted as a new *Königsinschriften*, nor even be used as an English version of the old.

To substantiate this unfavourable judgment fully would far outpass the limits of a review, and therefore comment must confine itself mostly to generalities. First, the most obvious virtue of a collection like this is that it should be complete, and this book is not. On the first page there are two omissions, the seal of Mes-anni-padda's wife and another

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inscription of A-anni-padda ; the former does not appear in Appendix II, where at least it would have been found. That Appendix also passes deliberately (one must suppose) over the Naram-Sin texts in the volume to which it is devoted ; yet they are of great interest. Similarly, some inscriptions of early Lagash in the first part of *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* are neglected, so is the inscribed hammer-head of the last king of Agade, certain Gudea and Ur-Ningirsu statues, and the Akkadian cone of Lipit-Ishtar ; other texts which have been restored by later discoveries still appear in their mutilated form, and the date-formulæ, which have now considerably increased, are not here at all. Where such obvious gaps exist, there is little doubt that a more careful search would find others. Such deficiencies certainly suggest an imperfect acquaintance with recent literature, and there are other indications of this in such transcriptions as *azag*, *ur-sag lig-ga*, *giš-tug-pi-ni*, and Sharganisharri ; indeed, the author does not seem to have consulted either Deimel's *Grammatik* or any of Poebel's recent work. In general, too, he uses far too few question-marks, or other indications that a name or a reading are conventional ; the earliest inscriptions, like that of Enhegal, are not fully intelligible, and it seems useless to offer a formal translation of them. Too often this desire to give the sense of everything betrays Professor Barton into such oddities as " the canal ' Meadow-(recognized-as-holy)-from-the-great-dagger ' ", and (p. 75) " ' (To)-Ningirsu-by-Urukagina-like-the-divine-black-storm-bird-the-wall-facing-built ' is its name ". Inconsistencies are too commonly found, e.g. pp. 48, 49, *súb ḫe-na-su-gál*, translated " prayer he offered up ", and pp. 52, 53 (end of 7) *šúb ḫe-na-šu-gál*, translated " may prayers ascend " ; also p. 35, vi, 17, *nim saḫ*^{ki} " the exalted one, who Sakh etc." contrasted with p. 39 (first line) " Elam and Shakh "—this apart from the fact that " Shakh " should be Subartu ; p. 74 (beginning) *bur-sag ê sá-dúg-an-na* " the lofty bowl, the house of approach to heaven ", but p. 78, Cones B and C ii *bur-sag ê sá-dug-ka-ni*

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"the great bowl their abiding dwelling"; p. 51, No. 3 "his god is Dunmush" (there is no warrant for *-mush*), Nos. 4 and 5 "his goddess is D."; and among transcriptions one must protest against p. 60, end of No. 15, *LID-ŠÀG* for *LID* + *ŠÀG*, p. 71, vi, 13 *ᵈIM-MI-ḪU*, and the really absurd alleged name "Baniarlagan". It must be repeated that most of these criticisms are concerned with generalities; as for details it will suffice to say that almost every page of this book would give rise to discussion of some half-a-dozen points, in many of which difference from Professor Barton's renderings could not justly be called a difference of opinion only. Sometimes the author adopts uncritically the rendering which he finds given by a first editor of the text, even when it has been proved erroneous by later research, but still more often he seems to depart deliberately from the version of Thureau-Dangin, when it is not merely unnecessary, but when the substitute provided is far from an improvement whether of the grammar or the meaning. With genuine regret for a lost opportunity it must be owned that this book does not fulfil the hopes that its title inspires.

C. J. G.

PENTATEUCH WITH TARGUM ONKELOS, HAPHTOROTH AND PRAYERS FOR SABBATH AND RABBI'S COMMENTARY, translated into English and annotated by Rev. M. ROSENBAUM and Dr. A. M. SILBERMANN in collaboration with A. BLASHKI and L. JOSEPH. Genesis. 8vo, pp. 281 + 61. London: Shapiro, Vallentine & Co., 1929. 8*s*. 6*d*.

A new edition has just appeared of the first book of the Pentateuch which deserves the special attention of all those interested in biblical studies. It follows upon the heels of another publication of a similar kind, but it differs from it completely from beginning to end. It would serve no purpose, however, to enter upon any comparisons, as there is not the

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slightest point of resemblance between them. The authors of this new edition neither indulge in vague speculations on critical problems nor present haphazard statements culled from the most diverse sources. They do not pretend to offer a book of a homiletic or exegetical character which can only confuse the readers by a variety of notions and by antiquated attacks on higher criticism. They leave all polymics aside and they concentrate on the work which lies before them, of which they speak with befitting modesty like true scholars. What they offer us is thus far the most valuable book which leads those who are using it into that atmosphere of traditional interpretation of the Bible which is specifically Jewish. There is no admixture of any influence from without.

We have here in a succinct form a text with a translation and a commentary which are the best representatives of Jewish tradition. In the first place they give us a Hebrew text taken from plates of an edition of 1864, in which the letters stand out boldly, all the vowels and accents are clearly seen and all very symmetrically and beautifully set up. The English translation which accompanies it is taken from that prepared by Dr. Benisch in the middle of the last century. A great Jewish scholar, he was able to render into beautiful English the Hebrew text in such a manner as only a Jewish scholar could do who was fully conversant with the Hebrew language and with the spirit of the Bible. There is here, furthermore, the Aramaic translation ascribed to Onkelos, called the Targum. Onkelos had been brought into some connection with Aquila, a pupil of Rabbi Akiba; fragments of his Greek translation are still found in the Hexapla. He followed the text so slavishly as to translate even the particles ignoring entirely the spirit of Greek grammar. That Targum is the oldest translation of the Hebrew text into the Aramaic language of the people and was held in the highest repute by the scholars and sages.

The greatest merit of this edition lies in the commentary of Rashi, which they have added to this publication. It is

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the most famous commentary which enjoyed the greatest popularity among the Jews from the time it was first written by Rashi, about 1070 or 1080, in Troyes. Of all the commentaries of the Talmud and the Bible none has been held, and it is held still, in such high esteem. Rashi—these being the initial letters of his real name: Ra (*bi*), Sh (*elnwh*), I (*tzhaki*)—who lived in Troyes, in France, in the eleventh century, most skilfully blended in his commentary the two sides of the ancient Midrash, the legal and the legendary. All the most important legendary elements which contributed towards the elucidation of the Bible are here succinctly introduced into his commentary and all the legal interpretations of the text evolved in the course of ages constituting the Oral Law is faithfully connected with the passages and verses in the text whenever it can be done skilfully and briefly. Rashi also had not ignored the grammatical side, philological difficulties which the text offer are carefully treated and on sundry occasions Rashi does not hesitate to translate some of the difficult words into the French vernacular. His glosses are perhaps the oldest monuments of the French language of the eleventh century and over all is spread such a spirit of homeliness which has made this commentary indispensable to the Jews throughout the ages. No one dreamt of studying the Law without the commentary of Rashi, and to this very day that practice prevails.

In order to differentiate the commentary from the text it was written and then printed in a special cursive type and without vowels. In order to facilitate, however, the reading of it the authors of this edition have wisely changed that type for the square one, and, moreover, they have carefully punctuated the text. No skilful preparation is now needed to be able to read the commentary, but even then it might have remained a closed book were it not for an excellent English translation which has now been given here also for the first time. It was not an easy task to translate a mediaeval writer with his rabbinic vocabulary and syntax into a modern language

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and to make it easily understood by any reader who is not familiar with the original Hebrew.

The authors have now succeeded in this task. They have given us not only an excellent rendering but also a faithful one, a merit which cannot be too highly appraised. Some of the difficulties which the text present are then briefly explained in an appendix at the end of the volume, which concludes with the lessons from the Prophets and the prayers for the Sabbath day.

The book will prove of invaluable service not only to those who wish to use it in their religious service but to anyone who wishes to have at last a clear insight into the most famous Jewish interpretation of the Bible which has been, and has remained, a standard one to this day. One can only conclude with the wish that the remaining four volumes should be published as quickly as possible with the same accuracy and care. One must also add that the book is beautifully printed and a credit to all connected with it.

M. GASTER.

RECUEIL DE TEXTES INÉDITS CONCERNANT L'HISTOIRE DE LA MYSTIQUE EN PAYS D'ISLAM RÉUNIS, CLASSÉS, ANNOTÉS ET PUBLIÉS. Par LOUIS MASSIGNON. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. vii + 259. Paris : Geuthner et Cie, 1929.

M. Massignon may safely be considered the foremost European authority on Mohammedan mysticism. He not only published in 1913, al Ḥallāj's *Kitāb al-Tawāsīn*, but has since steadily pursued his studies on Ṣūfic literature. As the latest fruit of his labours he is now offering a volume of extracts from the works of a large number of authors directly or indirectly connected with Ṣūfism. The book is divided into four sections, of which the first three are devoted to writers in chronological order, while the last gives excerpts from the writings of prominent theologians, philosophers, and literateurs. It begins with a number of quotations from

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the writings of the famous Ḥasan of Baṣra, who flourished at the beginning of the eighth century and exercised a powerful influence on the development of Moslem theology. These are followed by extracts from about seventy authors, among whom are many renowned names, such as Ḏul Nūn Miṣri, Moḥāsibī, whose fragments fill several pages, Ṭirmi i, Tostari, Junéid and his disciple, Makki, whose writings are unfortunately lost, and Ibn Aṫā, the friend of Ḥallāj. To the last-named, naturally, a goodly space is devoted, and it should be noted that his fame was so great that he enjoyed a certain amount of popularity even among Jews. We further notice the learned Ibn Aqīl and a list of Ghāzāli's writings. The third section opens with the famous philosopher and mystic, Sohrawardi of Aleppo, a further publication of whose works is justly recommended. The article on Shustari, who died in 1269, is marked by a number of *muwashshaḥs*, which became very popular in mediaeval Hebrew poetry, especially in Yemen. Persian Sūfis are represented by Jalāl Rūmi who died in 1273, and another. The reader also meets with writers in Turkish and Urdū. The section ends with extracts from Senūsi, the founder of the militant sect that bears his name, and whose savage revolts are within the memory of the present generation. The fourth section gives a survey of philosophers accompanied by quotations from their writings as far as they touch mysticism. It naturally begins with Al Kindi, "the Philosopher of the Arabs," and in some way supplements the list of his writings given in Flügel's essay published in Leipzig, 1857. This section ends with Rāghib Pasha, who died in 1763. This is followed by a list of prominent theologians and *Adab* writers. The texts are carefully edited. The book adds immensely to our present knowledge of Arab literature in various branches, and is a decided inducement to deal more fully with many authors mentioned.

H. Hirschfeld.

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QUELQUES INFLUENCES ISLAMIQUES SUR LES ARTS DE L'EUROPE. Par MADAME R. DEVONSHIRE. 10 × 13, pp. 16, 81 photographic illustrations. Cairo, 1929.

This book is based upon a communication made by the author in 1928 to the Seventeenth Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, which she has expanded and remodelled and turned from English into French. Features which are so common in Islamic art as to be regarded as characteristic appear not infrequently in the art of the West, owing generally, if not always, to borrowing from Islam. Such occurrences in individual branches of art have often been noted separately and commented on, but Mrs. Devonshire seems to be the first to look at them in an all-round way. She brings forward examples of European work bearing the stamp of the Islamic style in each of the principal departments of decorative art and in architecture, points out the Islamic connections, and gives much useful information about Islamic art and its relations with Europe.

Most of the examples are reproduced in the illustrations, with Islamic parallels by their side, so that the association with the East can be seen easily. Among them there are textiles, pottery, metal work and glass made in Italy, churches in the South of France, and in the part of Spain that was never under Muhammadan domination, besides buildings and other objects belonging to the rest of Spain and to Sicily. The specimens of decorative art generally fall between the fourteenth and sixteenth century, but Mrs. Devonshire refers to the frequent adoption of Islamic designs by European weavers as early as the twelfth century and to the manufacture of carpets in the Oriental style begun first in France in the seventeenth century. Some of the examples of buildings are as old as the tenth century. It is shown that Islamic art products, particularly textiles, pottery, and carpets, were well known to Europe in general during the Middle Ages. Accordingly it is easy to understand how it was that their designs were imitated in European workshops, and sometimes

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the articles themselves were copied. Some of the things were reproduced by Oriental workmen in European towns, members of colonies, several of which are enumerated. In Sicily and in Spain, moreover, Oriental workmen remained when Islam receded, whence the Islamic features in Sicilian art and architecture of the Norman period and the combination of Christian and Islamic elements in the forms of Spanish art and architecture known as *mudejar*.

Architectural affinities with Islam in countries that were never under Muhammadan domination offer a difficult problem. Mrs. Devonshire does not attempt to determine how they arose, but she observes that certain architectural features that have become identified with Islam by frequent use—the horseshoe arch, for instance—are not Islamic inventions. The same remark applies to some typical traits of other branches of Islamic art. Mrs. Devonshire, in pointing them out, abstains deliberately from inquiring into their origins.

The book is adapted to the general reader, and any one who has no particular acquaintance with Islamic matters will find in it much light on Muhammadan decorative art and architecture in general, and on associations between Christian countries on the Mediterranean and the East. The specialist will find it useful, too, for it brings together a considerable number of facts, some of which come from out of the way sources where they are liable to escape notice. Mrs. Devonshire gives references, though some of the references are general, as her treatise was not intended originally for publication. One would like to see the book republished in a form more worthy of its merits.

A. Rhuvon Guest.

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LES FAÏENCES A REFLETS MÉTALLIQUES DE LA GRANDE MOSQUÉE DE KAIROUAN. Par GEORGES MARÇAIS. 13 × 9½, pp. 41, xxvi full page plates, two of them in colour. Paris : Geuthner, 1928.

The lustre tiles dealt with here belong to the ninth century. For a long time it has been believed that some of them had been brought from Baghdad to Qairawân, and the rest manufactured on the spot by a man from Baghdad. The fact had been questioned, however, because it appeared to rest on a late tradition. Monsieur Marçais now shows that the text which is the authority is taken from an original dating from within about 150 years of the work of setting up the tiles to adorn the *miḥrâb*.

With regard to the text, it should be noticed that it does *not* say that the tiles were brought from Baghdad. The translation given is :—

" [l'émir] fit le miḥrâb. On importa pour lui ces précieux panneaux de faïence pour une salle de réception qu'il voulait construire, et [aussi] de Baghdad des poutres de bois de teck afin qu'on en fabriquât pour lui des luths. Il en fit le mimbar destiné a la Grandi Mosquée,"

but the literal translation of the first part of the second sentence in the same wording would be :—

" On importa pour lui ces précieux panneaux de faïence pour une salle de réception qu'il voulait construire et *on importa pour lui* de Baghdad des poutres. . . ."

The verb is repeated in the Arabic, and there seems to be nothing in the passage to justify the [aussi], indeed, as it stands, the wording rather suggests that the tiles did not come from Baghdad but from somewhere else. Teak, by the way, seems to be a curious wood to use for lutes, and possibly the correct meaning of the last part of the passage may be " teak timber to be made for him into pieces, out of which he made the mimbar of the Great Mosque ", *'îdân* being used for the more familiar *a'wâd* of the *mimbar*. The Arabic, anyhow, is obscure and ungrammatical, and it is strange to

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find رجل بغداد written by an Arab writer to mean un homme de Baghdad. This man of Baghdad "made for him (the Amîr) tiles which he added to the precious tiles first referred to", nothing being said about the man except that he made the tiles, so that their manufacture at Qairawân is merely a probable conjecture.

There are 139 tiles and a few fragments. Excellent photographs of all or nearly all of them are given, together with full particulars of their arrangement on the *miḥrâb*, their colour and tone, and a clear and able analysis of their ornament, also two sketches comparing some of the ornamental details with fragments of sculpture from Sâmarrâ, which must be of about the same date. In an appendix there is a description of ceramic fragments found at the site of 'Abbâsîya, a place about two and a half miles from Qairawân, which date from the ninth and tenth centuries.

The tiles are of two distinct sorts: monochrome and polychrome, and it is natural to imagine that the latter, which are the more elegant, were the precious imported tiles, and the monochromes were made at Qairawân by the man of Baghdad. The beauty of the polychrome series is brought out by the coloured illustrations showing two of the tiles. In spite of the distinct difference in style between the monochrome and polychrome tiles, there are resemblances showing an evident connection between them. The ornament in both cases is either geometrical or floral. Monsieur Marçais calls attention to similarities with ornament from pottery of Sâmarrâ, Sûsa, and one or two other places, and to a certain relationship with Sâmarrâ sculpture. The 'Abbâsîya fragments also are compared with Mesopotamian pottery, and shown to have analogies with it.

Most people will probably be convinced that the tiles of the Great Mosque of Qairawân are rightly attributed to Mesopotamia, and the 'Abbasîya fragments are an evidence of the way in which the Islamic pottery of North Africa started from Persian or Mesopotamian origins. Whatever

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conclusions they may come to on such questions, all will appreciate the service done by Monsieur Marçais in describing the tiles so completely and discussing them so thoroughly.

A. RHUVON GUEST.

PENDENTIFS TROMPES ET STALACTITES DANS L'ARCHITECTURE ORIENTALE. Par J. ROSINTAL. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 106, avec 10 planches hors texte. Paris : Geuthner, 1928.

Rather more than half the book is devoted to the pendentives and the other devices for carrying a dome included under the general designation of trompes, but they are studied chiefly for the sake of the stalactites which are the principal subject. The text is fully illustrated by means of plans, drawings, and views of buildings and architectural details taken from various other authors, and by explanatory diagrams, sketches, and constructional drawings of stalactites produced by Mr. Rosintal himself. It includes a brief historical sketch and a full bibliography.

The author traces the development of the Byzantine apse and pendentive in outline, but treats the Persian dome niche and the contrivance which he calls the Turkish triangle more fully, because he has not found any treatise with regard to them that he considers satisfactory. This part of the book contains numerous references to other works, and provides a serviceable guide to the history of the dome, although some of the drawings and sketches are rather slight and structural details are not always shown as clearly as could be wished.

Mr. Rosintal tells us that his geometrical drawings of stalactites, both on pendentives and on dome niches, agree exactly with some actual examples named by him. The various methods of constructing stalactites which he indicates look as if they were practicable and must have been the ones employed. It would seem, therefore, that he has made good his claim to have solved the problem of the construction and execution of stalactites.

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In the course of the book a number of controversial questions arise. Among them are the origin of the stalactites, that of the Byzantine apse, and the Turkish triangle. While Mr. Rosintal endorses the view that the stalactites are derived from the dome niche, he disagrees entirely with those who hold that they were originally constructional. He looks on the Byzantine apse as derived from the Persian dome niche, and the Turkish triangle as an independent invention. Where he differs from others whose opinions are entitled at least to respect, it is a pity that he does not adopt a somewhat more moderate and less dogmatic tone. His own work does not seem to be beyond criticism. He states that the earliest attempts at pendentives are to be found in central Syria, but the details he gives certainly seem to suggest that the beginnings may be looked for in Rome. He tells us that "dans les premiers temps les Byzantins ont employé la pern de la trompe perse sans aucune modification", but he does not give any example of their having done so. His work throughout is based on architectural considerations solely, and one feels that some regard should be had to the well-known facts of history bearing on relations between Byzantine and Sasanian architecture before pronouncing on such a question as the connection between the Persian dome niche and the Byzantine apse.

A. Rhuvon Guest.

Bihzād and his Paintings in the Zafar-nāmah MS. By Sir Thomas W. Arnold, C.I.E., F.B.A., Litt.D. pp. 20, 14 plates. Quaritch. £2 2*s*.

The Zafar-nāmah is a biography of Tīmūr, and the particular MS. with which this book is concerned is dated A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467). It contains six splendid miniatures, each occupying two pages, illustrating scenes of war and peace. It was formerly, as annotations by the Mughal Emperors show, a greatly prized item in the Imperial Library of India. Sir Thomas Arnold and Mr. Robert Garrett, the present

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owner of the manuscript, deserve the gratitude of all lovers of Persian painting for the publication of this important and beautiful monograph. Its main importance consists in the fact that, if we accept Sir Thomas Arnold's cogent reasoning, we have in the miniatures, here reproduced for the first time in colour, genuine examples of the work of the greatest and most elusive of all Islamic painters. The problem of Bihzād is the central problem of Persian painting, not only because of his undisputed pre-eminence, but because of the lack of evidence as to what pictures he painted; and its difficulties are such that there is no single existing painting which is universally admitted to be by his hand. The Zafar-nāmah MS. contains the testimony of Jahāngīr—no contemptible witness—in an autograph note alleging that Bihzād painted these miniatures, and there are reasons to believe that Jahāngīr was repeating the judgment of an earlier generation, which was separated by only a few decades from the life of the master-painter.

The manuscript has been known to scholars for a good many years, but the case for the authenticity of the miniatures has never previously been stated in full, and the chronological data have never been so clearly presented as now, by Sir Thomas Arnold. The chief argument against him is the date of the MS. If the miniatures are as early as this, Bihzād must either have painted them in his childhood or have lived and worked for nearly as long as Titian. But there are, as Sir Thomas Arnold shows, many precedents for miniatures being much later in date than the manuscripts in which they have been inserted, and in this case there are positive indications that they actually were later. It is hard, in fact, to deny that "these miniatures provide a reliable starting point for the much-needed determination of the characteristics of Bihzād's style"; though the caution is necessary that the paintings have suffered some damage, and bear traces of restoration, probably in India.

The page containing Jahāngīr's note, and one by Shāh

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Jahān, written on the date of his accession, together with an example, attested by Jahāngīr, of the "illiterate" Akbar's writing, is reproduced, as is the colophon page, and an illuminated page of the text. The coloured illustrations, by Messrs. Waterlow, are admirable, and go a long way towards duplicating the quality of their originals.

J. V. S. W.

THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS 'IND. A Survey of Indian Culture and Civilization (from the earliest times to the death of Emperor Aurangzeb). By K. T. SHAH, B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law, Professor of Economics, University of Bombay. Foreword by the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. 4to, pp. xxxv + 236. Bombay: Taraporevala Sons & Co. 1930. Rs. 30/-.

Professor Shah has undertaken an ambitious task in attempting, in a single volume, an account of India's history and culture through the ages. Lord Zetland gives him high praise for the manner in which he has carried out his purpose, and a perusal of his interestingly written chapters reveals him as a painstaking scholar with a gift for the selection of relevant details. He admits that it has not been his definite purpose "to lay bare the less agreeable aspects" of his subject, and one is sometimes conscious of the process of turning geese into swans. There are a few debatable assertions on archaeological and other matters, and the spelling of "'Ind" is paralleled by similar aberrations elsewhere. The book, nevertheless, has manifold merits; it is by no means a mere compendium of commonplaces, and it certainly succeeds in displaying, in a very attractive manner, the infinite variety of India's wonderful story.

There are over 300 illustrations, in colour and monochrome, not all of which are quite up to the book's generally high level of production. Aśoka's inscription (Fig. 102) is upside down.

J. V. S. W.

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MUSULMAN PAINTING, XIITH–XVIITH CENTURY. By. E. BLOCHET. Translated by CICELY M. BINYON, with an introduction by SIR DENISON ROSS. 7 × 10, pp. xii + 124, plates. London : Methuen. 1929.

M. Blochet's book consists essentially of two things. One is a very fine collection of plates, two hundred in number, representing all stages of Persian painting down to the eighteenth century, taken chiefly from the Bibliothèque Nationale. The other is a vigorous challenge to the accepted views on the origins and influence of oriental art in general. Rarely if ever can a scholar have ventured to publish a book written in such a continuous strain of violent criticism, never condescending to argument, qualification, and citation of sources, but simply enunciating his views with dogmatic finality. All art, except that of China and of ancient Egypt, is derived through various intermediate stages from the art of ancient Greece ; the Persians, both Achaemenian and Sassanian, were indebted for their monuments to Greek and Byzantine craftsmen ; Mesopotamian art is an awkward and clumsy adaptation of the masterpieces of the late Empire ; Scythian art is a myth : " there never was any Buddhist art, there was no art at all in the provinces of Turkestan ". The revival of Persian painting under the Mongols was due to the modification of Mesopotamian technique under the influence of the Italian primitives ; Chinese art exercised only at rare intervals a fleeting and evanescent influence on Persian painting. " The theory of the influence of the East on Western art is a fancy born from the combination of several errors, the essence of which is wilfully to attribute to Oriental monuments dates much earlier than those to which they really belong . . . with the intention of attributing to Oriental lands an importance in the development of civilization which is not theirs."

These are M. Blochet's theses on the main subject of his essay, and in order to strengthen them he formulates a number of general laws, thus : " At a given time, in the same country,

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the arts, sciences, and literature arrive at the same stage," or again : " If a monument in any one civilization reproduces, in inferior form, a type of monument which is found elsewhere, much later, and in a superior form, this is due to both being copies of a prototype, created by the second of these civilizations, and which in the course of years has disappeared." At the same time he has by no means confined himself to the subject of Persian painting and architecture. One of the most confusing features of the book, in fact, is the way in which the reader is suddenly plunged into matters which appear to have the remotest connection with these questions—Russian iconography, for example, or early Christian music, or the origins of the Altaic races (who, it appears, are Indo-Europeans on the maternal side), or the compilation of the Koran (" clearly not a single writer's work ").

It would not be difficult to pick holes, and sometimes very large ones, in all this mass of material. Such a statement, for example, as : " The cruciform plan of the mosque of Sultan Hasan at Cairo imitates the celebrated type of Byzantine technique, that of the Holy Apostles, of St. Mark at Venice before its restoration, of St. Front at Périgueux, of the Panthéon at Paris," made in wilful disregard (to adopt M. Blochet's own phraseology) of Captain Creswell's painstaking researches into the origin of the cruciform plan in Cairene madrasas, can only be explained as the outcome of a peculiarly obstinate *idée fixe*. All kinds of questions suggest themselves. Why is the marvellous technique of Persian carpets, so intimately associated with Persian painting, completely overlooked ? Are the oriental miniatures of the fourteenth century Genoese manuscript now in the British Museum no more than a casual freak ? But to prolong the list would be, after all, to do a grave injustice to M. Blochet. He has summed up with relentless sincerity the results of a life study, and if his book resembles a bombshell, nothing that is built on really solid foundations will suffer from the explosion. His criticisms will have to be met, and even if they

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do no more than lead to a searching re-examination of the material at the hands of those who are competent to do so, and a restatement on convincing grounds of the views which he attacks, he will have rendered by them a very great service to the study of Islamic art. Meanwhile his exposition, in the finished translation of Mrs. Binyon, stands as a monument of an amazing range of scholarship, and the pictures are a joy for ever.

H. A. R. GIBB.

POUR APPRENDRE L'ARABE, MANUEL DU DIALECTE VULGAIRE D'EGYPTE. By G. HUG and G. HABACHI. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. x + 136. Paris: Geuthner. 1928.

With a view to meeting the needs of French travellers and residents in Egypt, the authors have compiled this small and practical handbook. The arrangement is convenient: a summary of colloquial grammar is supplied, followed by classified vocabularies and specimen dialogues, and a selection of popular proverbs. Though the book contains few actual errors (e.g. *talâchar* for thirteen), it does not escape the usual weaknesses of its kind, such as failure to discriminate *d* from *ḍ*, *t* from *ṭ*, *r* from *gh*, etc., and to indicate the main stresses in words and sentences. A more peculiar feature is the replacement of *hamza* by a long vowel even when representing *q*; surely no Egyptian ever pronounces, for example, "heart" and "neck" as *ālb* and *ra-ābah*.

H. A. R. GIBB.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE POLICY OF THE MANDATORY GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. By J. H. KANN. pp. 60. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1930. 2*s*. 6*d*.

An able exposition of the Jewish case by a former member of the Zionist organization and ex-consul of Holland in Jerusalem.

H. A. R. G.

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FALAKĪ-I-SHIRWĀNĪ DĪWĀN. Edited by HĀDĪ HASAN, Ph.D. James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. IX. London: Royal Asiatic Society. 1929. 10*s*.

This volume, containing the Persian text (about 1,200 verses) of the *Dīwān* of Falakī, with critical and explanatory notes, forms the second and final part of Dr. Hādī Ḥasan's edition; the first part, which comprises an excellent account of the poet's times, life, and works, the sources of the text, etc., appeared as vol. vi of the Forlong Fund Publications and was reviewed by the present writer in the January issue of the *Journal*, p. 126 f. Falakī, as might be expected from a pupil of Khāqānī, employs an extremely artificial and allusive style, and the ingenious, far-fetched and elaborate conceits with which his panegyrics are crowded call for a corresponding amount of brainwork on the part of the reader. Few would care to make the effort, even if they possessed the learning and acumen necessary for solving puzzles of this sort. The poet, however, has found an editor who fully appreciates him and spares no pains to make him intelligible. Dr. Ḥasan proves himself to be an accomplished critic. The text, based almost entirely on the Munich MS., has been judiciously emended, and the obscure verses are, as a rule, either translated or explained by means of notes and reference to passages in other works. There is much to interest students of the Persian *ars poetica* as well as lexicographers, including a list of rare or technical words which occur in the *Dīwān*. Falakī justifies his pen-name by showing a particular fondness for astronomical and astrological terms.

Sir E. Denison Ross, who contributes a Foreword to the volume and is responsible for its publication, is to be congratulated on the attractive form in which it appears. His description of the editor's manuscript as exceptionally beautiful and accurate applies in almost equal measure to the photographic reproduction. The writing is small and after a time puts some strain on the eye; here and there a letter has dropped out or a word is indistinct; but these are draw-

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backs that hardly count in the balance. I have noticed a few misspellings, e.g. Saggitarius for Sagittarius (v. 492) and 'Amārah for 'Umārah (v. 1075). In v. 333 the editor retains مُتَهَم, the reading of all texts, explaining it as formed by metathesis from مُهْتَمّ. This is objectionable for more reasons than one. A passive participle seems to be required, and I suggest مُهْتَمّ as a likely emendation. جعفر (v. 783) probably denotes the Caliph Mutawâkkil.

R. A. N.

A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna incorporating a Translation of the first Book. By O. Cameron Gruner, M.D. (Lond.). $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 612. London: Luzac & Co., 1930. Price £2 2*s*.

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Sīnā, commonly known in the west as Avicenna, poet, philosopher, and physician, was born near Bukhārā in A.D. 980 and died at Hamadān or Iṣfahān in 1037. Of his medical works the Qānūn is by far the largest and most famous; and as the present author reminds us, the work is a *précis*, and not a sum-total of Avicenna's knowledge—a series of notes or skeleton outlines of thought not too lengthy to be memorized by his students, much as they would memorize the Quran. Its use, in a Latin translation, spread through the west, where it was adopted in the schools and remained the standard textbook of medicine even until about 1650. The first of the five books of this work, of such exceptional historical interest, has now been translated into English; and orientalists, historians, and medical men must alike be grateful to Dr. Gruner for undertaking what cannot have been an easy task.

A "Preliminary Thesis" deals with the Qānūn in relation to modern thought; the opinion is expressed that ideas are to be found therein which provide suggestions for useful research in the future (p. 1) and that "its possibilities for

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suggesting thoughts of real value to-day are more realized the more one reads 'between the lines'" (p. 7). The basic differences between the Qānūn and modern medicine are tabulated (p. 8); Avicenna's and all ancient medicine, "is intimately bound up with philosophy, to wit, *that of human nature*"—a philosophy which proves to be virtually identical with modern scholastic philosophy; while Modern Medicine "assuming the title and rank of a positive science, emphatically discards and excludes" philosophy (p. 9). It is apparently the author's view that psychology, which seems to be considered as a part of philosophy, being "the science which treats of the soul and its operations", must therefore clearly be the real foundation of medicine. Modern scholastic philosophy, the queen of all the sciences, amply proves positivist science (including Medicine) to be incomplete knowledge when taken alone; but when Medicine has become ennobled by being linked with philosophy it reaches its highest degree of perfection (p. 10).

In the translation itself four sub-sections of the text are omitted—those dealing with the anatomy of the bones, muscles, nerves, and blood-vessels, which "are naturally inadequate in comparison with modern Anatomy"; and the Libellus on the Powers of the Heart ("De viribus cordis"), of which the real authorship is disputed, which Arnold of Villanova translated into Latin, and which is found in the 1595 Latin edition of the Qānūn, is included. The translation is given in large type, and in smaller type is an interspersed commentary with separate paragraphing, in which the author gives parallels from the classics, from the Chinese, and from other medieval authors, with references to modern practice; the commentary sometimes runs to a considerable excursus, as for example that on the Chinese system of sphygmology (pulse-science).

The first book of the Qānūn (that which is here translated) deals with general matters relative to the science of Medicine, comprising: (1) The definition and scope of Medicine; Health. Here comes the consideration, among other topics, of the temperaments and constitutions, the fluids of the body,

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the members (bones, muscles, nerves, arteries, veins). (2) The classification of diseases, their causes and symptoms. Under the causes, such things as atmospheric and seasonal influences, winds, localities, food and drink, are discussed; under symptoms, the evidences of ill-health in the pulse, urine, and faeces. (3) The preservation of health, and regiminal treatment, comprising the regimen (exercise, bathing, dietetics, etc.) appropriate to the several ages, to the various constitutions and habits of body, and to the several seasons. (4) The treatment of disease; the classification of the modes of treatment in general (general therapeutics), including such topics as evacuant and derivative treatment, purgation, emesis, cupping, venesection, leeches; minor surgery; the relief of pain.

The contents of the other books, not here translated, may be briefly indicated. In Book II, Materia Medica, Pharmacology and Therapeutics; General Principles, and then the properties of each drug (802 in number) taken seriatim. In III, Special Pathology of the various systems; the diseases to which each is liable are discussed, their etiology, symptoms, diagnosis, prognosis and treatment (the section on the Eye has been translated into German). In Book IV, Fever, Minor Surgery, Poisoning, and Beauty Culture are treated; and in V the Formulary is given—recipes, and details of their preparation (this book has been translated into German).

It is impossible to do justice to the interest of the volume without giving one or two illustrative extracts:—

> "It is a bad practice to sleep on the back. It courts the development of grave maladies like apoplexy, paralysis, and nightmare, because the effete matters then tend to accumulate in the tissues of the back, where they are held and prevented from entering the natural channels—which are in front, like the nostrils and palate. Persons who are accustomed to sleep on their backs often become debilitated, for their muscles and members become weakened; also because one side cannot alternate with the other, seeing that such persons quickly return to the supine position, the back being more powerful than the sides. The consequence is that such persons sleep with their mouths

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open, for the muscles which keep the jaws closed are too weak to maintain them in that position " (p. 419).

" When you do not know the nature of a malady, leave it to Nature ; do not strive to hasten matters. For either Nature will bring about the cure or it will reveal itself clearly what the malady really is " (p. 468).

(From the section on the Regimen suitable to Travellers.) " A person may have to fast so long that the appetite is lost. To aid one in submitting to this, the following are useful : cold foods prepared from roast livers and the like, pills prepared with viscid or glutinous substances, strong fluid fats, almonds, and olive oil. Certain fats like that of beef will stave off the feeling of hunger for a long time. There is a story of a man having swallowed a pound (12 oz.) of oil of violets in which fat had been dissolved until the oil was of the consistence of a plaster ; he is said to have been free of desire for food for ten days."

Or one might instance the section on venesection (pp. 501 *sqq.*).

There are, however, a few criticisms which must be made. The translation " is based on the Latin versions published at Venice in 1598 and 1608, supported by a study of the Arabic edition printed at Rome in 1593 and the Bulaq edition." The author admits that, in Browne's words, " the Latin Qanun swarms with barbarous words which are not merely transcriptions but in many cases almost unrecognizable mistranscriptions of Arabic originals " ; the method of translation appears to have been a slavish and literal adherence to the original, the obscurity being such as would result from rendering idiomatic French word for word into English ; as Browne says, " many passages in the Latin version of the Qanun of Avicenna were misunderstood or not understood at all by the translator, and consequently can never have conveyed a clear idea to the reader." Whether or not, as Dr. Gruner says, these criticisms are inapplicable to Vol. I (? = Book I) of the original, it seems unfortunate that he did not utilize the Arabic original instead of the Latin version as the basis of his translation ; his knowledge of Arabic is apparently adequate, and he has studied the original text ; apart altogether from the grave possibility of error, it would

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seem to be mere waste of labour, in these circumstances, to endeavour to get at the meaning of the Latin.

Again, the author seems in some degree to misunderstand the value of his work—though this does not detract from its *real* value in the least. From what has been said above concerning his Preliminary Thesis, and from the fact that he has omitted the anatomy of the bones, muscles, etc. (since these sections are inadequate in the light of modern knowledge), it appears that he views the Qānūn as valuable to-day in the utilitarian sense. But surely the importance—the primary importance, at least—of the work is historical; as the publishers say on the "jacket", the "general reader is enabled for the first time to become directly acquainted with the outlook of a thousand years ago upon the nature of the human body, of health and disease, as expounded by the world-renowned sage of Persia." The book gives a wonderful exposition of the best medical science of a remarkable era; it helps us to understand the course taken by human thought, to follow it in its development through the ages, to work out a more adequate picture of its evolution; it is a valuable contribution to the still too much neglected history of science, a branch of knowledge (a "discipline") as interesting and as important as the history of art, of philosophy, of religion.

The book is not free from signs of carelessness, e.g. "apologium," "scotomia," "tassawuf," "the body is admittedly 95 per cent. water" (we may interpret in another sense than that intended by the author the mark of exclamation which he appends to this statement); long vowels are sometimes, though seldom, marked, and diacritical points rarely used; the spellings "Quran" and "Koran" occur on the same page. The chapter headings are copied or adapted from Arabic and Persian sources, and it gives an effect of incongruity to plant on them letters of the Latin alphabet.

One sentence it is hard to forgive: "The proper use of the theory of evolution in comparative anatomy . . . is that it enables many discrete facts to be memorized" (p. 103). And the use of the facts, when they have been memorized, or otherwise made available? Surely such facts are nothing

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in themselves: their use is to help to establish generalizations (of which the doctrine of evolution is one of the greatest) which increase our knowledge of the scheme of the universe, which allow us to contemplate it with greater understanding and therefore greater delight, and which give us clues to enable us to penetrate further the mysteries of nature. But that a scientific training should have left the author with so little comprehension of the meaning of science that he can suppose the use of the theory of evolution to be to facilitate the memorization of certain discrete facts!

I have spoken with some freedom of what I conceive to be the defects of the work. Let me, however, say again in conclusion that Avicenna's work as here reproduced is of extraordinary interest and value, and that Dr. Gruner's labours will be appreciated alike by the historian of science, the orientalist, and the philosophic physician. It is earnestly to be hoped that he will obtain the renewed thanks of all these by proceeding with the translation from the Arabic text of the remaining books of the Qānūn.

J. STEPHENSON.

A CRITICAL PALI DICTIONARY, begun by V. TRENCKNER, revised, continued, and edited by D. ANDERSEN and HELMER SMITH. Vol. I, pt. i. 12 × 10, pp. xxii + 42. Published by the Royal Danish Academy. Copenhagen, 1924–6.

CŪLAVAṂSA, being the more recent part of the Mahāvaṃsa. Part i. Translated by W. GEIGER, and from the German into English by Mrs. C. MABEL RICKMERS. Pali Text Society. Translation Series, No. 18. 9 × 6, pp. xlii + 362. London: H. Milford, 1929.

THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYINGS (SAṆYUTTA NIKĀYA). Pt. v. Translated by F. L. WOODWARD, with an Introduction by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. Pali Text Society. Translation Series, No. 16. 9 × 6, pp. xxiv + 412. London: The Oxford University Press, 1930.

When two Pāli dictionaries begin to appear within three years of each other, comparison, however odious it may be,

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is inevitable. The Pali Text Society's Dictionary claimed to be essentially preliminary, so that the appearance of a critical Pāli dictionary, as this claims to be, was to be expected. It will be sufficient to notice three points of difference. The forty-two (rather smaller) pages of this fasciculus correspond to ten in the P.T.S. dictionary, but it is in this section where many of the negatives in *a-* occur, and here they are treated more fully, so that the same difference in extent may not continue all through. Anyone who remembers the criticism in these pages of the etymological part of the P.T.S. dictionary will be glad to see that there is no waste of space here. Little is given beyond a reference to a corresponding Sanskrit form and the analysis of compounds. Another special feature is that it includes proper names.

It is scarcely necessary to do more than give a hearty welcome to the new instalment of Dr. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. This later portion, which chiefly for practical reasons he calls the *Cūlavaṃsa*, consists of five additions, of varying literary quality. Not only has Mrs. Rickmers carried out Dr. Geiger's principles and ideals, but she has produced a masterly English version. The introduction deals with several interesting questions and explanations of technical terms, but for a general discussion of this portion we have to refer to Dr. Geiger's edition of the text.

The translators of the *Saṃyutta* are to be congratulated on the completion of their work. Mr. Woodward is no doubt right in rejecting traditional modes of translating special terms, but he is not likely to find general approval for many of his own. He has already begun to disapprove of some of them himself, for he tells us that he has not felt bound to follow even those that he has generally used in other volumes. Mrs. Rhys Davids' introduction deals with the structure of this Nikāya, with the question of substituting "Way" for "Path", and with points of historical interest.

E. J. Thomas.

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Indica

By L. D. BARNETT

1. Greater India Society Publication No. 2. Hindu Law and Custom. By Julius Jolly. Authorised translation by Batakrîshna Ghosh. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 341 + vii + i. Calcutta, 1928.
2. Publication No. 3. Social Life in Ancient India: Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra. By Haran Chandra Chakladar. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. i + ii + 212. Calcutta, 1929.
3. Greater India Society Bulletin No. 4. India and Central Asia. By Dr. Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 44. Calcutta, 1927.
4. Bulletin No. 5. Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan. By Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 38 + iv. Calcutta, 1928.

Professor Jolly's masterly *Recht und Sitte*, which saw the light in Bühler's *Grundriss* in 1896, is still and will long remain the chief basis of the study of ancient Hindu law; and therefore the Greater India Society and Mr. Ghosh deserve much gratitude for the service which they have rendered to the English-speaking world by producing this translation. Mr. Ghosh has also added a number of footnotes of his own, some of them of considerable value. For a young scholar, he has on the whole acquitted himself of his heavy task very well. It must, however, be confessed that the English of his version is sometimes rather laboured, as might be expected of one who is translating from a foreign tongue into a language not quite his own. The punctuation, too, is far from satisfactory, mainly in the matter of omissions of necessary commas, and there are not a few minor inexactitudes in the rendering of the German.[1] The usefulness of the book would also have

[1] Examples are: "overwhelming" for "überwiegend", and "history of customs" for "Sittengeschichte" (p. 1); "found" for "angeführt", and "home" for "ansässig" (p. 4); "codified" for "zu litterarischer Fixirung gelangt", and "elaborate" for "weitgehende" (p. 263); "penal

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been greatly increased if Mr. Ghosh had included in it a bibliography brought up to date.

Of the value of Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* there can be no question. Not only does he mercilessly put on record every phase of sexual relations, licit and illicit, which could be discovered by a wide survey of mankind and books, but he also gives us a lively picture of the social circumstances of his age which is a first-class document of *Sittengeschichte*. He is thus fully worthy of the scholarly study which is here dedicated to his work. Mr. Chakladar in the first place attempts to determine the date of the *Kāma-sūtra*, which he fixes as about the middle of the third century A.D. on grounds which, though not wholly convincing, seem to me to fit the facts better than any other hypothesis yet advanced. He then considers the geographical data of the book, which lead him to conclude that Vātsyāyana was a native of Western India; and the rest of the volume—more than half of it—is devoted to a study of the social life depicted in the *Kāma-sūtra*, under the headings "Castes and Occupations", "Marriage and Courtship," "Life of the Nāgaraka," "The Position of Women," and "Arts and Crafts". In his treatment generally Mr. Chakladar happily unites erudition with judgment and has given us a really useful book. On some minor points, of course, one may venture to differ from him. Not to mention his perhaps excessive confidence in the Mauryan date of the *Kauṭilīya* and the legend of Bhāsa, I would suggest with due diffidence that he may perhaps be mistaken in separating Śvētakētu, "the mythical reformer of primitive society" mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* from Śvētakētu Āruṇēya of the Upaniṣads (p. 38): the two accounts indeed differ widely,

laws" for "das weltliche Strafrecht", and "ingeniously" for "wahrscheinlich" (p. 284); "courtiers" for "Beisitzer" (p. 286). I may add that the translator's reference in his note on p. 225 to the ingenious Mr. Jayaswal's theory that "Hindu jurists and law-givers never considered the king to be lord of the earth" is not very happy; and his spelling *śūlka* repeatedly on p. 113 f. is a striking example of the deplorable tendency apparently innate in all Bengalis to confuse short and long *u*.

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but that is merely because the *Mbh.* represents a popular and less authentic tradition, and the facts stated on p. 7 ff. indicate that they have something like a point of contact. Perhaps, too, I may be allowed to dissent from his description of the *Kāma-sūtra* as " a beautifully vivid picture " of society and from his estimate of Vātsyāyana's ethos. Vivid the book is, but beauty has no place in its vividness. In Vātsyāyana's analysis of human passions and motives there is something of Jonathan Swift's ruthless exactitude of cynical realism : what, for instance, could be more like Swift than the biting phrase that concludes the description of the girl dressed up and paraded by her family to catch a suitor, " for she is like an article for sale," *paṇya-sadharmatvāt* ? His smug self-justification too smacks of irony : with a wink in his eye he assumes the attitude of an ancient *ṛṣi* like Śvētakētu, but the pose need not deceive us.

The Bulletins are really good little summaries of their subjects. Dr. Chakravarti gives us a very useful *Überblick* of the history of Central Asia, the modern explorations of it, and the marvellous finds of manuscripts of literary works and official documents through which those dreary regions have become more precious to the scholar than the golden sands of classical legend, while Dr. Ghoshal's contribution briefly surveys the historical relations of Afghanistan with India, with passing references to such cultural documents as e.g. Indo-Greek coinages, inscriptions, and Buddhist *stūpas* and monasteries, especially the grottos of Bamyan with their beautiful frescos.

5. Trilôchana Pallava and Karikâla Chôla. By N. Venkata Ramanayya. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. i + i + 120. Madras : Vavilla Press, 1929.

This monograph, though small in bulk and somewhat defective in the matter of typographic exactitude, handles an important problem with much ingenuity and considerable success. In early Southern Indian records the student is often confronted by the figure of Trilōcana Pallava—in

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Telugu, Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi—a mysterious personage whose date and doings are equally uncertain, and whose very existence has been questioned. Mr. Venkataramanayya has now set himself the task of examining the evidence bearing upon him and his traditional rival Karikālan, in order to extract thence whatever elements of historicity may be underlying it, and to this end has drawn upon numerous village-chronicles, inscriptions, and literary references, with very interesting results, of which the most important may be thus summarised. T. was an illegitimate Pallava usurper who reigned about the end of the fifth century in Kāñci, which was wrested from him by the victorious Cōḷas under Karikālan. He then re-treated into Telingana, where he established his capital at Dharaṇīkōṭa; and here he still suffered from the aggressions of K., who annexed large districts of his realm, including Rēnāḍu (the modern Cuddapah and Karnul districts). The well-known story of the poets that he had a third eye which in some mysterious manner was destroyed by K. as a punishment for his refusal to help in the work of building an embankment to the Kaveri arose perhaps from a blunder in engraving the formal phrase applied to K. in the records of Telugu Cōḷas, *caraṇa-sarōruha-vihita-vilōcana-Trilōcana*, "T. whose gaze was fixed upon K.'s lotus-feet": *vihita* was wrongly written *vihata*, and to explain this the story was concocted. The tradition that T. defeated and slew in battle the Caḷukya Vijayâditya [I] is true, despite the silence of the early Caḷukyan records, for the order of succession given by the oldest Western Caḷukyan documents, viz. Jayasiṃha → Raṇarāga → Pulakēsi I, may be equated with that set forth in the records of the Eastern Caḷukyas, scil. Viṣṇuvardhana → Vijayāditya [II] → Pulakēsi I, so that Vijayāditya [II] is to be identified with Raṇarāga.[1] The war

[1] The case is not fully developed by Mr. Venkataramanayya, and I take the opportunity to state some of the evidence in more detail. What Dr. Fleet rather sceptically calls the "legendary history" of the early Caḷukyas (*DKD.*, p. 338 f.) is conveyed in two versions, that of the Eastern

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and that of the Western Caḷukyas. The former (see *EI.* vi, p. 348, and reff. there) gives the sequence of kings thus: Vijayâditya I, who attacked Trilōcana Pallava and perished; his son Viṣṇuvardhana, who conquered the Kaḍambas, Gaṅgas, etc., and reigned in the Dekhan; his son Vijayâditya II; his son Pulakēsi I. Of the Western records the majority (cf. *EI.* xii, p. 149 f. and reff. there) repeat a common tale; they begin by describing the Caḷukya race as *Viṣṇuvarddhana-Vijayâdityâdi-viśēṣa-nāmnāṃ rāja-ratnānām udbhava-bhūmih*, "a mine in which arose gem-like kings bearing the distinctive names *Viṣṇuvardhana*, *Vijayâditya* and the like", and then they give the well known story that fifty-nine kings of this family ruled in Ayōdhyā and sixteen in the Dekhan, after which its fortunes were obscured for a few generations, "checked by evil men," but were restored by Jayasiṃha, who defeated the Raṭṭas under their king Indra, and was succeeded by his son, Raṇarāga, etc. In the unpublished Handarke inscription to which Dr. Fleet refers (p. 339), the relevant verses are as follows, according to Elliot's transcript: Bhuja-balada Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayâdityâdi-viruddhan (*read* virudan) ene ripu-vanitâṃbuja-vanamaṃ koragisidaṃ nija-bāhā-daṃḍa-maṃḍalâgra-prabheyim || Jaya-lakṣmī-kāṃteyaṃ marcisi dhareyan Ayyōdhyâdhipaṃ (*read* Ayō°) saṃda Sattyâśrayan āḷdaṃ tan-nṛpāḷâgraṇi modal enal ēkônaṣaṣṭi-pramaṃ *read* (kramaṃ) rūḍhiyoḷ ird' ā siṃha-piṭhaṃgaḷoḷ arebar iḷapālar amd' ittam-ittal Jayasiṃhôrvîśan âḷdaṃ baḷikav iḷeyan ā ṣōḍaśôrvîśar āḷdar, the sum of which is that the poet, absurdly making Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayâditya into one person and putting him at the head of the pedigree, places next fifty-nine kings beginning with Satyâśraya of Ayōdhyā, after whom came "a few" others, then Jayasiṃha, then "the sixteen monarchs". This account is very confused, but underlying it is the same story as that of the other Western records: the "sixteen monarchs" in either version have a suspicious look (sixteen is a canonical number for kings) and are certainly out of order in this record, while the ascription to Jayasiṃha of a victory over the Raṭṭas in the other documents is no doubt an anachronism, as Dr. Fleet thought. The essential points in the Western tradition are then: the occurrence of the names *Viṣṇ.* and *Vij.*; fifty-nine kings of the race in Ayōdhyā with Satyâśraya at the top or near it, and sixteen in the Dekhan; an obscuration in their fortunes lasting a few generations; a restoration by Jayasiṃha; and a continuance of prosperity under his son, Raṇarāga (a *biruda*, and not a proper name). Apparently tradition placed the names of Viṣṇ. and Vij. at the head of the pedigree, but was doubtful as to their proper place in it. It seems very reasonable to suppose that the Eastern and Western accounts supplement one another, and that the disastrous end of Vijayâditya I and temporary ruin of his realm was a chapter, perhaps the last chapter, in the period of obscuration which the Western records describe as having occurred shortly before the rise of Jayasiṃha. Hence it is permissible as a conjecture to identify Jayasiṃha with Viṣṇuvardhana and Raṇarāga with Vijayâditya II, especially as the Eastern version seems to give a plausible explanation of the rise of Viṣṇ. by successes over the Kaḍambas and Gaṅgas, for whom Western tradition in the tenth century by a natural anachronism substituted the Raṭṭas.

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against Vijayâditya was probably an incident in the course of the traditional policy of the Pallavas in regard to Kuntaḷa, which under the Kaḍamba Mayūra and his immediate successors was a fief of their empire: Vijayâditya was a somewhat insignificant adventurer who threatened to raise trouble for them on their western marches by his aggressions upon the Kaḍambas, and was therefore suppressed.

In this conjectural restoration of the history of the period some of the materials employed in the edifice are perhaps not too solid; others however are really sound, and the structure on the whole is not only skilfully built up, but in my opinion can claim reasonable probability. As one of its main conclusions, that Karikālan captured Kāñci about A.D. 500, agrees with the result of Mr. K. G. Śankar's recent study on 'The Early Pallavas of Kāñci', where the subject is approached from another point of view, the coincidence distinctly tends to corroborate it.

6. The Vikramorvasiya of Kalidasa with Katayavema's Commentary, the Kumaragirirajiya for the first time critically edited with a literal English translation, an introduction, copious notes in Sanskrit and English and a comprehensive vocabulary by Charu Deva Shastri, M.A., M.O.L. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. ii + xxvi + 122 + 105 + xxxii. Lahore: 1929.

The Śāstrī's work is on the whole useful and meritorious. But the words "for the first time critically edited" on the title-page, which may mean that this is the first critical edition of both the play and the commentary, are somewhat misleading. This is the first appearance in print of the whole of Kāṭaya-Vēma's commentary—a helpful and sensible one—and the Śāstrī has edited it as critically as the rather limited materials at his disposal permit. The text of the play, however, has been handled in a rather eclectic fashion. The Śāstrī has based it upon that of S. P. Pandit, but in a number of passages he has adopted the variant readings given by

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K.-V.'s commentary. Now if the recension used (or prepared ?) by K.-V. is superior to that of Pandit, it should logically be followed through thick and thin ; for an editor to select some variants that take his fancy, while rejecting others offered by the same recension, is arbitrary. Nor is it clear to me that all the variants adopted here from K.-V. are intrinsically better than Pandit's text. In i, 11, the Śāstrī reads with K.-V. *aṅkuritamanōbhavēnêva* instead of *aṅkuritaṃ manasijēnêva*, but I see no force in his argument for the change. In iii, 14, the old reading *kartum* (" you have power to give me away to another or to make me your slave ") is as good as the new *hartum* ; *bhartum*, the reading of one MS. of K.-V. which the Śāstrī rejects, would also give a good sense. In iii, 22, the new reading *śataguṇitām iva mē gatā* seems to be wrong, for grammar calls for *śataguṇatām*, and anyhow there is no great gain. The change of *gaganam* to *gahanam* in iv, 34, is to the good ; but the alteration of *prahartur dviṣadāyuṣām* in v, 7, to *saṃhartur dvi*° is no improvement, as a study of the P.W. will show. Apart from these critical questions the book is to be commended as a capable piece of work which will be distinctly useful for educational purposes.

7. Sarva-Siddhanta-Samgraha. Critically edited, translated and annotated by Prem Sundar Bose. 2 vols. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 80 + ii + 98. Calcutta : Navavidhan Press, 1929.

The *Sarva-siddhānta-saṃgraha* is a little work of some importance, for it is, next to Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya* (ninth century), the oldest extant survey of the various schools of philosophy, antedating by some centuries Mādhava's more famous work, which is composed from a far more scholastic standpoint. As it is silent anent the church of Rāmânuja, while eager to maintain the supremacy of Viṣṇu,[1] it cannot well be later than the eleventh century.

[1] The author, a Vāiṣṇava who combines *bhakti* with Vedantic monism, has clumsily tacked references to these to his exposition of Śāiva Nyāya (40, 43), and calls the Supreme Being *Gōvinda* (*Vēdânta-p*°, 51).

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On the other hand, it refers to Śaṅkarâcārya's *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* in i, 22, where it speaks of a Vedantic "*bhāṣya* in four *adhyāyas* composed by the Bhagavat-pāda", and it likewise mentions the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Hence it cannot be earlier than c. 950 A.D. An edition with commentary and English translation was published in 1909 at Madras by the late M. Rangacharya, a second with Têlugu translation in the series *Vêdânta-grantha-mâla* published by Nāgaliṅga Śāstrī, at Madras in 1911–12, and a third with Bengali interpretation by Pramathanātha Tarkabhūṣaṇa and Akṣayakumāra Śāstrī at Calcutta in 1913; the chapters on Buddhism have been edited and translated by Professor La Vallée Poussin in *Le Musêon*, iii (1902), p. 402 ff. Mr. Bose now gives us a new edition with a translation and some brief notes, which is handy and likely to be useful. The justice of his claim to have edited it "critically" is not very clear: he does not seem to have had at his disposal any MSS. or critical material other than what is contained in Rangacharya's book, and he contributes a few misprints of his own (e.g. *sā gṛhyēta* for *sā ca gṛhyēta*, p. 11, *pramāṇaś ca* for *pramāṇaṃ ca*, p. 26). The translation is on the whole fairly adequate, while the notes are sound so far as they go, but do not go far enough to satisfy even a moderate hunger for information as to the history of Indian thought. Mr. Bose is likewise most unfortunate in his argument on the authorship of the work (Transl. and notes, p. 75). He admits that its reference to "the *bhāṣya* in four *adhyāyas*, composed by the Bhagavat-pāda", naturally points to Śaṅkarâcārya's *bhāṣya*; and then by a curious process of reasoning, in order to bolster up the futile legend which attributes the present book to Śaṅkarâcārya, he comes to the conclusion "that the author of this work is some *Śaṃkarācārya* other than the great *advaita* protâgonist", much as another sage decided that the poems of Homer were "written by another fellow of the same name". But these minor defects need not be scrutinised too closely.

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8. Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley. By Ramaprasad Chanda, M.A., F.A.S.B., Rai Bahadur. (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 41.) 13 × 10, pp. i + i + 40, 2 plates. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1929.

This is an able and arresting monograph, although it does not carry conviction on all points. The author's main conclusions are that (1) the Ṛgvēda reflects a comparatively peaceful state of society, far advanced in the fusion of Āryas and Śūdras; (2) the rigidity of caste-divisions in India is due to the fundamental distinction between king and priest, which is almost unparalleled in antiquity, and suggests that the Vedic Ṛṣis with their doctrines and rites were alien in origin to the kings and peoples of North-Western India who adopted them; (3) there was a radical difference of mentality between Brahman and Kṣatriya, particularly evidenced in their attitude towards human sacrifice and *satī*, rites which originally were peculiar to the Kṣatriyas and lower castes, while the Brahmans only practised symbolic simulacra of them until comparatively late times; (4) on the eve of the Aryan immigration the Indus Valley was inhabited by a civilised and warlike people; the Aryans, mainly represented by the clans of Ṛṣis, entered in small numbers and chiefly as missionaries of the Vedic cults and settled down peacefully under the protection of the native kings, who adopted their religion; the warrior-clans of the Ṛgvēda (Bharatas, Yadus, etc.) were the ruling classes in the indigenous population of the Indus Valley; (5) a link between Vedic traditions and the chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus Valley is suggested by the heads of the stone statuettes found at Mohenjo-daro, which represent priests or magicians in a pose of *dhyāna-yōga*; the *Yōga* arose among the non-Brahmanic or pre-Aryan peoples of the Indus Valley, and was originally alien to Brahmans; (6) the *Yatis* mentioned in Vedic literature were the priests or magicians of the

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indigenous population, practising *yōga* and mortifications (*tapas*); they were eclipsed by the Vedic Ṛṣis and sank in social status, emerging in later Vedic literature under the name of *Vrātyas*; ultimately they made their way back into popular favour and became the parents of the Brahmanic *sannyāsīs* and non-Brahmanic *śramaṇas*; (7) Mohenjo-daro had the same cult of the *pīpal*-tree as classical India, and its animal-standards survived on the Mauryan columns.

The fourth thesis in its present form seems untenable, for it entails insuperable difficulties, on which space forbids us to dwell. The explanation of the rigidity of caste is ingenious, and possibly may contain some elements of truth: others also have suggested a difference of race between Kṣatriyas and Brahmans. But the supposed difficulty of explaining this rigidity is perhaps a skittle which the author has only set up to knock down. Senart's classical work really disposes of it to a great extent. The first and third points, though they need fuller discussion and some amendment, are far sounder; and the author's views on the Yatis and Vrātyas are perhaps not very far from the truth, though they also call for some reservations. Finally, we would remark that the finds at Mohenjo-daro certainly do not bear out the contention that the people of the Indus Valley were warlike.

9. Udaipur-rājya-kā Itihās. [History of the Kingdom of Udaipur.] By Rāi Bahādur Gaurīśaṅkar Hīrācand Ojhā. Vol. i. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxviii + 506, 31 plates. Ajmer: Vedic Press, 1985 [1928].

This massive work is indeed a labour of love. The Rajputs are the accepted models of Hindu chivalry; and among them the Rajputs of Udaipur are pre-eminent as *kṣatrasya kṣatram*, the quintessence of the knightly order. The lineage of their Mahārāṇā, the "Sun of India", is traced back to the year 568, and it is their proud boast never to have bowed the head in the courts of alien conquerors. Such a history

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naturally inspires enthusiasm: an abundance of poems, bardic legends, and above all Tod's great work bear witness to the abiding fascination of these κλέα ἀνδρῶν. And now, warmed by the same fire, Rāi Bahādur Ojhā has devoted to the same theme his vast knowledge of local literature, antiquities, and legend, which has enabled him to give a really full and adequate presentation of it.

The book, however, is not merely a history, although historical narrative occupies by far the greater portion of it. The opening chapter (pp. 1–64) is a useful and reliable gazetteer of information regarding the geography, material, and social conditions, populations, religions, dress, institutions, and places of note in the State. Then follows the historical portion, which, after dealing briefly with mythical and semi-mythical ages, traces the course of events from the beginnings of documented history in the sixth century, dividing itself into three periods, of which the first extends from the reign of Guhiladatta to that of Ratnasiṃha I, the second from Hammīra to Sāṅgā (Saṅgrāmasiṃha), and the third from Ratnasiṃha II to the death of Amarasiṃha in 1620; and some interesting pictures of famous Mahārāṇās and others are reproduced. The next volume will deal with modern times. It is the reviewer's pleasant duty to felicitate the author on having accomplished so much, and to express the hope that an English translation will be forthcoming for the benefit of those who cannot read Hindi.

10. Beginnings of Vijayanagara History. By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A. (Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, No. 4.) $7\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. viii + 144. Bombay: Anand printed, 1929.

The writings of Father Heras are always replete with interesting and original thought, and this little book, which embodies two lectures delivered in the University of Mysore, will amply repay study. In its first part the author examines

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the legendary traditions and the documentary evidence relating to the foundation of Vijayanagara, whence he educes as his main conclusions that (1) the tradition which makes Vidyāraṇya concerned in the foundation of the city and the coronation of Harihara I is a fiction concocted in the Sringeri monastery early in the sixteenth century, probably in the pontificate of Rāmacandra Bhāratī, and that the original name of the city was Vijayanagara, not Vidyānagara, and that (2) it was built in or shortly after 1326 by the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III, to protect his frontier against the aggressions of the Sultan of Delhi. The second part is concerned with the origin of the first rulers of Vijayanagara, their supposed relationship to the family of Kēsirāja, their connection with the Hoysaḷas, and their victories in Telingana.

Most critical readers, we believe, will approve the author's spirited attack on the Vidyāraṇya-myth, and will admit that his hypothesis of the foundation or re-establishment of the city by Ballāḷa III has much in its favour.[1] On some minor points—e.g. the alleged kinship between Saṅgama's family and that of Kēsirāja [2]—he is less convincing; and, owing doubtless to haste in preparation and proof-correction, some small errors of matter and spelling have crept into the text. The index also, which is the work of Mr. G. M. Moraes, is not as good as it might be. Nevertheless, the book is certainly *bonæ frugis*, and makes valuable contributions to the history of Vijayanagara.

[1] On the other hand there are some reasons for holding the opposite view, on which the reader may profitably consult Mr. Venkataramanayya's *Kampili and Vijayanagar*.

[2] Another point—of no importance, it is true—arises from the name of the first four kings given by Nuniz, viz. *Deorão, Bucarão, Pureoyre Deorão*, and *Ajarão*, whom Father Heras would equate respectively with an unknown king, Harihara I, Bukka I, and Harihara II. It seems to me that this is impossible, and that Nuniz simply blundered; his "Deorão" (i.e. Dēvarāya) is Harihara II, his "Pureoyre Deorão" (scil. Piriya Dēvarāya) is Harihara I, his "Bucarão" is of course Bukka I, and why he called Bukka II "Ajarão" is a mystery. If, as I suppose, he inverted the order of the two Hariharas, we can understand his statement that "Pureoyre Deorão" first struck coins in Vijayanagara.

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11. The Inscriptions of Nagai. [Edited and translated, etc., by C. R. Krishnamacharlu.] (Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 8.) $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vi, + 60 + 8 plates. Hyderabad, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press printed, 1928.

The village of Nagai, anciently Nāgavāpī, contains some traces of former importance, among them being some Kanarese inscriptions of the later Cāḷukya period, four of which are edited and translated with notes and index in the present monograph. They range in date from A.D. 1058 to 1148, and are of considerable length. Their purpose is, as usual, to register religious and charitable endowments; and although they do not add any very striking new facts to the pages of Cāḷukya history, they confirm previously known records on several points and contribute some fresh data of real value for the study of the language and culture of the time, one of the most interesting being the record of the endowment of a college for Sanskrit studies. Mr. Krishnamacharlu has done his work in a very competent manner; and if the reproductions of the inscriptions are not very legible, this is perhaps due to the decayed condition of the stones.

12. South-Indian Inscriptions. Vol. III, Part IV. Copper-plate grants from Sinnamanur, Tirukkalar, and Tiruchchengodu. . . . Edited and translated by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 10$, pp. 441–80, 1–43, i–xvi, 1–22, 10 plates. Calcutta: Madras printed: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1929.

The reader will open these pages with deep regret, for since they were penned the Rao Bahadur has passed away, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven and a half years. A remarkably learned, laborious, and conscientious scholar, he has rendered yeoman's service to the study of South Indian epigraphy and antiquities, and he leaves an honoured memory.

The present part of the S.I.I. concludes the third volume

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by treating the two Pāṇḍya copper-plate grants (the larger of Rājasiṃha III and the smaller of an unknown king) from Śinnamanūr, five Cōḷa grants (of Rājêndra I, Rājâdhirāja I, Kulôttuṅga I, Rājarāja II (?), and Rājarāja III) from Tirukkaḷar, and two of the same dynasty (of Rājakēsarivarman, probably Rājarāja I) from Tirucceṅgōḍu, together with an index to the whole volume, a list of plates, addenda and corrigenda, and an introduction mainly devoted to a survey of Cōḷa history as far as Rājêndra I. The historical value of the documents here published—especially the larger Śinnamanūr grant and the plate of Rājêndra—is already well known, and students will rejoice to see them edited and elucidated with the ripe scholarship which to the last characterised the work of the lamented Rao Bahadur. Recognition is due to the labours of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, who completed the volume by editing the minor Cōḷa grants, verifying the index of parts i–iii, adding to it the references to part iv and the introduction, preparing the addenda and corrigenda, and revising the proofs.

13. Inscriptions of Bengal. Vol. III. Containing Inscriptions of the Chandras, the Varmans, and the Senas, and of Īśvaraghosha and Dāmodara. Edited with translation and notes by Nani Gopal Majumdar, M.A. (Varendra Research Society.) $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 200, 15 plates, 1 map. Rajshahi: Calcutta printed, 1929.

The Varendra Research Society, pursuing its laudable policy of encouraging historical studies, has projected the publication of three volumes of inscriptions of Bengal, of which this, though third in order of numeration, and dealing with the latest records, is the first to appear. The other two parts, comprising the inscriptions of the Gupta and Pāla dynasties respectively, will be issued in due course.

The documents here published are seventeen in number, viz., the two of Śrīcandra (late tenth or early eleventh century),

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Bhōjavarman's Belava plate (twelfth century), Bhavadēva's Bhuvaneswar inscription (twelfth century ?), eleven records of the Sēṇas, the Ramganj plate of Īśvaraghōṣa (late tenth century), and the Chittagong plate of Dāmōdara (Śaka 1165) —all of them important, and several of them supremely so, for the history of Bengal during this period. They are well printed and translated, with adequate introductions and appendices, which *inter alia* treat of six other cognate records, and with satisfactory facsimiles. The Society and Mr. Majumdar deserve well of Clio, and we hope soon to see the other volumes of this collection.

THE PANDYAN KINGDOM FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. 9 × 6, pp. 277. London : Luzac & Co., 1929. Price 8*s*. 6*d*.

The Pāndyan Kingdom was courted by Aśoka ; the Romans traded with it ; over a thousand years later Marco Polo found it still flourishing. Merged for a while in the Chōḷa Empire, and again in that of Vijayanagar, the Pāṇḍyas were treated with marked respect by their suzerains ; and played no small part in the overthrow of each in turn ; for the Nāyaka Kingdom of Madura was but a revival of Pāndyan autonomy, and when, after its collapse in 1736, the British took charge, they found the national spirit unbroken.

Yet few details survive of this long history. To thread together the disjointed fragments of information that remains into " a continuous sketch on scientific lines " is no easy task.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri (who has recently been appointed to the chair of Indian History in the University of Madras) handles his material with judgment. Pāndyan inscriptions have been strangely neglected. Few only of those listed by the official Epigraphists have ever been critically edited, and the Professor has had to indent on an unpublished collection of Pudukkōṭṭai epigraphs and vols. iv to vi of

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South Indian Inscriptions, bare texts the accuracy of which even their editor does not guarantee, a sorry sequel to the scholarly editing of the earlier volumes. The literary evidence the Professor treats with caution, and is not misled by "assumptions quietly made". For the "popular and confused chronicles" of the "Taylor MSS." he has little use.

Pāndyan history is marked by three periods of florescence, the Sangam Age and the First and Second "Empires".

The Sangam Age, for which only literary evidence is available, the Professor would place in the early centuries of the Christian era. For this he considers a strong *prima facie* case has been made out, though the evidence, he admits, is not conclusive.

For the First Empire (c. A.D. 700–900) the evidence is limited to four copper-plate grants and a few stone inscriptions, only two of which are dated. There seems no reason to suspect that these grants belong to different dynasties, but they refer to the several rulers by so many different names and titles that it is not easy to determine which is which. Professor Nilakanta Sastri short circuits the pedigree accepted by previous writers by equating the seventh and last ruler of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant with No. 4, Varaguṇa I Mahārāja, instead of No. 2, of the larger Śinnamanūr plates, thereby reducing the number of rulers of the "First Empire" from thirteen to eleven. This, if correct, makes a very fine man of Varaguṇa.

The Second Empire (c. 1190–1311) is represented by numberless inscriptions which prove that throughout the period several kings ruled concurrently, but give no hint as to the relationship subsisting between any two of them. Moreover, something seems to have gone wrong with the Pāndyan almanac, for details of dates given in many of these inscriptions fail to fit the requirements of a properly constructed calendar. In the effort to solve these puzzles free play has been made with the allusions of Marco Polo and others to the "Five Brothers" who ruled the Pāndyan

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country, and "many kings have been made and unmade by hasty calculations and equally hasty corrections". The Professor wisely bases his account of this period on the dates established some years ago by the late Professor Kielhorn, with a few additions that have since been attested by independent evidence. With the Muhammadan invasions the main interest of his narrative ends.

In discussing Pāndyan administration, the author deprecates the practice of piecing together a composite picture from "diverse sources separated widely in time and space", and deals with the leading features of each period separately.

The book is well written and well printed. The author never gets lost in the mazes of controversy, yet he marshalls in full the evidence for both sides on every question, and when he differs from other writers, he does so without venom. A map would have been useful, and a numbered list of relevant inscriptions would lighten the labour of tracking down the unhandy references to forty odd annual epigraphic reports which somewhat clog the text and notes. It is rather strange that no mention is made (p. 176) of Pāndyan relations with the Sumatran Empire of Śri-Vijaya, and the Professor is certainly not justified (p. 197) in questioning Marco Polo's account (which he does not quote in full) of the scantiness of the King's costume. He would also do well to avoid the use of the vague word "uncle" (p. 148) of people whose system of kinship is "classificatory". But these are minor details. Professor Nilakanta Sastri is to be congratulated on this most scholarly and scientific contribution to South Indian research.

F. J. Richards.

Hindu Exogamy. By S. V. Karandikar, M.A. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 308 Taraporevala & Sons, Bombay, 1929. Price Rs. 6.

Mr. Karandikar and the Senate of the Bombay University, who have contributed a part of the cost of publication, are

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to be congratulated on the production of an interesting monograph dealing with the social exogamous restrictions on marriage among Hindus of all tribes and castes from Vedic times to the present day. The completion during recent years of numerous ethnographical works based on a common scheme of research offers to the student ample materials for a comparative study of marriage restrictions. Of these materials Mr. Karandikar has not been slow to take advantage. It is true that far the greater part of his book is devoted to the limitations imposed on the twice-born castes in accordance with Hindu scriptures. With these, including the origin of *gotra* and *pravara*, he deals very thoroughly; and the reader will learn how these restrictions have developed from the Vedas down to contemporary caste custom. *Sapinda* and *sagotra* exogamy are exhaustively and clearly described. The last 70 pages of the work are devoted to exogamy among the tribes and castes which Mr. Karandikar describes as of "non-Aryan culture". Here the materials available might have been more extensively drawn on with advantage; and it is suggested that the sequence followed should have been inverted, that is to say, that the practices of the lower tribes and castes would more conveniently form a suitable introduction to the study of Brahmanic practice. The close connection between the two forms of social culture is clearly apprehended by the writer, who, on p. 172, remarks, with reference to the Aryan invasion, that "the new settler adopted the general law of exogamy, as it was universally practised by the vanquished tribes". But, curiously enough, he adds to this quite permissible assumption the opinion that such a development was due to the desire of the invader "to flatter the taste of the non-Aryans, and to prove his social purity". A much more obvious reason for the fusion of two systems can be readily imagined.

Mr. Karandikar's exposition of his subject when describing the precise significance of *gotra* and *pravara* and the limits set to marriage with agnates and cognates is of very great

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interest, and may be warmly recommended to all students of this important social phenomenon. Many additional restrictions and complications have been introduced since Vedic times. A parallel might here have been drawn between exogamy and endogamy, the latter having progressed from less to greater complexity on very similar lines. It is clear that in modern life the Hindu is less fettered by restrictions on the groups within which he may not marry than those now limiting the social area inside of which he must find a bride.

Mr. Karandikar is not quite so happy in his short attempt (chapter viii) to describe and criticize the various theories of the origin of exogamy put forward by well-known scholars. Herbert Spencer, Westermarck, McLennan, and Lord Avebury are very summarily disposed of in a few lines; and the writer comes to the not very helpful conclusion that Brahman exogamy was derived from the non-Aryan races. This does not greatly advance the search for the origin of exogamous restrictions. Students of Darwin's *Origin of Species* have been struck by the parallel between the conditions therein described of a fertile union and the world-wide prevalence of some form of exogamy and endogamy. Natural instincts give rise to, and help to preserve, social institutions. Herein lies much scope for speculation; but Mr. Karandikar cannot be blamed for failing to solve a problem that has so far defeated all the experts. Two small points of criticism must bring this necessarily brief notice to an end. Mr. Karandikar commits himself to the assertion that the term Hindu popularly connotes a homogeneous race. The term Hindu does not connote a race at all, either homogeneous or otherwise. On p. 288 he suggests that the progressive intensification of exogamous restrictions is a reason for the Indo-Aryans not being able "to hold their own against foreign invaders". This facile deduction from an ordered sequence leaves us wholly unconvinced of its probability.

R. E. E.

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THE MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES. Vol. II. By the late H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., and RAO BAHADUR L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B.A. Published under the auspices of the Mysore University. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vii + 559. Mysore, 1928.

Nearly thirty years have elapsed since the late Sir Herbert Risley launched his scheme for the Ethnographic Survey of the major provinces and states of India at the conclusion of the census of 1901. The scheme has produced most valuable results, and we now have this first volume (vol. i has not yet appeared in print) of the Mysore records to compare with similar work in other parts of India. The late superintendent of the Mysore survey, who unfortunately has not lived to see the publication of his work in final form, followed the precedent of Bombay in issuing provisional monographs for criticism and correction. These now appear in their revised form. So far as can be judged from the present volume, the work has been carefully and skilfully done; and Mr. Nanjundayya's records will be welcomed by students of Indian ethnography.

The volume commences with the washerman caste known as *agasa* or *asaga*, and ends, after some 560 pages, containing numerous illustrations, with the wandering Budbudkis. Nearly half the volume is devoted to Brahmans. The rest deals with fourteen castes, of which the most important are the Are, Banjāra, Banajiga, Besta, Bili-Magga, and Billava. Unfortunately, for some reason unexplained, the compiler of the volume has failed to adopt the practice usually followed in such works, of giving alphabetically, in addition to the tribe and caste names which introduce each article, the various synonyms by which each tribe or caste is known and the names of caste divisions. In the absence of such entries, a student searching for the Lamāni or the Madiwal would be unlikely to refer to Banjāra or Agasa, under which headings they are to be found. If possible, this omission should be remedied in future volumes. One of the most interesting articles deals with the martial tribe well known in Mysore,

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Madras, Bombay, and Hyderabad as Bedar or Berad. The writer identifies Bedars with the Rāmoshis of the Deccan and the Boyis of Telingāna. So far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned, the evidence available certainly seems to lend strong support to the theory that Rāmoshis are merely Bedars who have pushed northwards and adopted the Marāthi language.[1] Both profess to be descended from Valmiki, styling themselves Valmikas, and in addition have in common the names of Naikmakkalu, Naikwadi, and Talwar. They are said by Wilkes to be identical with Boyis. The writer has adopted this view without giving the grounds on which the statement is based.

Of special significance are the exogamous divisions of these Mysore Bedars; as is the case with Bestas, Bili-Maggas, and Billavas, the divisions are totemistic. On p. 204 we find some forty of such divisions as, for example, the sun, moon, buffalo, dog, jasmine, gold, the oleander, and horse gram. In some cases details which would be welcome are lacking; but the lists are sufficient to afford an interesting basis of comparison with tribes of similar status in other parts of India.

It is suggested that the article on Kanarese Banajigas would more suitably be embodied in the description of the Lingāyat community, which we shall await with interest, as they hold a very special position in Mysore.

The pages of this volume contain many misprints which should have been avoided, as, for instance, *prāsād* for *prasād*, *Pandannus* and *Pendanus* for the well-known *Pandanus odoratissimus* (screw pine), Russel for Russell, and many different spellings of *vakkalu* (*Kan.* cultivator). The picture of the beautiful Gersoppa Falls does not add anything to the subject matter of the volume. But we may congratulate the joint authors very heartily on the addition of a most valuable work to the fine series of ethnographical records that are now available for the Indian student.

R. E. E.

[1] *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. i, p. 78.

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FOUR MONTHS CAMPING IN THE HIMALAYAS. By DR. W. G. N. VAN DER SLEEN. Translated by M. W. HOPER. 10 × 7, pp. xiii + 213. London: Philip Allan & Co, 1929. 21*s*. net.

If recent literature on the Himalayas has fostered the idea that these mountains are the monopoly of the big expedition, here is a book to dispel the illusion.

Dr. Van der Sleen with his wife and their assistant, Mr. T. Traanberg, spent a most delightful time exploring the Sutlej valley, and no one with a taste for travel of this kind can read this description of their wanderings without longing to go and do likewise.

This was no mere pleasure trip, the author being specially interested in the geology of the region. But nothing escaped his observant eye. He has as much to tell of the birds, beasts, and flowers of the district as of the native villages passed on his way. His camera has caught excellent glimpses of the human life in these remote valleys of the Sutlej and its tributaries. We see the inhabitants at their religious festivals, the temples reared to their gods with their quaint carving, reminiscent at least in one place of Saracen art. It shows us the funeral rites of a Maharani and here and there, though less often than one could wish, it gives us a hint of the amazing beauty of the landscape.

The book, with its happy blending of instructive and entertaining matter, is well worth reading, the author having an eye for the humour of a situation. It is beautifully got up, too, and the type is excellent. The author intends publishing at a future date the scientific results of his trip. These will, no doubt, throw a good deal of light on some of the more obscure problems of a region as yet but partially explored.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

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THE STRUCTURE OF ASIA. Edited by J. W. GREGORY, LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xi + 227, with 8 illustrations, 18 folding maps, and 18 diagrams in the text. London : Methuen & Co, 1929.

Briefly the object of these collected papers read at the meeting of the British Association in Glasgow in 1928 is to examine in the light of the researches of the last thirty years the conclusions of Professor Eduard Suess, of Vienna, on the structure of Asia, as set forth in the third volume of his great work, *The Face of the Earth*, published in 1901. This book was a landmark in the geological history of Asia, and so fundamental are the problems discussed in it that later workers in the same field cannot ignore it.

In the present volume to which Professor Gregory contributes the Introduction, the *European Altaids* are dealt with by Professor Franz Ed. Suess, a son of the great geologist, who here modifies some of his father's views. The third chapter contains contributions by Dr. H. de Böckh, Dr. Lees and Mr. Richardson of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, on the "Stratigraphy and Tectonics of the Iranian Ranges". Professor Mushketov, of Leningrad, contributes a paper on the "Tectonic Features of the East Ferghani-Alai Range". Dr. W. D. West, of the Geological Survey of India, writes on recent work of the Survey. George B. Barbour, Professor of Geology at Yenching University, Peking, and Lecturer at Columbia University, N.Y., writes on the "Structural Evolution of Eastern Asia". "The Orogenic Evolution in the Gobi Region of Central Asia" is treated by Professor C. B. Berkey, of Columbia University, N.Y., while Professor H. A. Brouwer, of Delft University, writes of "Horizontal Movements in the East Indian Islands".

In "La Tectonique de l'Asie" Professor E. Argand has developed views on the geological structure of Asia fundamentally opposed to those of Eduard Suess. In his Introduction Professor Gregory deals with these differences. On the whole, he regards the conclusions of Suess published thirty

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years ago as fundamentally correct, but rejects his interpretation of the eastern border.

These highly technical papers are of great importance to all concerned with the geological problems of Asia, views and counter-views of the most modern writers on the subject being given in great detail, while the structural features of the continent are amply illustrated by tables, maps, and drawings.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

CHINESE ART. By WILLIAM COHN. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 91 + 90 pl. London: The Studio, Ltd., 1930. 10*s.* 6*d.*

During recent years many fresh finds have opened out new vistas to students of Chinese art and archæology, and therefore an up-to-date survey of our criteria is specially welcome. Unfortunately, most of the lately excavated relics of early Chinese civilization have reached us without information concerning the circumstances of discovery. The chaotic state of China has encouraged indiscriminate digging in many regions. There is nothing new, of course, in this rifling of tombs. Often in the past there have been periods of turmoil when the normal restraints of law and order have ceased to function. But probably never before has the search for buried treasure been so widespread. Owing to the various calamities which have overtaken the country during the last hundred years, many collections have been dispersed and scattered abroad. This process of impoverishment has been hastened by increasing demands from foreign museums and private collectors. The demands are becoming more and more insistent, and soaring prices naturally stimulate further supply. Native archæologists, such as Jung Kêng and Ma Hêng, appreciate the need for systematic excavation, and there can be little doubt that, so soon as peace is established, the Chinese themselves will control the discovery of buried antiquities and develop schools of scientific research. We may hope for the day when national museums in China will lead the way in the world study of her great civilization.

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Meanwhile, a book such as this performs the useful service of taking a general view of our scanty knowledge and especially of pointing out the numerous gaps which require to be filled. The vast number of objects which were gathered together for the exhibition, arranged last year in Berlin by the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst, gave Dr. Cohn an opportunity of estimating the situation. He was one of the chief organizers of this very successful enterprise, and most of his illustrations are derived from the objects displayed. While the scope of this work is that of a general survey, one wishes that sometimes he had been more specific in his allusions.

On many points he is, perhaps purposely, provocative. Though his denial of the genuineness of alleged ancient paintings is a useful corrective to the common habit of optimistic attribution, he is probably too sweeping in his statements. Certain collectors in Japan, for instance, will not agree with his conclusions. It is hard to reconcile with fact his assertion that "monumental sculpture is absolutely unknown". The oldest authenticated piece of sculpture, the horse on the tomb of Ho Ch'ü-ping, which may be dated about 117 B.C., is surely monumental, and there are others belonging to this category.

Exception must also be taken to Dr. Cohn's statement that "the Hall of the Annual Prayers (The Temple of Heaven) was built in the eighteenth year of the period Yung-lo, i.e. 1420". In the first place, this translation of the name Ch'i nien tien is not entirely happy. Bushell (*Chinese Art*, i, 44) more correctly renders it, "temple of prayer for the year." It was here in the first month that the emperor prayed for a continuance of the celestial mandate, conferring on him sovereign power, and for abundant harvests during the ensuing year. Bushell is right, too, in his statement that the building was founded as late as the *ch'ien lung* period, and that the present structure was rebuilt recently after its destruction by fire. The actual date of the first Ch'i nien tien was 1755; it was struck by lightning and burnt down in

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1889; and it was rebuilt shortly afterwards. According to tradition, the three roofs of the original structure were covered respectively with blue, yellow, and green tiles. The present impressive triple roof of blue-glazed tiles is a modern conception. The date which Dr. Cohn mentions, 1420, is that of the foundation on this site at the time when the city was rebuilt as the capital of the Ming dynasty. Probably no part of the Ming work survives in an unaltered state. During 1912 I spent much time in the Temple of Heaven and explored all the buildings. I came to the conclusion that the only relic of the Ming is the Shên lo shu, which stands in the south part of the outer enclosure and due west of the Hall of Abstinence. The earliest date which I could find there is that of 1500, inscribed on a stone stele; but that may be older than the actual building.

Dr. Cohn suffers from inadequate translation—at least, that is my surmise. The multitude of strange expressions and ambiguous (and even ungrammatical) sentences leads to the belief that someone has not dealt faithfully with the original German. Here is evidence of the truth that specialized writings can be translated successfully only by those who are themselves familiar with the subjects treated. A "select bibliography" adds much to the value of the book; but many will wish that an index had also been included. One of the plates (No. 33) is, by the way, printed sideways.

W. Perceval Yetts.

The George Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes, Sculpture, Jades, Jewellery, and Miscellaneous Objects. By W. Perceval Yetts. Vol. II: Bronzes: Bells, Drums, Mirrors, etc. 18 × 12½, pp. viii + 99, 44 figs. + 75 pls. (25 in colour). London: Ernest Benn, 1930. £12 12*s*.

With Vol. II of the Catalogue of this division of the matchless collection of Mr. Eumorfopoulos, and following the same author as guide, philosopher, and friend who piloted us through

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the initial volume, we approack three new groups of objects, Bells, Drums, and Mirrors, and some miscellaneous articles.

Each of these groups is introduced to the reader in a special essay by the author, who describes its general character, the nature of its make and shape, the peculiarities of its decoration, the quality of its functions, and, where these are present, the object and meaning of the inscribed legends. These descriptions and explanations occupy forty-two of the large pages of the volume, and are elucidated by numerous illustrations. They are followed by forty pages of the actual Catalogue. This is by no means restricted to a numbered list of specimens with particulars of dimensions, details of decoration and design, and period of manufacture (on this last point the author is very cautious: "perhaps Han" and "Date doubtful" are very frequent entries). Far from that. This part of the work abounds in the results of Mr. Yetts' specialized research, as it serves to illustrate and explain the objects under review. Thus, for instance, on p. 64, he devotes thirty-five lines to "a short general note . . . concerning examples of" belt-hooks, illustrations of which occupy ten plates, and cites passages *ad rem* from Chinese and other literature. Many of these notes are very interesting, and many instructive. And here I may mention to what especially this is due. In the first place, the designs appearing on the mirrors in particular have frequently reference to the "Otherworld" of Taoist lore and legends. This is a field wherein the author and Dr. Lionel Giles have delved long and deeply, and the fruits of their tillage now enure to the benefit of the readers of the Catalogue. And in the second place, Mr. Yetts, in carrying out his task, has familiarized himself, as the very valuable Bibliography (pp. 85 to 92) shows, not only with the Chinese and Western literature on the subject, but with the recent work of modern Japanese scholars (some sixteen are specified) in the same line of research. That is a present-day desideratum in all Oriental inquiry, but one much easier for Occidental scholars to acknowledge than to achieve, and, let me add,

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both expensive to the purse and exacting to the brain of such earnest seekers after knowledge.

The seventy-five plates that make up the rest of the volume will excite general admiration. Twenty-five are colour plates, and things of beauty they truly are. Each spectator will choose his or her own fancy among them, but B 55 on Pl. xxvii, a plain bronze mirror with engraved mother-of-pearl inlay, and B 49 on Pl. xxvi, a mirror with a thin openwork plaque in gold, delight me most of all.

Under the Introductory Essay on Drums Mr. Yetts discusses (pp. 23–6) the association of bird decoration with Chinese Bronze Drums, and in the course of a rather elaborate argument is inclined to regard the uppermost part of certain ancient forms of the character *chia*, "excellent" (Giles, first edition, No. 1158), as figures of birds with outstretched wings. I much doubt if this is so, and believe that here, as elsewhere, these forms represent *huo*, "grain," or *shu*, "millet." On the other hand, however, I should like to call Mr. Yetts' attention to another character where the *tou* element in the character *ku*, drum, also occurs. This is *ch'i*, "how," and in a special sense, read *k'ai*, "joyous," particularly applied to "triumphal music" (as Karlgren has well observed, *Analytic Dict. of Chinese*, p. 121), and reminding us of "See the conquering hero comes, Sound the trumpets, beat the drums". It differs only from *chou* or *chu* in its slightly varied "adjunct" above.

On p. 50, Fig. 18, the identity of the old character read *ch'ien*, thousand, by Mr. Yetts, seems very insecure in that disguise. On p. 56 the third character in the third column of Fig. 28 is misprinted, and should be *hsiung*, evil (Giles, No. 4689).

P. 59 and Pl. xxiv. Though called "a pair of phœnixes" these birds seem to resemble peacocks with tails displayed.

P. 61 and Pl. xxx, B 60 and 61. Professor Pelliot's idea certainly seems the only possible one, that the names of the two persons in the label, responding to the position of the two figures in the mirror, and mutually balanced to the eye in

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the label, have perforce violated the syntactical order of the inscription.

Among the Miscellaneous Objects shown in this volume Pl. lxii figures, and Mr. Yetts on p. 75 describes, certain "knife-money" current in early times. These "coins", so to call them, are obviously tokens of tools and implements once used for barter, and as such had their value. But when the edges were thickened and blunted, and they were no longer "serviceable", what value, as currency, could they have retained? Did the State that issued them accept them again in payment of taxes? Incidentally, Mr. Yetts does not mention what, I presume, is the explanation of the ring at the end of the handle, that it served to suspend the prototypal knife from the owner's girdle.

In Fig. 40 on p. 80, the character romanized as *Hung* should, I think, be read *Yu*, and regarded as consisting of *mien*, "cover," and *yu*, "right, dexter" (Giles, No. 13,436), according to Takata, a former variant of its homophone *yu*, "to pardon." And in Fig. 41 and B. 289, *T'u* should probably be read Ch'êng, a character formed by *water* by the side of *ch'ih*, "red."

The above are the occasional and unimportant cavillings I have been prompted to make on the author's admirable and judicious commentary to the splendid Catalogue now in course of publication by Messrs. Ernest Benn.

The only misprint I have noticed in the text is at the end of line 3 of p. 35, where the *h* has been dropped from "eighth".

L. C. Hopkins.

John of Montecorvino, First Archbishop of Peking. By the Very Rev. G. B. O'Toole. (Reprint from Bulletin No. 6 of the Catholic University of Peking, China.) 9 × 6, pp. 48. No date (? 1929).

The celebration of the sixth centenary of the death of John of Montecorvino has given an impetus to the study

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of his life, and this must be at least the fifth little pamphlet or article on the subject that has appeared in the last few years. It is a well written if rather discursive lecture, and presents what is known of the great Archbishop in an attractive and sufficiently complete and accurate form. If one must find some fault it will be that the author is not always careful to give credit in the right quarter. Thus he says (p. 34) " Van den Wyngaert is right, therefore, in identifying Cothay with the Kipchak Khan of that time, namely, Toktu Khan. There is, indeed, no resemblance between these names ". Van den Wyngaert writes, in fact, of " Cothay capitale du Kiptschak ". But ten years earlier this *Journal* has printed the following note (1914, p. 550): Cothay " probably stands (as M. Pelliot suggests) for Marco Polo's Toctai, the Chinese T'o-t'o, descended from Chingis' eldest son Chu-ch'ih, Khan of Kipchak ". As C and T are often confused, the likeness of Cothay and Toctai is great. In 1914, too, Professor Pelliot himself published in the *T'oung-pao* (p. 635) his discovery of the funerary inscription of " King George " by Yen Fu, which we are here (p. 30) told was " discovered " by Professor Chang Hsing-lang. Unless Professor Chang published his discovery before 1914, credit for this important find should have been given to Professor Pelliot, whose extraordinarily brilliant article, " Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," Dr. O'Toole appears to have seen. On p. 41 we read " 1326, which was also, as we shall see, the year in which Andrew of Perugia died ", and on p. 45 " Andrew . . . died, as we have seen, in the same year that his letter was written (A.D. 1326) ". There is nothing about the date of Andrew's death between these two sentences; nor is there any ancient evidence that I know of to show that Andrew ever died at all. On p. 39 we read of " Tup Timur ". There is a learned article in the current number of the *T'oung-pao* to show that this form of the name is wrong. This Dr. O'Toole could not, of course, have seen; but it must be sixteen or seventeen years since

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the *Journal* of the China Branch of the Asiatic Society published a table of the Mongol Emperors in which (with Pelliot's help) this name appears more correctly as Togh temur. The author spends a good deal of space in scolding Palladius for having said that "King George" married two princesses at the same time. The fact is that in the many cases when a prince married a second princess after (繼 *chi*) the first the documents sometimes (e.g. in the case of George's brother Shu-hu-nan) specify that the first was dead; sometimes (e.g. *Yüan wên lei*, c. 25, fol. 7 ro) specify that the second was given as a reward for prowess in battle; and sometimes (as in the case of George) give no indication of the reason or circumstances of the second marriage. The *Yüan wên lei* states that both princesses were dead in 1305, the *Yüan shih* implies that the second was still alive. As Dr. O'Toole calls George's son John "Ch'u-an", it may be worth while to state the various forms of this name and of that of his uncle John, as follows: *Yüan wên lei* 主安 Chu-an, 朮忽難 Shu-hu-nan; *Yüan shih* (Southern edition) 朮安 Shu-an, 朮忽難 Shu-hu-nan; *Yüan shih* (1908) 朮安 Shu-an, 木忽難 Mu-hu-nan; *Yüan shih* (1739, with reformed transcription) 專 Chuan, 摩和納 Mo-ho-na. It may be that 朮 *shu* should here be read *chu*.

The article is illustrated with an interesting plan of "Khanbalyk", the now familiar portraits of Kubilai and Temur, and imaginary views of Montecorvino blessing the great Khan and of Odoric preaching.

A. C. M.

Les Descriptions de le Chine par les Français (1650–1750). By Ting Tchao-ts'ing. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 111. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928. Fr. 30.

Both the subject of this book and the author's treatment of it are full of interest. But the treatment hardly fulfils the high hopes which are raised by Professor H. Maspero's preface,

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for the author seems to be more concerned with the motives which he supposes to have inspired the writers—and especially the missionary writers—of the books on China, with which France was flooded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than with the sources and the circumstances of the composition of the books. While it is true that an educated Chinese must understand China better than a European can hope to do, and may occasionally understand even Europe more truly than the Europeans do, little allowance seems to be made by Mr. Ting for the possibility that Europeans may understand Europeans and occasionally even Chinese more truly than he does. And the reversals of common judgements which are found here, based as they sometimes are on what seems to be religious or anti-religious prejudice, will not always be readily accepted. It is not easy to believe, on the mere evidence of a few bad mistranslations, that the great missionary scholars had, with few exceptions, no knowledge of the language of Chinese books. It is simply incredible that Prémare did not know the ordinary use of *san tai* for the "three dynasties", Hsia, Shang, and Chou, though he chose to translate it "trois races" (p. 66). We fear it is less easy to discredit the author when he writes on p. 36 : Ces descriptions des Chinois peu favorablement tracées par le Gentil ainsi que par les autres voyageurs, bien qu'elles aient étés corrigées par des écrivains scrupuleux, n'en causèrent par moins chez les lecteurs une prédisposition ; même jusqu'à présent, le peuple en a conservé encore l'habitude de ridiculiser les Chinois. It is unfortunately the same in England, even among the educated.

The book is not too carefully printed. On p. 98 the eighth line has dropped below the twelfth. The correction among the *Errata* of a similar confusion on p. 13 gives the desired sense, but does not seem to restore the original text.

A. C. M.

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THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF MANCHURIA. A Digest and Analysis of Treaties, Agreements, and Negotiations concerning the Three Eastern Provinces of China. By C. WALTER YOUNG, Assistant Professor of Political Science, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 307. Chicago, Illinois (U.S.A.): University of Chicago Press. 16*s.* net.

This volume, prepared in response to the request of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations for use for purposes of reference at the Conference of the Institute which took place in Kyoto last autumn, is, as the sub-title explains, a digest of the various treaties, agreements, and negotiations relating to Manchuria which have been concluded or have taken place between the Chinese Government in Peking or the Provincial Authorities in Manchuria on the one side and foreign Powers, mainly Japan and Russia, on the other between 1895 and 1929. The work is divided into four parts covering the four periods of time into which the modern international history of Manchuria naturally falls—1895 (Treaty of Shimonoseki) to 1905; 1905 (Treaty of Portsmouth) to 1915; 1915 (Sino-Japanese Treaty regarding Manchuria) to 1921, and 1921 (Washington Conference) to 1929. Each part is prefaced by a brief summary of events during the period under review, and the various treaties and agreements of that period are then dealt with in detail under four headings: (*a*) Japan, (*b*) Russia, (*c*) other Powers, and (*d*) Treaties and Agreements of alliance, co-operation, and guarantee. This arrangement necessitates a considerable amount of repetition, which is at times a little irritating; but the author explains that the book is meant "purely for reference purposes" and that this repetition is due to his desire to facilitate a quick grasp of isolated subjects. From the point of view of completeness it seems rather a pity that the first period was not thrown farther back to include the earlier relations of Russia and China in Manchuria. There is an interesting introductory chapter describing the Russo-

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Chinese crisis in 1929 over the Chinese Eastern Railway, and at the end of the volume is a series of seven appendices dealing in some detail with a number of secret treaties and arrangements between Russia and China, China and Japan, and Russia and Japan, with the Ishii-Lansing Agreement, the Russo-Chinese Agreements of 1924, and independent Chinese Railway Construction in Manchuria since 1925. Professor Young's authorities include such works as Rockhill's *Treaties, Conventions, and Agreements relating to China*, the official edition of the *Treaties and Conventions between Japan and China*, British and United States' official publications, Professor Willoughby's *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*, etc., but it is from MacMurray's monumental *Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China* that he has drawn most substantially. The last named work is the most authoritative and accurate of its kind, and this in itself is more than sufficient guarantee for the fullness and the reliability of the information the author puts before his readers. In the treatment of his subject, Professor Young is almost completely objective, rarely offering an opinion, save perhaps in the Appendices, but contenting himself with simply marshalling the facts and leaving the reader to form his own conclusions. For this reason the book may not perhaps appeal greatly to the ordinary public; but to the student of Manchurian problems who has not access to MacMurray and the other authorities Professor Young quotes it should prove invaluable.

HAROLD PARLETT.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Albert von Le Coq

1860–1930

It was a melancholy coincidence which registered almost simultaneously the deaths of two of our most eminent honorary members, Albert von le Coq and F. W. K. Müller, the latter dying on 18th April, and the former on 21st April of this year. The labours of these two men had been in the same field of research during a period of thirty years, and it was nothing less than a blessed dispensation of Providence which brought them together for so long under the roof of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

With the death of A. von Le Coq has died out the last branch of an old Berlin-Huguenot family. He received his early education at the *Französisches Gymnasium*. His father had been one of the first German merchants in China (Canton), and his son's youthful mind was always filled with dreams of the China he longed to see ; and it was no doubt in the hope that he would be sent there that he willingly obeyed his father's wishes, and entered the firm. And thus he lost 21 years of his life in a profession which in no way responded to his personal inclinations. For one year in London and six years in the United States he represented his father's firm, occupying, however, his leisure hours with the study of medicine. This he did because the father of his future wife had said he would never give his daughter to an unlearned man ; and it was to their utmost astonishment that his parents and his fiancée suddenly received a cablegram from New York announcing that he had taken his Doctorate in Medicine. He then came back to Germany and married. Twelve years passed ere his wife succeeded in persuading him —in his fortieth year—to become a "student", and he never repented having taken that resolution.

He did not wish to make money, being happy in his small circumstances : nor did he wish to be in any position where he could not be wholly his own master. This was not to

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be realized. Grünwedel and F. W. K. Müller soon discovered that there was something quite unusual in this man, who worked silently as a volunteer in the Museum, and as a student in the Oriental Seminar. Nobody knew anything about him, not even that he had been a merchant and that he was married. Grünwedel one day introduced this little elderly student to the Director of the Royal Armoury, saying: "I present to you the only man in Berlin who can arrange for you the beautiful collection of Oriental costumes made by the Prince Friedrich Carl of Prussia." Von Le Coq gasped in astonishment: but took on the task, working only by night, and the labels in the Royal Armoury in his beautiful handwriting can still be seen to-day.

In 1901 he took part, as a volunteer, in the expedition to Zenjirli, as a result of which he wrote two volumes of "Kurdische Texte", which were printed (at his own expense) in the State Press on hand-made paper. It was this work which afterwards brought him the title of Dr.Phil. from the University of Kiel, to his greatest astonishment, and made the way free for him to "any appointment in the Prussian State". In March, 1914, when he returned for the last time from Turkestan, he became Director of the Asiatic Department. Without passing any examination, without even matriculating, without going to the University—though he had been for a short time in the Oriental Seminar—he reached the highest post possible for him in Prussia.

He hated being a bread winner, and resented the loss of time over routine and red tape which his position in the Museum imposed on him. But here, in the Museum, that strange community of work gradually developed which led to such amazingly fruitful results; and here the plans were laid for the four Prussian Turfan expeditions—inspired by the wonderful finds made in the deserts of Turkestan by Sven Hedin and Sir Aurel Stein. Von Le Coq took part in the last three of these expeditions, and was himself the leader of the second and fourth. He was really the life and soul of all four. He seemed to come unscathed out of the third expedi-

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tion, in spite of the most strenuous journeys and the terrible conditions under which the excavations were carried out. He set out on the fourth expedition at the age of fifty-three, a hale and healthy man—and returned from it bent and aged in body but unbroken in spirit. Then came the war, and in 1917 his only child was killed on French soil. In spite of impaired health, the privations caused by the war, and this culminating blow from Fate, he pursued unceasingly and undeterred the goal he had set before him of arranging his wonderful finds in a setting worthy of their historical importance and their artistic value, with what fine results all the world may now see. Nor was this labour of love confined to the piecing together of the frescoes, sorting and arranging in historical order the specimens of plastic art: for he had a long uphill struggle to wage with the authorities, who were slow to give him the financial support necessary for the achievement of his ideal scheme. Such was his enthusiasm for the great new field of research which had been opened out by his discoveries, that he found time also to make himself an authority on the old Turkish languages, and contributed much to the elucidation of the Uighur texts which he had brought to Berlin, apart from the many handsome volumes he published with reproductions of the frescoes and statues. His main thesis was always the Hellenistic influence apparent in the arts of Middle and Eastern Asia. Fortunate were all of us who had the privilege of being taken over the ground floor of the Museum für Völkerkunde by von Le Coq himself. With that ever merry twinkle in his eye he would explain with a hundred passing quips the wonders of this newly unburied civilization. Truly in this Museum Albert von Le Coq has his worthy monument by which his name will always be held in memory. As a friend von Le Coq was without rival; even in the last year before his death he was always ready to come and crack a joke over a glass of beer, and no better company could be desired than his. As a correspondent he was of an age that is almost past, and he always delighted in telling his friends of the latest theories that had been propounded in the Museum. I remember on one

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occasion receiving in Calcutta a post-card from him bearing only the words "Wir haben die Indo-Scythen!" What lay behind those words all the learned world knows to-day. With Albert von Le Coq such a light was extinguished as is rarely lit in the world.

E. DENISON ROSS.

F. W. K. Müller

1863–1930

Few readers of *The Times* or even of the German newspapers will have guessed what the death of F. W. K. Müller will mean to Science. Müller's greatness was only equalled by his modesty. He did not belong to those Orientalists whose name is world-wide. He seldom made a public appearance, either in lectures or in writing. In books of reference we shall find only that he was Director of the Berlin Museum for Ethnology, and a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences; and yet, in historical researches connected with the Far East and Central Asia, he had no rival.

Like von Le Coq, he was a pupil of the *Französisches Gymnasium*. In 1883 he entered the University of Berlin and studied Theology and Orientalia. His Doctorate thesis dealt with the Chronology of the Syrian Simeon Sanqlawaya. On his appointment to the newly-founded Museum für Völkerkunde (1887), he at once turned to good account his combined knowledge of Languages and Religions, and was able to put into practice his principle that linguistic knowledge should go hand in hand with cultural training (*keine Sprachkenntnis ohne Sachkenntnis, keine Sachkenntnis ohne Sprachkenntnis*). In 1901 he was sent by the Prussian Ministry of Culture on a mission to China, Japan, and Korea, in order to collect objects for this Museum. His linguistic equipment covered an astonishingly wide range—Semitic, Indo-Germanian, Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, and Malay—but it was Chinese and Japanese which in later times engrossed his main attention: and his profound knowledge of the Chinese

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Mahāyāna Canon was invaluable for the identification of the Buddhist documents in half-a-dozen, till then unknown, languages which formed so important an element of the Turfan finds.

"F. W. K.," as he was always spoken of among his colleagues, was by nature a recluse, and access to his sanctum was by no means easily gained. But once received, the fortunate visitor encountered nothing but kindly attention, and however short the interview, would come away a wiser and certainly a more modest man.

"F. W. K." was the only man I have ever met whose knowledge was really encyclopædic. Nothing was more astonishing than the way in which he would consult his books of reference in no matter what language they were written, and find the authority he required with the same ease with which the average man consults a dictionary. I had on one occasion just come home from India and brought to him a Uighur Buddhist text on which I had been working. I had made a rough transcript in which many words were purely tentative. I shall never forget the way in which he dealt with these difficulties—not indeed solving them all, but showing in doubtful cases the various possibilities: but he was never satisfied till he had called in aid all his wisdom and his books.

Müller was an universalist, and one German paper has described him as a second Humboldt—a truly great man such as appears once in a century in the realm of research. His gifts were not those of a genius who arrives by inspiration at the solution of problems; but rather those of a clear spirit which embraced everything in its view and a portentous memory which enabled him to arrive at faultless conclusions whenever he was prepared to pronounce a judgment.

In short, he was a scholar of almost unique gifts. Fortunate were those who were brought in contact with him, for all that he said was inspiring. No problem was too trivial, and if any question one put to him was worthy of consideration, he would forthwith enter into the minutest details, and often one had to wait long for his reply, for he

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was never satisfied until he had utilized all his resources in wisdom and books.

In 1905 he was made Member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences: and this was followed by the conferment of many distinctions on him by foreign societies.

The great opportunity of his life arrived when the manuscripts began to reach his Museum from the Turfan Expeditions. As Professor Paul Krüger of Vienna has happily said: "It was as if these important testimonies to a religious culture which had lain buried for more than a thousand years under the sands of Central Asian oases had been disturbed from their sleep at this juncture in order to be made to speak by F. W. K. M." For in this exceptional man all the equipment necessary for the decipherment of these documents seem to have been united: the knowledge of the Semitic, the Iranian, the Turkish, and the Indo-Chinese languages, theological training, more especially in the history of religions, philological grounding, historical criticism, perseverance, and unimpeachable scientific honesty.

In the tiny brochure entitled "Handschriftenreste in Estrangeloschrift aus Turfan" he discovered the key which unlocked the Manichaean literature in Soghdian and in Uighur; thereby rescuing a literature long regarded as for ever lost, and recovering an Iranian literary language of which no example had hitherto been found. It was he who proved from a single passage in a Uighur fragment that one of the languages which had been deciphered and read by Sieg and Siegling was Tokharian. The familiar yellow-covered Proceedings of the Berlin Academy containing the succinct results of his arduous labours form a priceless collection of secrets revealed to students of such various subjects as the Buddhism, Christianity, Manichacism, and the Cultural History of Central Asia. His intimate acquaintance with the Buddhist and Christian Scriptures enabled him to run to earth the original source of a scrap of text on a torn sheet, whether Chinese, Sanskrit, or Greek.

E. Denison Ross.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

GENERAL MEETING, *4th July*, 1930

Dr. Blagden, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Paramanda Acharya.
Mr. Seymour G. Vesey-Fitzgerald.
Mr. George C. O. Haas.
Mr. M. Mohammad Hamid.
Mr. Ernest Main.

M. Victor Goloubew gave a lecture on "The Archæological Work of the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Indo-China". Mr. Yetts and Dr. Rushton Parker spoke. Dr. Blagden then addressed the meeting, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

From *The Times*, Monday, 22nd September, 1930.

Father Boulos Sbath, an authority on Semitic writings, has found in Homs, Syria, a manuscript of great historical value. It is written on parchment in Syriac and is dated 958 after Alexander, equivalent to A.D. 647. Its author is Yuhanna, Bishop of Bosra, in the Hauran, where stood the hermitage of the monk Sergius Buhira, the teacher and inspirer of the Prophet Mohamed. The manuscript treats of the prophet and of the birth of Islam.

After having held office for sixteen years Mrs. Frazer resigned her appointment as Secretary to the Society in September.

The duties have been taken over by Colonel D. M. F. Hoysted, C.B.E., D.S.O.

The Council presented Mrs. Frazer with a Japanese lacquered "Ermeto" watch as a mark of their appreciation of her services.

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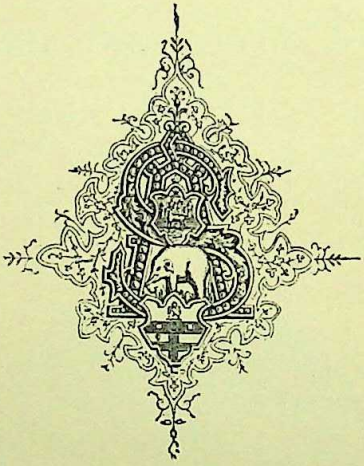

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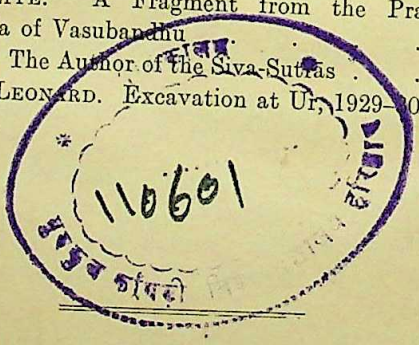

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